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THE

MISSIONS AND MISSIONARIES

OF

CALIFORNIA

BY

FR. ZEPHYRIN ENGELHARDT, O. F. M.
Author of Numerous Standard Works
on the Missions of The Great Southwest

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VOL. II. UPPER CALIFORNIA

SECOND, REVISED, EDITION

"Primam esse historiae legem, ne quid falsi dicere audeat; deinde ne quid veri non audeat." Leo XIII., Epist. Aug. 18, 1883.

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TO
ST. JOSEPH
THE FOSTER-FATHER OF THE SAVIOR
AND
PATRON OF THE
CALIFORNIA CONQUEST

PREFACE

This new edition of the second volume of *The Missions and Missionaries of California,* the most important of the entire series, became imperative in consequence of numerous and persistent demands for copies from booksellers as well as from individual booklovers, after the first edition had been exhausted four years ago. Although no radical changes in the narrative were found necessary, the book is not a mere reprint. It has been thoroughly revised and amended. The headlines on all the pages of a Section have been made uniform, and Section Two has been divided in order to give Fr. Presidente Estévan Tápis his proper standing.

Notable additions have been made to the Appendix, where the lengthy article—*Father Junípero Serra and His Traducer*—will prove especially enlightening. Likewise, the disputed question regarding the exact date of the founding of Los Angeles City has been definitely decided.

The author is happy to record with deep gratitude that the Very Rev. Father Novatus Benzing, Minister-Provincial of the Franciscan Province of Santa Barbara, which comprises the States of California, Arizona, Oregon and Washington, has in the name of the Province most cheerfully agreed to defray the entire cost of the publication of this second edition.

Owing to changes in numbering the pages, it may appear that the Index for Volumes II-IV, bound in cloth separately, has been rendered useless for this edition. It is just as serviceable as before. Readers should but add an average of twenty pages to the figures indicated by the Index. For instance, *Carpinteria* on page 34 of the first edition will be seen in the same chapter of this edition on page 59; *Daily Mission Routine,* on page 253 of the first edition may be looked for on page 274 of this issue; *Ugarte y Loyola* 419, first edition, turns up in the same chapter on page 439, second edition; etc. The respective paragraph will always be discovered in the same chapter of either edition.

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INTRODUCTION

The Sources of California Mission History.

Literary works which deal partly or entirely with the history of the California Missions are quite numerous; but very few of the authors have consulted original sources. Most of what is published on the subject is therefore of little value for the student. It will be in order to enumerate and qualify all such productions in the volumes dealing with the Local Annals. In relating the General History of the Missions and Missionaries we have determined to confine ourselves to the original Spanish documents and to such authors as have based their endeavors upon these same sources or wrote from personal observation. If other works are quoted they only serve to illustrate or corroborate what we wish to emphasize.

At the head of the documentary sources in point of importance stand the *Santa Barbara Mission Archives.* These consist of Annual and Biennial Reports of the Superiors, Local Reports of the individual missionaries, Correspondence of the Superiors with the College of San Fernando, Mexico, Letters of the Viceroys and Governors, Correspondence of the Missionaries, Memorials and Circulars of the Superiors, Diaries and Reports on various expeditions by land or water, Inventories, etc. The Spanish manuscripts, some of which are quite lengthy, number about two thousand. As they are not indexed they are quoted in this and subsequent volumes according to dates and authorship. The first paper, a decree of the Spanish King in favor of the Indians, dates from the year 1713. Bancroft had his scribes copy most of the documents. Of others they only transcribed the titles. Even so the historian filled twelve folio volumes of about five hundred pages each, which now form part of the Bancroft Collection at the State University, Berkeley, California. Unfortunately, in his works Bancroft cites the various papers as transcribed in his copy, so that unless the dates are given it is nearly impossible to verify his statement in the original documents. No other writers have ever studied this indispensable fountain of information. It may therefore be imagined how trustworthy all historical works on the California

Missions can be, unless their authors examined Bancroft's transcript, which is far from complete. For the sake of brevity we quote this source under the caption of *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

The next source in point of the number and importance of its original documents is designated as the *Archives of the Archbishop of San Francisco,* to which we refer in the footnotes as *Archb. Arch.* These consist chiefly of personal letters which passed between the governors and missionaries of both Lower and Upper California. There are many other documents of the highest value, for instance the one reproduced on pages 334-337 of the preceding volume. The manuscripts, dating from the year 1767 to the close of 1849, to the number of 2560, were collected by Alexander S. Taylor of Monterey, and in 1860 donated to St. Mary's Library Association, St. Mary's Cathedral, San Francisco ("The Monitor," April 21, 1860). The Association in the same year had the precious documents, which were arranged and numbered by the collector, bound in seven large folio volumes. They are now preserved in the archives of the archdiocese. A chronological Index in English was prepared at the expense of St. Mary's Association under the supervision of Dr. A. S. Taylor by John Ruurd, the Court Translator of Monterey County. This Index of about 250 large folio pages, which gives also a synopsis of the contents of each paper, is now in the Library of the University of California, Berkeley, where the writer saw it some years ago. Bancroft's men were permitted to make copies or extracts of all these Spanish manuscripts. Their notes fill three folios, containing about one-fifth of the material in the original eight volumes. The historian refers to them in his works as they are transcribed in his three volumes, so that it is difficult to verify his statements when the date is not given which is often the case. In quoting this invaluable source we always give the date and number of the respective paper.

In connection with these seven volumes at the Archbishop's House we may name the *Borrador* preserved at the same place. This contains drafts or blotters of all the letters issued from the office of the first Bishop of California by himself and by the Administrator of the diocese after the Bishop's death down to the year 1850. Some of the letters found their way into Bancroft's Collection; others remained in the hands of the recipients, and many others are in the Santa Barbara Archives.

A most valuable source of information for the period beginning with the arrival of the first Bishop is the *Libro de Gobierno* in the archives of the Bishop of Los Angeles and San Diego. It contains from day to day all the administrative acts of the first Bishop and his successors in the See of Monterey, beginning with the conferring of the Minor Orders on three students at San Diego on December 19, 1841. This volume is especially valuable for the history of the missions and their pastors after the mission period. Needless to say, this source has never been examined before.

Of the utmost value for the General History of the Missions are the *Libros de Patentes* which contain the circulars of the Commissaries-General in Spain, the regulations of the Prefects of Mexico, and instructions of the Fr. Guardian of the College of San Fernando. Each mission had to keep a *Libro de Patentes,* and the respective missionaries had to transcribe official papers of the Superiors into this book. Seven of these volumes and the *Padron,* or Register of the Indians, of three missions are to be found in the archives of the Bishop of Los Angeles. Bancroft designates this collection as *Archivo de Obispado.* Into another book the missionaries were required to copy the circulars of the Bishops of the diocese. This was termed *Libro de Ordenes.* Some of these volumes have disappeared from the respective missions.

For the Local History the *Libro de Bautismos, Libro de Casamientos,* and the *Libro de Entierros* of each mission are indispensable. Fortunately, with the exception of those of San Luis Rey, all these books are still extant, but not all at the missions or parishes to which they belong. We shall give the whereabouts of all in the volumes on the Local Annals. The offer of a heavy reward might bring to light the Registers of San Luis Rey. Those of the San Francisco Solano are, singularly enough, a part of the Bancroft Collection.

The richest source of information for the general history of California, and second in importance only with regard to mission history, are the *California Archives,* or *Archives of San Francisco* as they were called by some. These comprise a great mass of documents in the Spanish language. They date from the year 1768, and consist of official papers, decrees, records, reports, dispatches, letters, laws, orders, proclamations, minutes of the legislative assemblies, etc., written before the American occupation, and some others which originated after that date down to about 1850. By order of the United States Government, Lieutenant Henry W. Halleck, Secretary of State under Governor Mason, came to Monterey in January, 1847, and collected all the papers to be found there. In 1858 Edwin M. Stanton, later on Secretary of War, was sent to collect, arrange, and bind the contents of the various archives in charge of state or county officials. Stanton discovered many valuable documents in the office of the Surveyor-General at San Francisco. Many others were found at the some-time capitals Benicia, San José, Los Angeles, and at Sacramento. These manuscripts together with those of Monterey were brought to San Francisco, bound, and placed for safe-keeping in the office of the U. S. Surveyor-General. Many of the volumes thus bound were returned to the respective counties. Thus Monterey possesses sixteen to which Dr. A. S. Taylor in company with John Ruurd prepared an index of 250 pages. Other volumes we found in the office of the County Clerk in the City of San José. They include many unimportant letters of various missionaries. Similar volumes of Spanish manuscripts are said to be in the offices of the counties of San Francisco, Sacramento, and Santa Cruz.

Stanton endeavored to keep separate the papers relating to distinct subjects; but the effort, owing to ignorance of the language on the part of the collector and his assistants as well as unfamiliarity with the history of the territory, was a sad failure. One reason for this was that Stanton thought it proper to bind all the documents obtained at Benicia, Sacramento, San José, Monterey, and Los Angeles, in so many distinct series of volumes. The result was that papers relating to military affairs are sometimes found in volumes concerning the missions, and documents relating to the missions are frequently discovered in volumes containing governmental or other matter. Letters dated within a few years of the American conquest are sometimes encountered in volumes purporting to relate to Governor Borica's or Neve's time. Frequently a communication will be found in one volume or series, and its answer may accidentally be discovered in another volume. As no general index existed, the inquirer was obliged to go through the entire series.

When Stanton finished his work the investigator faced an array of two hundred and eighty-nine strongly bound folio volumes. These were labeled on the backs as follows:

1. Provincial State Papers, Benicia, vols. i-lxxxviii.
2. Provincial State Papers, vols. lxxxix-cix.
3. Provincial Records, vols. cx-cxx.
4. Provincial State Papers, Presidios, vols. cxxi-cxxii.
5. Provincial State Papers, Benicia, Missions, vols. cxxiii-cxxiv.
6. Provincial State Papers, Indexes, vols. cxxv-cxxxix.
7. State Papers, Sacramento, M. and P., S. D. and Dispatches, vol. cxxxx.
8. S. D. and Dispatches, vol. cxxxxi.
9. Provincial Records, vol. cxxxxii.
10. Presidios and Missions, Miscellanea, vol. cxxxxiii.
11. Miscellaneous, vol. cxxxxiv.
12. State Papers, Missions and Colonization, vol. cxxxxv.
13. State Papers, Missions, vols. cxxxxvi-clvii.
14. Departmental State Papers, Monterey, vols. clviii-clxii.
15. Departmental State Papers, San José, vols. clxiii-clxix.
16. Dept. State Papers, Los Angeles, Prefect & Juzgados, vols. clxx-clxxvii.
17. Dept. St. Pap., Los Angeles, Decrees, Dispatches, Proclamations, Miscellaneous, City and Official Correspondence, vols. clxxviii-clxxxiv.

18. Los Angeles, Archives, Civil, vols. clxxxv-cxci.
19. Dept. St. Pap., Naturalization, vols. cxcii-cxciii.
20. Legislative Records, vols. cxciv-cxcvii.
21. State Papers, Benicia, Miscellaneous, vol. cxcviii.
22. Dept. St. Pap., Benicia, Memorial & Reports, Miscellaneous, Dispatches, Official Correspondence & Reports, vol. cxcix-cciv.
23. Departmental State Papers, vols. ccv-ccxv.
24. Departmental Records, vols. ccxvi-ccxxix.
25. Departmental Payments, vols, ccxxx-ccxxxi.
26. Dept. St. Pap., Benicia, Prefectures & Juzgados, vols. ccxxxii-ccxxxix.
27. Superior Government, Decrees, Dispatches, vols. ccxl-cclx.
28. Dept. St. Pap., Sup. Gov., Decrees & Dispatches, vol. cclxi.
29. Dept. St. Pap., Custom House, Monterey, vols. cclxii-cclxiii.
30. Dept. St. Pap., Custom House, Benicia, vols. cclxiv-cclxxi.
31. Dept. St. Pap., Commissary & Treasury, vols. cclxxii-cclxxvii.
32. Mexican Archives, Lower California, vols. cclxxviii-cclxxxix.
33. Eleven volumes in flexible covers not marked.

In modern times, probably after Bancroft and Hittell had studied them, the volumes were numbered from 1 to 289. It would have been simpler to quote the number of the volume, and in our first book we did so once or twice, but, for reasons which will appear presently, we find ourselves compelled to adhere to the cumbersome titles just enumerated, but abbreviated in the footnotes.

The two hundred and eighty-nine bound volumes averaging about 700 pages to the volume were placed in charge of R. C. Hopkins as the first custodian at the Surveyor-General's office, San Francisco. Mr. Bancroft in 1876 undertook the most praiseworthy and herculean task of transcribing the contents of these Spanish manuscripts for his library. "Mr. Savage," he writes in his *Literary Industries*, 471-472, "with fifteen Spaniards were able in one year to transfer from these archives to the library all that was necessary for my purpose. This transfer was not made in the form of notes; the work was an *abridgment of the archives,* which would be of immense value in case of loss by fire of the original documents. The title of every paper was given; the more important documents were copied in full, while the others were given in substance only. The work was begun the 15th of May, 1876. The expense was about eighteen thousand dollars." The material thus gained fills sixty-nine folio volumes in the Bancroft Collection now part of the State University Library, Berkeley.

The possibility which Bancroft contemplated actually came to pass in April, 1906. During the great conflagration which destroyed the entire business and much of the residence district of San Francisco, the California Archives fell a prey to the devouring element. Nothing was saved except a general index in two volumes prepared some years before by one of the custodians, a Mr. Forbes. It happened to be in the iron safe and thus escaped, though much charred and scarcely capable of examination. Fortunately, the writer himself and two Spanish lady students of Berkeley University under his direction two years previously had copied all that he needed. The last custodian, Mr. Charles F. Gompertz, also made numerous extracts which will, like the other transcripts, be utilized in this and subsequent volumes. Bancroft, Hittell, and the present writer, if we except a number of lawyers like Dwinelle, who examined the documents for evidence in land cases, were the only authors who studied and copied the California Archives extensively. Hittell passed two years in taking notes for his History of California. They should be acquired by the State University, now that the invaluable Archives are destroyed. In connection with Bancroft's abridgment many a gap could thus be filled. Hittell, like ourselves, always quotes the page in the original, whereas Bancroft refers to his copy.

A very good source for the local annals of the Missions are the *De la Guerra Papers* in possession of Miss Delfina de la Guerra of Santa Barbara. This collection consists of eight hundred and fifty-five personal letters addressed to Captain José de la Guerra by various missionaries and officials. These papers, as far as we know, have never been consulted by writers save Bancroft and ourselves.

The *Bancroft Collection* of manuscripts, now at the University of California, is a veritable mine of most valuable information on the mission as well as secular history of California. It was not nearly exhausted by Bancroft, much less by any one else. In the Collection the historian set up for himself an enduring monument. Notable, apart from the sixty-nine volumes mentioned before, are the additions obtained from the early Californians, such as Mariano Vallejo, Alvarado, the Picos, Antonio Osio, the Bandinis, the Castros, etc., though, as Bancroft observes, "none of them, nor all combined, would be a safe guide in the absence of the original records." (History of California, vol. iv, 762.) This is particularly true when the subject touched are the missions and missionaries. Of far more value are the *Archivo de las Misiones,* or *Papeles Originales,* and the Excerpts from the various mission registers. It would lead us too far to enumerate even the chief authorities which contribute to the value of the Collection. For the student it will be of interest to learn that under the intelligent supervision of Curator Frederick J. Teggart the most interesting documents are being translated and printed in pamphlet form. For the sharp practices employed by Bancroft in gathering this material, and the abuse he heaps upon those who dared to hesitate, we refer to his own statements in the *Literary Industries,* notably to pages 495-496. In this work and more so in the *Pastoral* and the *Essays,* Bancroft depicts himself as a close imitator of the cynical, lying and blasphemous Voltaire. He there forgot his own dictum, "It is easy to deride when one can say nothing else." (Essays, p. 125.) The historian himself does not number these three volumes among his historical works. They are "private," works, as Mr. Morris calls them.

Much information regarding expeditions and local affairs may be gleaned from the diaries of various military and naval officers, and especially from the journals of the friars who accompanied such expeditions. As they are included in the several archives mentioned, or have already appeared in print, we need but point out the *Diario* of Captain J. B. Anza and the bulky *Diario* of Fr. Pedro Font, O. F. M. of Querétaro Missionary College. A transcript of the former may be seen in the Bancroft Collection. Of Fr. Font's precious journal we possess a complete and certified typewritten copy of 672 pages. Both diaries describe the expedition overland from Sonora to San Francisco Bay in 1775-1776.

We may include here the *Alvarado Papers,* or Account of the Chief Events in the History of California from 1769 to 1847. This account was drawn up by the ex-governor for his attorney, Theodore H. Hittell. Mr. Hittell kindly allowed us to make copies of them. It is evident that Alvarado shaped the narrative to please his attorney. Hence much of it, like his *Lady of Guadalupe,* is worthless; but there is also much in the account which is corroborated by documentary evidence.

A most valuable historical fountain is *Land Case no. 609,* Joseph S. Alemany vs. the United States, in the office of the United States Land Commissioner. This comprises the depositions made in 1854 by ten prominent Californians, including Fathers José Jimeno, Francisco Sánchez, and Antonio Anzar, concerning the ownership of mission property, and the decision of Land Commissioner Alpheus Felch. Through the courtesy of Mr. Hittell we were permitted to make a transcript, for which we hereby express our cordial thanks. Later a printed copy came into our hands, and now forms part of our collection.

Such are the documentary sources of mission history within reach of the student in California; but there are many other and most important papers at the capital of Mexico. Very little, besides duplicates of the general reports and memorials from the Fathers, may be discovered in Spain, and then probably only at Seville or Madrid. The periodical confiscation of religious houses and their archives have long since done away with historical material accumulated by the friars. Moreover the California missionaries were not given to write letters to the mother country. A vast number of documents, however, is piled up in the government palace in the City of Mexico. At the library of the *Museo Nacional* we in 1905 personally examined four small folio volumes of Spanish manuscripts entitled "Documentos Relativos á las Misiones de Californias," which doubtless belonged to the Missionary College of San Fernando, the mother house of the California Fathers. In addition there were found two octavo volumes by the same name, and one volume entitled "Coleccion y Trasuntos de Varios Escritos, Alegatos, Ynformes, Memoriales, y Cartas." The first collection contains mainly original correspondence of the missionaries in California and of the missionary colleges with the central missionary authorities, that is to say, the provincials, the comisarios, the guardians, etc. The documents clearly came from the central Franciscan archives at Mexico. The two octavo volumes contain copies of similar, and to some extent, the same materials. The "Coleccion y Trasuntos," the nature of whose contents can be gathered from the complete title, was compiled by Fray Raphael Verger, and relates especially to the important period of beginnings in California, 1771-1774. For want of time we could take very few notes; but Dr. Herbert E. Bolton, now Professor of American History at the University of California, Berkeley, had most of the contents transcribed, and then allowed us to copy them. These documents, which Dr. Bolton has since turned over to the University Library, we mean when we quote the *Museo Nacional.*

It is the *Archivo General y Publico* in the government palace, Mexico, however, which is the grand storehouse of historical documents concerning New Spain, which, besides Mexico, includes California, Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas. The idea of founding this archive originated with Viceroy Revilla Gigedo, in 1790, and it was definitely established by the Republic in 1823, having as a nucleus the archives of the Secretaria del Gobierno del Virreynato. Since that time important additions have been made to the collection, through gathering there the records of many old offices and institutions, religious and secular, until it now contains some 35,000 bound volumes of manuscripts and materials enough in bundles (*legajos*) to form many more. Six *ramos,* or sections especially are rich in materials for the history of the missions of the Southwest. These are "Reales Cedulas y Ordenes," of some four hundred volumes; "Correspondencia de los Virreyes," of 244 volumes; "Historia" of over five hundred volumes. "Provincias Internas," of 264 volumes; "Californias," of nearly eighty volumes; "Misiones," of nearly thirty volumes.

The contents of these volumes are for the most part arranged in *expedientes,* an *expediente* being a group of papers relating to a single subject. Contained in the volumes are diaries of exploring expeditions in the Southwest, original *autos* of the founding of missions, presidios, and villas, correspondence of the viceroys with the governors, missionaries, and other provincial authorities, *residencias* of governors, etc. These archives doubtless contain duplicates of all the military and missionary correspondence which passed between California and Mexico, and probably of most of the papers that formed the late *California Archives.* At sight of the endless rows of unindexed folios we despaired. It would require the lifetime of more than one man to ascertain the contents of these manuscripts. As time was pressing, we could take but few notes. Dr. Bolton, however, with several assistants has gone deep into this source of history, and has generously shared the California notes with us. For this we are greatly indebted to him. We quote this fund of information as the *Archivo General,* or, for brevity's sake, *Arch. Gen.*

Among the original works on the California Missions which found their way into print the *Noticias de la Nueva California* by Fr. Francisco Palóu, O. F. M., deserves the first place. Of the author Bancroft says: "There was no man so well qualified by opportunities and ability to write the early history of California as Palóu, and he made excellent use of his advantages. As early as 1773, and probably before that date, he began the accumulation of material by copying original documents and recording events. He continued this labor of preparing careful historical notes down to 1783, devoting to it such time as he could spare from his missionary duties

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at San Francisco." (Bancroft, "History of California," i, 418.)

Of the *Noticias* itself John T. Doyle, who in 1874 published an octavo edition at San Francisco, writes: "The present work was compiled by Fr. Palóu prior to August, 1784, from correspondence, diaries, and other materials. It was designed for the use of his convent of San Fernando, in order, as he says, that the brethren might possess a full record of all that had passed, from which the future historian might select so much as was material and reject the rest. The work remained in manuscript in the library of the convent probably till the time of its destruction; but both convent and library have disappeared before the 'march of improvement.' We owe the preservation of this and other materials of Mexican history to a royal cedula of February 21, 1790, whereby Carlos IV. directed the transcription of a large number of manuscripts illustrating the early colonization and history of the various provinces of his Indian empire for deposit in the archives in Spain. The supervision of this work was confided by Count Revilla Gigedo, the viceroy, to Father Francisco García Figueroa, under whose direction a most valuable compilation was formed. Some of these volumes, however, have disappeared before the 'march of improvement' in that unhappy country. In 1857 the present work, which formed vols. 22 and 23 of the collection, was made use of to furnish materials for the *Folletin* of the *Diario Official* of Mexico, and thus found its way into print." (Introduction to the Doyle edition of Fr. Palóu's *Noticias.*)

An English translation in four volumes of Fr. Palóu's *Noticias* was published with critical notes and twenty-eight additional letters by Professor Herbert E. Bolton in 1926 under the title *Historical Memoirs of New California* at the University of California, Berkeley, California, A sympathetic Introduction by Professor Bolton on sixty-eight pages tells of *Palóu and His Writings.*

Fray Juan Crespi, Missionary Explorer on the Pacific Coast by Professor Herbert E. Bolton, University of California Press, Berkeley, California, 1927. This is a reprint with additional notes of the *Diarios* of the three expeditions accompanied by Fr. Juan Crespi and included in Fr. Palóu's *Noticias.* An Introduction of forty-eight pages again manifests the Professor's ardent desire to render accessible the rich Spanish historical treasures and to give credit to whom credit is due. Five personal letters of Fr. Crespi precede the narratives.

Diário of Fr. Juan Crespi in Fr. Palóu *Noticias,* tomo ii. It describes minutely the expedition under Portola from San Diego to San Francisco Bay and back. After finishing our version we discovered an English translation made by Frank de Thoma for the *Los Angeles Times* in 1898. It omits the narrative of the return trip.

Fr. Palóu's *Relación Histórica de la Vida y Apostolicas Tareas del Venerable Padre Fray Junípero Serra,* etc., is only second in importance to the preceding work with which it covers very much the same ground. It is the life of Fr. Serra, his Superior, former instructor, and life-long friend. "This work," to use Bancroft's review, "Fr. Palóu completed in February, 1785, and carried it to Mexico later in the same year, where it was published in 1787. It was extensively circulated for a book of that epoch, though since considered rare, and it has been practically the source of all that has ever been written on California mission history down to 1784. Very few of modern writers have, however, consulted the original, most contenting themselves with a weak solution of its contents at second hand; hence the numerous errors extant in books, pamphlets, and newspapers. The book was sent to California, where each mission library had a copy. While my researches," Bancroft concludes, "among original manuscript authorities have brought to light a large amount of material not given by Palóu, yet his writings contain a few diaries which I have not found elsewhere. I have sometimes been tempted to entertain a selfish regret that Palóu wrote, or that his writings were ever printed, yet all the same he must be regarded as the best original authority for the earliest period of mission history." ("History of California," i, 418-420.)

Other printed original works touching the Missions and

Missionaries of Upper California, and used by the author, are the following:

Navegación Especulativa y Práctica, by Joseph González Cabrera Bueno, printed at the Franciscan Convent of Our Lady of the Angels, Manila, in 1734. It was this work which the Expedition under Gaspár de Portolá carried along as a guide in the search for the port of Monterey. (Copy in the Santa Barbara Mission Archives.)

Diario of Fr. Junípero Serra printed in "Out West," Los Angeles, 1902, Editor, Charles F. Lummis. It describes the expedition of Portolá from Lower California to San Diego in 1769.

A photostat copy of the original was kindly donated to the *Santa Barbara Mission Archives* by the late Edward Ayer of the *Ayer Collection* in the Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois.

Diario, or Log, of the *San Carlos* by Captain Vicente Vila, edited by Robert Selden Rose, and published at the University of California in July, 1911. It relates the incidents from day to day on the voyage from the Port of La Paz, Lower California, to San Diego in 1768-1769.

Diario of Gaspár de Portolá very briefly describes the expedition in search of Monterey Bay, 1769-1770, edited by Donald Eugene Smith and Frederick J. Teggart of the University of California. University Press, Berkeley, October, 1909. Portolá, save in a few instances, neglects detail.

Diario Histórico of Miguel Costansó, edited by Adolph Van Hemert-Engert and Frederick J. Teggart of the University of California. Published by the University Press, March, 1910. It is a succinct narrative rather than a diary of the expeditions by sea from Lower California to San Diego Bay, and thence by land with Portolá to San Francisco Bay.

Diario del Viage de Tierra of Miguel Costansó, edited by Frederick J. Teggart, Curator of the Academy of Pacific Coast History, Berkeley University, and issued from the University Press, August, 1911. This work is distinct from the preceding account, and a most valuable description of the expedition of Portolá in 1769-1770. It supplements Fr. Crespi's narrative, in that it contains much new matter.

Salida, or Expedition, of Lieutenant Pedro Fages with seven attendants to the Bay of San Francisco in November and December, 1770. Translated and edited by Dr. Herbert Eugene Bolton of the University of California, and published by the University Press, Berkeley, July, 1911.

Documents from the Sutro Collection, published by the Historical Society of Southern California, vol. ii, pt. i, Los Angeles, 1891. This volume comprises nineteen Spanish documents with English translation. Among them are two letters of Fr. Junípero Serra, and the *Diarios* of Fr. Tomás de la Peña and Fr. Juan Crespi which describe the voyage of the *Santiago* to the northwest coast under Juan Pérez in 1774.

Diario á Monterey por El Rio Colorado del Padre Fr. Pedro Font, (O. F. M.), 1777. Diary of the Expedition to Monterey by way of the Rio Colorado of Father Pedro Font (Franciscan), 1777. Certified copy of the original in the John Carter Brown Library under the direction of George Parker Winship, 1908. We hope to see ere long this most precious volume of 672 typewritten pages translated into English with notes such as Professor Bolton added to his edition of Fathers Palóu and Crespi.

Informe, or Report, of Count de Revilla Gigedo, Viceroy of New Spain, Mexico, April 12, 1793. It is one of the clearest, most concise, and reliable narratives on the history of California and the various expeditions to the northwest coast down to 1793. It was reprinted in the "Land of Sunshine," Los Angeles, Charles F. Lummis, Editor, from June to October, 1899.

Diario del Fray Narciso Durán to the Sacramento River in 1817. The Spanish text with English translation was published by C. E. Chapman of the University of California, December, 1911.

Diario y Derrotero, Diary and Itinerary, of Fr. Francisco Hermenegildo Garcés, translated and edited with critical notes by Elliott Coues, New York, 1900. This work is of the utmost importance especially from a geographical and ethnographical point of view. It describes Fr. Garcés's remarkable journey through Arizona and Southern California.

Crónica Seráfica y Apostólica of Fr. Juan Domingo Arricivita, Mexico, 1792. It is the standard authority for the missions in Arizona and on the Colorado River.

Voyage of Discovery by Captain George Vancouver, six volumes, London, 1801. Volumes iii and iv treat of California. The author describes quite fairly the condition of the missionary establishments he visited in 1792-1794.

Voyages and Travels by G. H. Langsdorff during the years 1803-1807, four volumes, London, 1813. The author observed life at the northern missions around the Bay of San Francisco, and was even more favorably impressed than Vancouver, though neither professed the Faith of the missionaries.

Voyage of Discovery by Otto von Kotzebue, three volumes, London, 1821. He visited San Francisco in 1816, saw very little of the mission, but published what he had heard from Mexican officials, which impressed him unfavorably.

Chinigchinich, or Historical Account of the Origin, Customs, and Traditions of the San Juan Capistrano Indians, by Fr. Gerónimo Boscana, written about the year 1820 and published together with Robinson's Life in California, New York, 1846.

History of Upper and Lower California, an account of the climate, soil, natural productions, agriculture, commerce, etc., by Alexander Forbes, London, 1839. This was the first work published in English by a resident of the Pacific Coast. Forbes was an English merchant of Tepic, Sonora. The work is valuable on the topics indicated by its subtitle. Of the task and aims of an Indian missionary he had no conception; in places he is very bigoted. See below Mofras's opinion of him.

Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific and Behring's Strait by Captain Fred. William Beechey, London, 1831. Two volumes. Beechey visited California in 1826. Concerning the missions, as in the case of Forbes, allowance must be made for his English training and position. See Mofras below on both authors.

Manifesto á la Republica Mexicana, que hace el General de Brigada José Figueroa, Comandante General y Jefe

Politico de la Alta California. This deals with the Colonization scheme of Hijar and Padrés. The little book of 183 pages was printed on the only press existing in California by Agustin V. Zamorano at Monterey in 1835.

Exposicion Dirigida á la Camara de Diputados del Congreso, Mexico, 1831, por Don Carlos Antonio Carrillo Diputado por la Alta California. This is the speech of Deputy Carlos Antonio Carrillo of Santa Barbara concerning the Pious Fund.

Documentos Relativos Al Piadoso Fondo De Misiones. Published at Mexico by Juan Rodriguez de San Miguel in 1845.

Life in California by Alfred Robinson. New York, 1846. The author's judgment was swayed by his business interests, as may be seen from his dealing with Fr. Ibarra of San Fernando. It is of more value for the Local History.

History of Oregon, California, and the North Pacific Coast by Robert Greenhow. Boston. Fourth Edition, 1847. This work is rather a history of all the expeditions along the Pacific Coast, on which it is an authority. There is little California history in the book.

Exploration du Territoire de L'Oregon, des Californies, et de la Mar Vermeille, etc., par M. Duflot de Mofras. Two volumes. Paris, 1844. Mofras visited California in 1841. His work is the most complete and trustworthy description of the California missions published in the early days. Only on the subject of mission wealth he was led astray by the Californians. His account will be extensively utilized with corrections in the Local Annals. Interesting is Mofras's judgment of Beechey and Forbes. "Captain Beechey and Mr. Forbes," he writes, "full of English conceit, and imbued with the intolerant spirit of Protestantism, endeavored to cast ridicule and blame upon the labors of the missionaries. The facts, however, give them the lie. *Les faits cependant leur donnent un eclatanti dementi.*" Vol. I, 276-277. The same may be said of a few others who have essayed to write history on California.

Historia de Mexico by Don Lucas Alaman. Five volumes. Mexico, 1849-1852. This history describes the period beginning with the year 1808 and ending with 1852. Alaman was a cabinet minister in one of the few conservative administrations of Mexico. He is excellent authority.

Land Case of Hart vs. Burnett, and the Decision of the Supreme Court of California. San Francisco, 1859, 1860. Laws of the Indies are quoted; it has also many historical and legal notes relating to the mission lands.

Colonial History of the City of San Francisco by John W. Dwinelle. San Francisco, 1866. This work is more than a local account. According to Bancroft ("History of California," iii, 708), "it is the most extensive and satisfactory treatise on the subject." It is documentary throughout.

Historia del Apostolico Colegio de N. Señora de Guadalupe de Zacatecas by Rev. José Francisco Sotomayor. Zacatecas, 1874. The book contains much matter regarding the Zacatecan Franciscans who came to California in 1833 at the request of the Mexican Government.

Foreign Relations of the United States. Appendix II, 1902. Washington, 1903. This publication gives the history of the Pious Fund and the proceedings before the Arbitration Court at The Hague.

Handbook of American Indians by Frederick Webb Hodge. Bulletin 30. Parts I & II. Washington, 1907-1910. Very valuable for the student of Indianology, upon which subject Mr. Hodge is an authority of national repute.

Politica Indiana by Don Juan de Solórzano y Pereyra. Two large folio volumes. Madrid, 1776. A standard authority on all questions pertaining to the Church, the Indians, and Laws in the Spanish dominions or colonies.

Gobierno de los Regulares by Fr. Pedro Joseph Parras, O. F. M. Two small quarto volumes. Madrid, 1783. It describes the status of the religious and missionaries in the Spanish dominions. Parras is an ardent defender of the rights of the Spanish kings on the question of the Regio Patronato.

Diccionario Razonado de Legislacion y Jurisprudencia by Don Joaquin Escriche. Standard author on questions of law in the Spanish dominions. Madrid, 1873.

University of California Publications, American Archae-

ology and Ethnology. Here is a mine of knowledge concerning the California Indians which is based upon personal investigation. It is pleasant to note the honest effort of the authors to be fair in their statements touching the missionaries. We refer as an instance to page 45, vol. vi, no. 1, "Ethno-Geography of the Pomo Indian and Neighboring Indians," by S. A. Barrett, and to Professor A. L. Kroeber's monographs in volumes 4 and 8. We should expect nothing less from University Professors who are supposed to speak apodictically on any subject only after they have sifted it to the bottom so that there be no room for reasonable doubt.

Academy of Pacific Coast History, University of California, Frederick J. Teggart, Editor. This academy is composed of professors of the University of California, Berkeley, whose aim it is to publish the original text and the English translation of the most important Spanish documents contained in the Bancroft Collection or the University Library. This undertaking will be a boon for the students of California History. We have already mentioned several of the Academy's publications in the preceding list. From them the reader can judge the nature of the work of the gentlemen who form the Academy. Truth being their sole object, we wish them every success. The missions and missionaries of California can only gain in esteem by anything that is presented fairly.

It would be unjust to omit here the name of the collector of the Spanish manuscripts which we designate as *Archbishop's Archives,* Dr. Alexander S. Taylor, who died at Santa Barbara in 1876. He published nothing in book form, nevertheless, to use Bancroft's words, "as an investigator and writer on the ethnography, bibliography, and history of California he deserves particular notice. In these respects he was a remarkable man. Without having any special aptitude by nature or education for such work, he developed a fondness for it almost amounting to a mania." His writings from about 1853 for the *San Francisco Herald, Bulletin, California Farmer, Hutching's Magazine, Hesperian, Sacramento Union,* and other papers were very voluminous. The most extensive and the most valuable of his works is the *Indianology of California,* published in *California Farmer* of 1860-1863. The *Historical*

Summary of Lower California from its discovery in 1532 to 1867, filling sixty-two pages in J. Ross Browne's *Settlement and Exploration of Lower California* (San Francisco, 1869), is also a meritorious effort of Dr. Taylor. His *Bibliographia Californica* is less valuable by reason of his utter lack of facilities, though it shows indefatigable research. It was published in the *Sacramento Union*, June, 1863, and supplements, or Addenda, appeared in the same paper, March, 1866. About one thousand works were named of which, however, only one-half touch Upper California. A collection of his printed articles was delivered by the author to the Mission College of Santa Barbara in payment for tuition for one of his boys, for Dr. Taylor possessed no means. We join Bancroft in saying, "All honor to such men as Taylor, who have toiled under more or less unfavorable auspices to save from destruction the data for our history." ("History of California," V, 743-744.)

History of the Catholic Church in California by Rev. William Gleeson. Two volumes. San Francisco, 1871. This work seems to comprise the lectures delivered by the author when professor of history at the seminary in San Francisco. He follows the old Jesuit and Franciscan writers on the subject as far as it pertains to California. Father Palóu's "Noticias" had not yet been published by Doyle, otherwise many of the statements would have been more accurate. Nevertheless, says Bancroft ("California," i, 43), "he has given us a pleasing and tolerably accurate picture of mission life and annals." The archives enumerated seem to have been unknown to this industrious writer.

In this connection we may mention original works of another character published by John Gilmary Shea's Library of American Linguistics, VII and VIII. The first is the *Vocabulario de la Lengua de los Naturales de la Mision de San Antonio* by Fr. Buenaventura Sitjar of Mission San Antonio. New York, 1861. The manuscript is chiefly in the handwriting of Fr. Sitjar, who died at Mission San Antonio, September 3, 1808, and contains 442 pages. More about this dictionary of the Indian language will be found in the Local Annals of Mission San Antonio.

The other effort in the same line is the *Alphabeticus Rivulus* Obeundus, Exprimationum (?) Causa Horum Indorum Mutsun Missionis Sancti Joannis Baptistae, exquisitarum a Fr. Philippo ab Arroyo de la Cuesta. Año de 1815. This vocabulary, like the preceding work, was forwarded to the Smithsonian Institute by Alexander S. Taylor of Santa Barbara, edited by Shea and published at New York in 1862. It contains 2881 Indian phrases with Spanish translation in alphabetical order. The introduction is in Latin.

History of California by Theodore H. Hittell. Four volumes. San Francisco, 1885-1897. The author, a lawyer by profession and the attorney for J. B. Alvarado, spent two years taking notes from the *California Archives.* The *Archbishop's Archives,* the *Santa Barbara Archives,* and other documentary sources were unknown to him, but he follows the old Franciscan and Jesuit works, which appeared in print. He might have produced a good history of the missions by the aid of his authorities alone. Unfortunately, he uses his sources after the manner of an unscrupulous attorney for a bad case. He suppresses what would hurt his side or favor the opponents, and reads into the rest with few exceptions his own hostile notions. It did not strike him that a reputable historian must assume the role of judge who dare not be partial save in so far as he must assume the accused to be innocent until he is proved guilty. Furthermore, Hittell accepted the statements of his client Alvarado and associates at their face value, whereas, as Bancroft points out, they are worthless unless corroborated by documentary evidence. The facts frequently give the lie to said statements. Hence it is that Hittell's History, as far as the missions and missionaries are concerned, must be said to be brutally unjust, as will appear in the course of the narrative.

José de Galvez by Dr. Herbert I. Priestley. Berkeley, 1916. A very complete and fair description of Galvez and his activities in Mexico and Lower California.

We now reach the last, and still rich storehouse for the general history of California. This is the *History of California* by Hubert Howe Bancroft. Seven volumes. San Francisco, 1886-1890. We frankly agree with Mr. William Alfred

Morris, when he writes in the Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society (vol. iv, December, 1903, pp. 338-339), that "in spite of all criticisms which may be passed upon the Bancroft histories" (including the Native Races and the twenty-one histories on other parts of America), "they contain a great fund of information which is nowhere else to be found in print." However, it must be observed here that the twenty-eight volumes of history, the five books on the Native Races, and the half-dozen volumes of sketches and essays, in all thirty-nine octavo books, are not, as Mr. Morris points out, the works of the man who claims to be their author. At most he was the managing editor. "For any one man to assert authorship of the Bancroft series of histories would be preposterous. According to actual computation, the mere work of arranging the material and writing the History of the Pacific States, after a small army of note-takers had concluded their operations, represent an equivalent to the labors of one man for a hundred years." (Quarterly, 292-293.) "The fact is that three persons besides himself wrote the History of California, and that he was in reality the author of but sixty pages in the entire seven volumes of that set." (294) "Bancroft wrote but two hundred and seventy out of the four thousand pages in the Native Races." (301.)

"Turning to the consideration of the individual field of writing," says Morris (354), "we find that of the twenty-eight volumes of history proper, Bancroft is to be credited with four, no one entire, Oak with seven and a half, Nemos five, no one entire, Mrs. Victor a little less than five, Savage over three, Peatfield one and a half principally in small parts, and Bates one and a fourth. This would allow him a half volume of interpolations in the twenty-four and a half volumes done by others. Griffin, Petroff, Kuhn, and a man named Rasmus were the authors of fragments." Yet "not only was the myth of Mr. Bancroft's authorship repeated on the title page of each volume of the history, but not a word was printed to show that any one else wrote the least part of the work. When asked to indicate in the preface the part done by each person, according to the evidence of a number of his writers, he always declared that this was just the one thing he wished to avoid." (341) "We can only regret," Mr. Morris concludes his able exposure of Bancroft's selfish methods, "that we cannot point out all parts of the work done by each, and that we cannot show in detail the extent of Mr. Bancroft's editorial alterations of their work. This latter feature, inherent in the Bancroft plan of writing history, is its greatest weakness, since it of necessity involves some uncertainty as to whether the words we are reading are those of the author who wrote the volume, or the interpretation of Mr. Bancroft. . . . The somewhat rough estimate given of the number of volumes written by the respective writers indicates that Mr. Bancroft's revisions constitute about one page in fifty of the work in the fields assigned to his assistants."

It is therefore next to impossible to say who should be blamed for the numerous objectionable statements in the Bancroft series of histories. The volume on Arizona and New Mexico, which is the work of Oak alone (Quarterly, 349), is singularly free from hostile remarks and flings. Taking into consideration the last three of the thirty-nine volumes that pass under the name of Bancroft, and which reflect Bancroft's mind inasmuch as he wrote most of their contents, though these "private volumes were subjected to criticism, revision, and retouching by the best literary talent which the library afforded" (356), we may fairly conclude that the unhistorical and objectionable parts concerning the missions and missionaries are due to Bancroft's animosity and unscrupulousness. At any rate, the scribes knew the animus of their employer and guided their pens accordingly, as far as they dared. Since Bancroft insists on receiving credit for the authorship of the books that were published under his name, he must take the responsibility for the misstatements found therein regarding the missions, and which it is our duty to point out in their places. One such slander it is sufficient to allude to as originating with Bancroft, for it is found in his *Pastoral* (161), which teems with similar stuff. "Twelve children crowned the joys of happy Father Gabriel, missionary president of the two Californias, in the year of our Lord 1819—so it is said, and a wise father, he." For his monstrous charge Bancroft offers no authority. Only one missionary ever bore the name Gabriel in either Lower or Upper California. He was Fr. Gabriel Gonzalez, a Dominican, who did not reach Lower California from Mexico till the year 1826, seven years after Bancroft's date. Fr. Gabriel Gonzalez was not appointed Presidente or Superior of the Dominicans till the year 1840.

Furthermore, the Franciscans had entirely withdrawn from the peninsula before the end of 1773. The Dominicans then and thereafter were governed by their own Superiors, as was the case with the Franciscans in Upper California. Hence it is absurd to claim that the two Californias had one and the same missionary presidente or Superior in 1819 or at any other time. Enough of this. Bancroft's own selfishness, mendacity and commercialism has brought such discredit upon his works that the thirty-nine volumes bound in leather, in perfect condition (at first sold for $5.00 per copy), may be had from dealers for so many dollars! Our set new cost $35.00. For more on Bancroft's mendacity see our vol. i, App. K & P.

Our list of authorities is not as long as Bancroft's. One reason is, we have named only the original sources concerning the missions of Upper California. The other reason is, we are not given to hoodwinking the public. Bancroft in his long list enumerates over a thousand separate manuscript documents as if they were so many authorities distinct from those in the three principal archives. Of these more than one hundred and forty are credited to Franciscan friars. That array looks imposing, and such was the historian's intention. All such documents we credit to the archives where they are to be found.

In concluding the enumeration of our sources and authorities, we beg leave to affirm that it was our endeavor to be fair to them all, and that we have given the credit due.

In confirmation of this claim we take the liberty to quote a competent judge of historical matters, the Rt. Rev. Monsignor Joseph W. Gleason of Oakland, California. Addressing us under date of June 12, 1912, on the appearance of the first edition of the present volume, the Monsignor wrote as follows: "Dear Father Engelhardt, As an enthusiastic student of California history for over twenty years, I write to offer you my sincerest congratulations on your second volume. Your Introduction particularly appealed to me with its concise and just summaries of the sources and the appreciation of later writers. Your appraisal of Bancroft is a model of just credit and condemnation, in fact the best thing I have seen in this line, as he is generally given either fulsome praise or absolute denunciation.

"I was particularly pleased to read your tribute to Alexander Taylor, perhaps the most indefatigable individual worker in the days when such work was not yet appreciated. Then, too, I was glad to read *Appendix I* in criticism of La Perouse, a thing that needs constant repetition in view of the fact that the English translation is constantly in demand.

"Your acknowledgments to Prof. Bolton are grateful. He is a sympathetic scholar and a gentleman, and he knows the documentary history of the Southwest as no other man in the United States."

Bancroft himself, in securing a copy of our *Franciscans in California,* as far back as the year 1897, volunteered this short note to us: "I see that my works have been of use to you, and that you have given me full credit."

Both Bancroft and Hittell were still alive when the first edition of this second volume appeared in 1912 with its strictures of their works, but neither challenged our judgment.

Correct illustrations greatly assist the reader to understand the situations described in a narrative. We have, therefore, endeavored to procure the earliest views of the missions obtainable, and original drawings have been added in order to depict life at the missionary establishments during the mission period. Naturally not all such representations will appeal to artistic taste; but to approach as nearly as possible to the reality appeared preferable to mere embellishment.

We have also taken pains to secure the portraits of the early missionaries; but in this we failed. In those days the art of photography had not yet been discovered. Only eight pictures exist which are said to represent as many Fathers. These friars are Serra, Boscana, Peiri, Durán, Ánzar, Bishop Diego, and Fr. González Rúbio. The latter's portrait, which is said to be a good likeness, is an oil-painting preserved at Santa Barbara Mission. Bishop Diego's portrait was painted by one who was not a first-class artist. It is reproduced by

Shea and some other authors. We have brought from the College of Guadalupe, Zacatecas, a copy of a crayon portrait which must have ben made soon after the bishop's consecration in 1840. This with Fr. Rúbio's likeness will be reproduced in a subsequent volume. Fr. Antonio Ánzar was stationed at San Juan Bautista until the end of 1854. He sat for a daguerreotype which is now in the possession of the Ánzar family. The picture will be reproduced later. The portrait of Fr. Narciso Durán as found in Mofras and Gleeson is hardly like the famous presidente of the Fernandinos at the time of the confiscation, if we may believe those who knew him personally. The portraits of Fr. Peiri in Forbes's "California" and of Fr. Boscana in Robinson's "Life in California" are said to be faithful likenesses. They were probably drawn by contemporary artists.

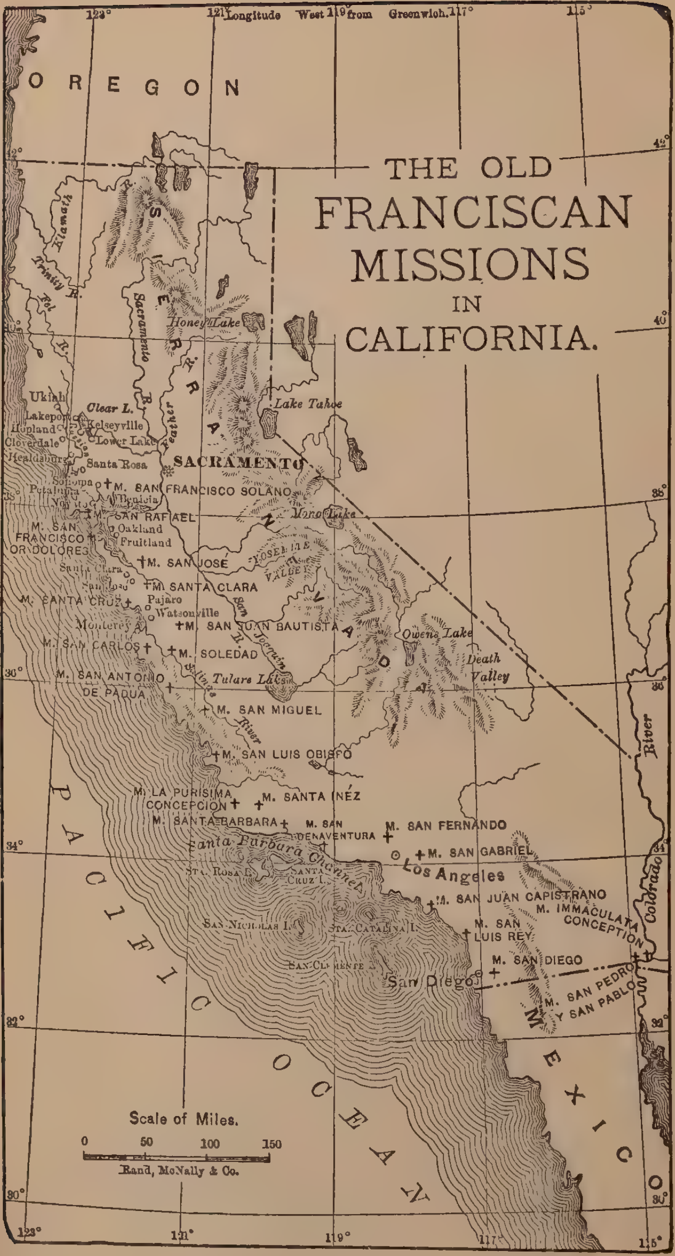
The picture generally circulated as Fr. Junípero Serra's likeness is the fanciful production of an artist in Mexico after the death of the venerable mission founder. The figure is one of a group representing Fr. Serra receiving the Holy Viaticum. We reproduce it with much reluctance merely to show where the so-called likeness originated; for the artist has the persons posing in a way which is impossible with reverent Catholics, in that all face the beholder instead of the altar. It is plain the author wanted to immortalize certain faces which are all probably true to life except that of the chief person in the scene. The priest in robes is most probably a true picture of Fr. Serra's biographer, Fr. Francisco Palóu. We have brought from Mexico, and reproduced in the first volume, what Dr. Nicolás León, then of the Museo Nacional at the capital, assured us is a true likeness of Fr. Junípero Serra. It is the photograph of an oil-painting which formerly belonged to the College of San Fernando in the City of Mexico. Fr. Serra probably sat for it during his visit to the capital in 1773. The painting has since disappeared. Fr. Palóu's portrait, found in the first volume of this work, was simply taken out of the group mentioned before.

Having enumerated our sources and authorities, we now proceed with no little trepidation to present a full account, in chronological order as far as possible, of the Franciscan Missions of Upper California.

SECTION I.

FR. JUNIPERO SERRA, PRESIDENTE.

(1768-1784)



THE OLD FRANCISCAN MISSIONS IN CALIFORNIA.

CHAPTER I.

Object of the Conquest.—Gálvez's Activity.—Purpose and Nature of the Expeditions.—Fr. Serra Blesses the *San Carlos*.—She Sails for the North.—The *San Antonio* Follows and Reaches San Diego.—Disastrous Voyage of the *San Carlos*.—Epidemic of Scurvy.—The Indians.—Arrival of the Land Expeditions.—Departure of the *San Antonio*.

THE northwest coast of America, as we have seen in the preceding volume, was discovered by Spanish navigators; but, though Spain regarded those countries as a part of her dominion, she for more than one hundred and sixty years after Sebastian Vizcáino entered the ports of San Diego and Monterey neglected to establish her authority in the territory claimed by right of discovery. Spanish trading vessels, on their way from Manila to Acapulco, Mexico, would indeed sail down the California coast from the vicinity of Cape Mendocino, but they found no harbor of refuge for their scurvy-stricken crews, nor protection against privateers.

At times the Spanish Government manifested some concern for the safety of her western possessions, but it was not until the beginning of the year 1768 that the king realized the danger threatening his sovereignty on the Pacific Ocean. Marquis de Grimaldi, Minister of Foreign Affairs, then wrote to Viceroy de Croix of New Spain: "The Russians have at different times made various efforts to open communication with America, and they have at last succeeded by entering the South Sea from the north. . . . The king has commanded me to inform Your Excellency so that you may instruct the governor appointed for California,[1] and give him your orders concerning the vigilance and care which he must exercise in order to observe the attempts which the Russians might make, frustrating them as much as possible, and giving to Your Excellency prompt notice of everything for the information of His Majesty."[2] De Croix on April 30th sent

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[1] Gaspar de Portolá, who arrived on the peninsula late in 1767. See vol. i for his autograph, page 406.

[2] Grimaldi to De Croix, El Prado, Spain, January 23, 1768. *Archivo General y Publico,* Mexico, tom. 92, No. 35, fol. 58.

Grimaldi's order to Inspector-General Joseph de Galvez, who had left the Capital on April 9th. Galvez replied from San Blas on May 20th that he was complying with orders to reach Monterey.[3]

At San Blas he took counsel with the commandant and officers of the department. After he had obtained the views of the pilots he resolved to take possession of the ports of San Diego and Monterey, to establish a presidio at each harbor as the best means against foreign invasion. The two largest and strongest vessels available, the barks *San Carlos* and *San Antonio,* were selected to forward the necessary forces and supplies. Gálvez also decided to send out an expedition by land. Like the sea expedition it was to consist of two divisions. All were to unite at San Diego and thence to proceed in search of Monterey. The king approved these measures as well as the viceroy's order prohibiting foreigners to make surveys on the coast of New Spain.[4] After a long period of apathy the Spanish Government was becoming active.

However, the experience of two centuries in Lower California had demonstrated that, while soldiers might defend the country against foreign enemies, they could not transform savages into loyal subjects. Gálvez therefore invited Fr. Junípero Serra, the Superior of the Franciscans in Lower California, to undertake the conversion to Christianity of all the Indians living in the regions to be secured for the Crown of Spain. This was a task which forcibly appealed to the ardent zeal of Fr. Serra. Without awaiting the approval of the College of San Fernando, which Gálvez probably insisted was not necessary, he enthusiastically agreed to the proposition, and moreover resolved to lead a band of missionaries to the north himself.[5]

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[3] De Croix to Julián de Arriaga, May 28, 1768. *Arch. Gen.,* tom. 2/12, No. 447, fol. 193. See also Revilla Gigedo, *Informe,* Nos. 10-15, Priestley, *José de Galvez,* 246.

[4] Arriaga to De Croix, San Lorenzo, Spain, October, 18; Madrid, December 22, 1768. *Arch. Gen.,* tom. 93, No. 91, fol. 163; No. 131, fol. 242; Costansó, *Diario Histórico;* Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. ii, Introducción, 5-6; *Vida,* cap. xiii. See vol. i, 370-372.

[5] Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. ii, 5-6; *Vida,* cap. xiii, 57-58. See vol. i, 435.

The truth, is, Gálvez wished to have it appear that the chief motive for the conquest and occupation of the new territory was religious. In his instructions to the captain of the *San Carlos* the inspector-general says: *"The object is to establish the Catholic Faith,* to extend the Spanish domain, to check the ambitious schemes of a foreign nation, and to carry out a plan formed by Felipe III. as early as 1606. Hence no pains can be spared *without offense to God,* the king, and the country."[6] In subsequent addresses also Don Joseph de Gálvez stresses the religious character of the enterprise.[7] Unfortunately for the inspector's claims there is official proof that, instead of going to any expense for the sake of Religion in California, the Spanish Government drew upon the Pious Fund to pay the cost of the expeditions.[8]

The missionaries, who generously offered to undergo any hardship in order to convert the Indians, appear to have been enlisted merely for the purpose of securing the territory for the Spanish king; but their expenses were not paid by the Spanish monarch. The seizure and control of the Pious Fund, which in no way concerned the government, since it was donated for purely missionary purposes; the parsimony with which the government from this fund doled out a pittance to the missionaries[9] lest the royal treasury might be called upon to supply what was wanting; the fact that no provisions were made from the government treasury to aid the friars in their heroic efforts to win the savages and secure the peace of the land, but that the old missions were forced to contribute from their scant means to the founding of new missions;[10] and the further fact that no expenses were incurred save for political objects: all this proves that the Spanish Government would not have sent ships and troops to the northwest if the Russians had not crept down the Pacific coast. The men who presumed to guide the destinies of Spain, down to the year 1821, cared naught for the success of Religion or the welfare of its ministers, except in so far as both could be used to promote political schemes. Failing in that there would be a conflict. It is necessary to make this matter clear at the outset, lest the reader misapprehend the position of the Franciscans and the difficulties under which they labored in California throughout the mission period.

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[6] "Debe considerar en primer lugar que esta expedicion se emprenda y dirige á establecer la Religion Catolica; á extender la dominacion del rey, y poner esta peninsula á cubierto de las ambiciosas tentativas de una nacion extrajera; el honor Español en el exito feliz de una empresa que desde el año 1606 la mandó poner en execucion el Sr. Felipe Tercero. Desistir de ellos (santos fines) seria cargo de malas resultas por ofensivo á Dios, al Rey, y á la Patria." Gálvez to Vila, *Instruccion,* January 5, 1769. *Cal. Arch., Prov. St. Pap.* i, 28-37.

[7] *La Santa Expedición* Gálvez calls it in a letter to Fr. Palóu, dated January 9, 1769. *Museo Nacional.* Quarto i.

[8] This amazing transaction will be ventilated in Appendix B.

[9] Gálvez proposed to leave only one friar at each mission in Lower California in order to obtain more funds for the Upper California missions. "Que en las ya establecidas bastará con un ministro en obsequio de que haya mas fondos con que avanzar la conquista." Gálvez to Fr. Serra, October 10, 1768. *Museo Nacional,* Qto. i.

Nevertheless, it must be acknowledged that Gálvez displayed much piety of a certain kind, and real interest in the prosperity of the missions to be established, always careful, however, lest the royal treasury be burdened in the least. He not only placed the whole undertaking, and the expeditions by sea in particular, under the protection of his own patron, St. Joseph,[11] but sent to Fr. Serra the following instruction which is remarkable in that it originated with a politician: "It is but just that each religious should invoke the protection of his own patron saints, and particularly the numerous and great saints of the seraphic family of our holy Father San Francisco. We see to this day that the ancient discoverers for that reason, as though in happy prophesy, applied the names of some of them to the principal places on the coast below and above Monterey. They called San Diego the port where now one of the new missions is to be located; this appellation must not be changed. To another famous port, situated in thirty-eight and one-half degrees, they assigned the name of the glorious Patriarch San Francisco.[12] Nor must we alter this appropriate title;

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[10] See vol i, section iii, capp. IV, V.

[11] See vol. i, 377, for his proclamation to that effect.

[12] The present Drake's Bay. See vol. i, p. 30.

for, after having secured a foothold at Monterey, the first mission beyond shall belong to him; and our great Father, so beloved of God, will facilitate its founding by means of his power or intercession.[13] The intermediate mission[14] shall be called San Buenaventura in order that he defend it. Those that may be established thereafter shall take the names of other saints of the same Order."[15] The inspector even assisted in packing the church goods. In a letter to Fr. Palóu he playfully remarked that he was a better sacristan than Fr. Serra, inasmuch as he had packed up the vestments and other articles for Mission San Buenaventura, which he termed his, more quickly than the Fr. Presidente had done for the latter's Mission of San Carlos, and that he even had to assist him.[16]

As the new missions, like the Franciscan establishments in the Sierra Gorda, Mexico, with which Viceroy De Croix had expressed himself highly pleased,[17] were to be agricultural and stock-raising communities as well, Gálvez ordered all kinds of garden and field implements aboard the ship, besides various seeds and grains; for he rightly believed that the soil in the upper country would prove more fertile than that of Old or Lower California. He then ordered the northern missions of the peninsula to contribute altogether two hundred head of cattle for breeding purposes and for food in case of necessity. These went along with the land expedition.[18]

According to Gálvez's directions, Constansó tells us, "the packets *San Carlos* and *San Antonio*[19] were to touch at the Port of La Paz in Southern California, and to sail from there with the troops, tools and provisions for the new settlements of San Diego and Monterey. The *San Carlos* arrived in the middle of December. As it had labored heavily at sea, and had to battle with the winds which had loosened its timbers, some of the oakum had worked from the seams so as to cause a leak. As this was not a matter to be neglected, it was deemed necessary to careen the ship in order to lay bare the side and keel. This was an operation which had its difficulties in a country more or less destitute of everything necessary for the purpose. Nevertheless, the work was accomplished, Gálvez urging it on by his presence and example, so that in less than fifteen days the vessel had received its whole cargo and was ready to sail.[20]

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[13] Á otro famoso puerto, situado á la altura de treinta y ocho grados y medio, dieron el del glorioso patriarca San Francisco, y no debemos mudar tan conveniente título, pues sentado el pie en Monterey, ha de ser la primera misión que se siga, y nro. gran Padre, como tan querido de Dios, facilitará el establecimiento mediante de su poder ó su intercesión."

[14] Between San Diego and Monterey.

[15] Gálvez to Fr. Serra, Santa Ana, September 15, 1768. *Museo Nacional,* Qto. i.

[16] Palóu, *Vida,* cap. xiii, 58-59. See vol. i, 376.

[17] See vol i, 438-439.

[18] See vol. i, 374, 381, 430. Everything was paid from the Pious Fund, or contributed by the older missions.

[19] Also called *El Príncipe.*

Fr. Serra then boarded the ship for the religious ceremonies. "On the sixth day of January of this same year 1769," he writes,[21] "finding myself in the port of La Paz with His Excellency, the Inspector, I blessed the packetboat named *San Carlos,* sang the Mass aboard her, and blessed the flags. Then the Litany of Our Lady and other devotions were sung. Finally His Excellency made a fervent address which kindled the hearts of those who were to go in that ship to said ports of San Diego and Monterey.[22] He told them that theirs was a glorious task, inasmuch as they were going to plant the standard of the holy Cross among the heathens. In the name of God, of the king and of the viceroy he then charged them to respect the missionaries, and to maintain peace and harmony among themselves." [23] "All embarked on the 9th,[24] at night," Fr. Serra tells us, "and on the 10th set sail. The commander determined upon for the expedition by sea was Don Vicente Vila, famed as a pilot on the seas of Europe. Don Miguel Costansó went as engineer;[25] and the chief of the troops of twenty-five Catalonian Volunteers was Lieutenant Pedro Fages.[26] As chaplain for the expedition and missionary for one of the missions I appointed Fr. Fernando Parrón, who had been my companion at Loreto since we arrived in California. All joyfully sailed away on the said 10th of January." [27]

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[20] Costansó, *Diario Histórico.*

[21] Fr. Serra, *Diario.*

[22] "And I preached worse than all of them," Gálvez humorously writes to Fr. Palóu, January 9, 1769. "Predico luego el peor de todos." *Museo Nacional,* Qto. i.

[23] Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. ii, 13-14.

[24] On the morning of January 9th all who were to sail made their confession, received holy Communion, and assisted at holy Mass, as Fr. Palóu reports in *Noticias,* tom. ii, cap. i, p. 12. Vila in his *Diario* says that he weighed anchor at midnight, Monday, January 9th.

Gálvez, regretting that he could not join the expedition in order to plant the cross at Monterey with his own hands,[28] in the *Concepción* accompanied the *San Carlos* as far as Bay San Bernabé, near Cape San Lucas, where both vessels dropped anchor on the 14th. The distance might have been made by the outgoing packetboat in two days, the inspector writes to Fr. Serra, for though she used her topsails only, the *Concepción* under full sail could scarcely follow in her wake. "This shows," the inspector continues, "that those, who objected to the *San Carlos* as unseaworthy, were in error. I made her stay here on the 15th to take in fresh water, and that night I made her sail out into the South Sea for her destination. From a lofty hill on the cape, however, she was seen battling with contrary winds until the 20th of January, when the wind began to blow from the east and southeast and carried her out of sight. May the Lord guide her prosperously; for the undertaking is altogether His." [29]

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[25] "Debo ir á ella expedición en calidad de ingeniero, y con el fin de formar allá el establecimiento proyectado, levantar los planos y mapas de los puertos y terrenos que oportunamente se reconozcan." Costansó to the viceroy, La Paz, January 4, 1769. *Arch. Gen.*, 66.

[26] Surgeon Pedro Prat also went along. Palóu, *Vida* and *Noticias,* ut supra; Costansó, *Diario Histórico.* There were in all sixty-two persons. Bancroft, i, 128.

[27] Fr. Serra, *Diario,* Nota I; Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. ii, cap. i; *Vida,* cap. xiii; Gálvez to Fr. Serra, October 7, December 28, 1768; Gálvez to Fr. Palóu, January 9, 1769. *Museo Nacional,* Qto. i.

[28] Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. ii, cap. i, 13-14; *Vida,* cap. xiii, 61.

[29] "Condúzcalo el Señor prosperamente, pues la empresa es toda suya." Gálvez to Fr. Serra January 26, 1769. *Museo Nacional.* Qto. i. See Appendix B. Costansó, *Diario;* Vila, *Diario,* says that on Sunday, January 15th, "His Excellency came on board with his staff and the crew of the 'Concepcíon.' He heard holy Mass and took leave of every one."

The *San Antonio* appeared in the Bay of San Bernabé on January 25th, and received an overhauling similar to that of the *San Carlos*. When on February 15th she was ready for the voyage, all that were to sail made their confession and received holy Communion during the High Mass which was sung in honor of St. Joseph, the patron of the expedition. Gálvez then exhorted the crew to be mindful of their obligations, and to respect the two Fathers, Fr. Juan Vizcáino and Fr. Francisco Gómez, who would accompany them for their consolation. The captain, Juan Pérez, was directed to wait twenty days at the Port of San Diego for the other vessed and for the land expedition, and then to continue the voyage in search of Monterey. With a Godspeed the *San Antonio* now set sail. "God seems to reward my only virtue, my faith," wrote the pious inspector to Fages; "for all goes well." [30]

Pérez sailed as far as the Santa Bárbara Channel, where near one of the islands he anchored to take in fresh water. The two friars went ashore with the sailors, and were received in the most friendly manner by the wondering savages. The Indians brought fishes to the white strangers, and in turn were delighted with gifts of sundry glass beads and other trinkets. On returning to the ship in the evening, the Fathers noticed that they had left behind a staff surmounted by a cross. They gave it up as lost, but were much pleased to see one of the natives return it next morning. In memory of the little incident the island was called Santa Cruz, a name it still retains.[31]

In obedience to his instructions the captain proceeded northward until he reached thirty-four degrees and forty minutes latitude, when he turned the vessel and closely scanned the coast southward for the desired port. On April 11, 1769, fifty-four days after sailing from San Bernabé, the *San Antonio* at last found herself at anchor in the harbor which Sebastian

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[30] Palóu, *Noticias*, tom. ii, capp. i-ii; *Vida*, cap. xiii, 61-62; Fr. Serra, *Diario*. "Amigos mios. Parece que el Señor para confusion mia quiere premiar infinitamente la unica virtud que tengo, que es mi fe constante, porque todo va lograndose por aca muy completamente y hasta las minas abundan de metales." Gálvez to Fages and Costansó, February 14, 1769. *Cal. Arch., Prov. St. Pap.* i, 57-60.

[31] Palóu, *Noticias*, tom. ii, cap. ii, p. 16.

Vizcáino one hundred and sixty-seven years before had christened San Diego. To the surprise of all the *San Carlos* had not yet arrived. Pérez accordingly settled down to await her appearance whilst his men, only a few of whom were suffering from a mild attack of scurvy, sought diversion on the shore unmolested by the Indians.[32]

Nearly three weeks later, April 29th, the *San Carlos* hove in sight, and dropped her anchor in the bay at about five o'clock in the afternoon. As no boat was lowered, Captain Pérez sent over his launch three hours later. It was then ascertained that every man on board, save Captain Vila, the officers, and Fr. Parrón, was afflicted with scurvy and unable to do any work. The sufferers were taken ashore, where in tents made from sails the sick received all the care possible under the supervision of Dr. Pedro Prat, who seems to have escaped the ravages of the disease. The reason for the long delay in arriving was that heavy storms had driven the *San Carlos* more than two hundred leagues out into the ocean. This circumstance and leaky water casks had brought on a scarcity of fresh water, so that the vessel had to seek refuge at the Cedros Islands off Lower California. The water obtained there proved unwholesome and caused or aggravated the malady from which, by the time the ship entered the port, two men had already died, while the majority of the crew and half of the soldiers found themselves prostrated on their beds. Only four seamen remained on their feet and with the aid of the soldiers did the necessary work; but these, too, were so feeble that they could not lower the boats. Another cause of the protracted delay, says Fr. Serra, was the mistaken notion, under which all, including the inspector-general, labored, that the port of San Diego lay between thirty-three and thirty-four degrees latitude, whereas it lies in thirty-two degrees and forty-four minutes. This had moved Gálvez to order the captains to sail as far as thirty-four degrees and then to stand in shore in search of the port. Thus it was that the *San Carlos* had failed to reach her destination until one hundred and ten days out from La Paz.[33]

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[32] Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. ii, cap. ii, 16-17; Vila in his *Diario,* however, says, "that the *San Antonio* arrived at this port on the 11th of April with half of her crew down with scurvy, of which two men had died." "Arrivó" á este puerto, que fué en once de Abril, con la mitad de su tripulación infestada del escorbuto." Costansó agrees with Vila.

Unfortunately the disease proved infectious. The result was that of the soldiers on board the *San Carlos* thirteen died, and but a few of the sailors survived. Captain Pérez lost all but seven of his crew before the affliction passed away. Fr. Juan Crespi writes that by the 22nd of June twenty-three men had been carried off, that but a few of those alive could stand on their feet, and that only by a miracle most of the sick could escape death.[34] In the end, of about ninety sailors, soldiers, and mechanics on both ships considerably fewer than one-third recovered. None of the officers or missionaries succumbed to the disease, though, as Fr. Serra later remarked, Fr. Parrón was very thin and fatigued. Owing to the illness of the men and the death of so many, whose bodies were interred on the beach, the voyage in search of Monterey had to be postponed.[35]

The first task, on the contrary, was to look for a supply of good water. "For this purpose," Costansó writes, "Lieutenant Pedro Fages, Miguel Costansó, and the second captain of the *San Carlos,* Don Jorge Estorace, with twenty-five of the soldiers and seamen, who were best able to endure the fatigue, set out on May 1st. Going to the west, they observed a band of Indians armed with bows and arrows, whom they hailed by making signs with white cloths; but the savages for more than half an hour would not allow themselves to be overtaken, as our men were weak and, after so long a voyage, had as it were lost the use of their limbs. At last we succeeded in attracting them by sending a soldier towards them, who laying his weapons on the ground and making signs of peace was allowed to approach. While he gave them some presents the other men approached, and removed the fears of the Indians by giving them more gifts of ribbons, glass beads, and other trifles. By means of signs the Spaniards asked for a watering-place, and were shown a grove in the distance to the northeast. Following the Indians, who had offered to lead them, the Spaniards walked for about three leagues until they reached the banks of a river lined on both sides with poplar and cottonwood trees. The bed was about twenty yards wide, and the current came down from some high mountains through a wide cañon. Within a musket-shot from the river they discovered a town or village of the same Indians who were guiding our men. It was composed of various huts of pyramidal shape made of branches and covered with earth. As soon as they saw us, men, women and children came out to invite us to their houses. The village was composed of about thirty or forty families. On one side of it there was observed an enclosure made of boughs and trunks of trees. Within this, they explained, they took refuge against attacks from their enemies. After examining the watering-place, the Spaniards returned to their ships.

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[33] Fr. Serra to Fr. Palóu, July 3, 1769, in *Vida,* cap. xvi; Costansó, *Diario;* Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. ii, cap. iii; Vila, *Diario.*

[34] Fr. Crespi to Fr. Guardian Andrés, June 22, 1769. *Museo Nacional,* Qto. i.

[35] Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. ii., cap. iii; Fr. Crespi, *Diario,* ibi, 92-93; *Vida,* cap. xvi.

"Close to the beach, on the east side of the port, a small enclosure was now built with a parapet of earth and brushwood, and mounted with two cannon. The sick were housed in tents as comfortable as possible. The measures taken, however, were not sufficient to restore their health; for medicines and fresh food were wanting. Surgeon Pedro Prat endeavored to supply this want by means of herbs which he sought and gathered with great hardship; but he himself needed them as much as his patients, for he was prostrated by the same disease from which they were suffering. In the shelters erected the cold was felt severely at night, and the sun by day. As a consequence, every day two or three of the sick died, so that the whole expedition, which had been composed of more than ninety men, was reduced to only eight soldiers and as many sailors who were in condition to guard the ships, manage the launches, protect the camp, and wait on the sick." [36]

Meanwhile the first land expedition consisting of twenty-five leather-jacket soldiers, fourteen Christian Indians from Lower California, and three muleteers, under the command of Captain

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[36] Costansó, *Diario*. The account, needless to say, is very much abbreviated.

Fernando Rivera y Moncada, accompanied by Fr. Juan Crespi and Engineer José Cañizares, had come up from the Peninsula, and on May 13th camped within a few leagues of the port of San Diego. Heavy rains fell during the following night and drenched the travelers thoroughly. Next morning, Pentecost Sunday, owing to the wet condition of the ground, the lack of shelter, and a numerous band of hostile Indians armed with bows and arrows, Fr. Crespi was unable to celebrate the customary Sunday Mass. When at about ten o'clock the sky had somewhat cleared, Rivera commanded the march to be resumed in order to reach the port before nightfall. The masts of a ship had been espied on the previous day; the explorers were therefore certain of a friendly welcome. No sooner had Rivera's company on May 14th appeared in sight of the ships in the harbor, than "they exchanged joyful salutes with their firearms, and in every way manifested delight, which was as great on one side as on the other, as all hoped to find mutual relief from their necessities. The land expedition arrived without the loss of a single man on the march which had lasted fifty-two days, during which they had covered one hundred and twenty-eight leagues from the starting point, Mission San Fernando de Velicatá, though the men were on half rations when they reached the camp.[37]

While awaiting the arrival of the main division under Governor Gaspar de Portolá, Fr. Crespi with Lieutenant Fages and seven or eight soldiers on June 21st made a trip up the river. Miguel Costansó accompanied them as guide. Fr. Crespi's account of the Indians and country agrees with Costansó's, but he adds some features which it is worth while to reproduce. After going up three leagues, Fr. Crespi says, they found the bed generally dry, but the land on both sides well covered with timber. "The pagan population," he continues, "is very numerous; but the soil is the most sterile we have seen. It very much lacks food for the poor heathens; nay, the daily food of the wretched people who occupy this country is the maguey plant. This, too, is scarce in the greater part of the land, as far as I have seen it; for this reason most of the gentiles devote themselves to fishing. The males go entirely naked with nothing more than that with which nature clothes them. The women, however, are decently covered. In front they wear an apron of fibres suspended from a girdle around the waist; in the back they wear a piece of wolf- or other skin. They also cover the breast and other parts of the body with a sort of mantle made of rabbit skins. Men and women paint themselves a good deal. The men, moreover, have the cartilage of the nose pierced and from it dangle pieces of snail shells or of mother-of-pearl. All the men go well armed with bows and arrows." Then speaking of himself, in the same letter Fr. Crespi asks the Fr. Guardian in Mexico to send him another habit, cowl, cord, and tunic, as everything he had on was worn out on the long journey afoot from his station, Mission Purisima, in Lower California, since the 26th of February.[38]

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[37] Crespi, *Diario*, in Palóu, *Noticias*, tom. ii; Constansó, *Diario*. Both Fr. Crespi and Pilotín José Cañizares kept diaries of the expedition from Lower California which are still extant.

During the last week of June Sergeant José Francisco de Ortega came up from the south and announced the approach of Governor Portolá. The latter, in advance of Fr. Serra and the main body, reached the camp at the port on June 29th. Finally, on Saturday, July 1st, the Fr. Presidente with nine or ten soldiers and twelve Christian Indians was joyfully welcomed a little before the hour of noon. Five of the Indian volunteers from the peninsula had died on the march. Most of the other Christian Indians had lost heart and had secretly returned to their former homes. On the following day, which was a Sunday and the feast of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin, a solemn High Mass of thanksgiving was offered up in honor of St. Joseph; and the soldiers moreover celebrated the reunion of the sea and land expeditions by firing their guns. About one hundred and nineteen persons took part in the rejoicings, all that survived of the two hundred and nineteen who had set out by land and water.[39]

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[38] Fr. Crespi to Fr. Guardian Andrés, June 22, 1769. *Museo Nacional,* Qto. 1.

[39] Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. ii, capp. iii, iv, vii, ix; *Vida,* cap. xv; Costansó, *Diario.* For the description of the land expedition see vol. i, chaps. v, vi, section iii.

Soon after the arrival of the first land expedition under Rivera, the camp was transferred to a hill one league farther north, on the right bank of the river, where it was possible to give better attention to the sick, whom Surgeon Prat nursed with the utmost solicitude. As the sufferers failed to improve, and it appeared likely that for want of sailors the ships would sooner or later be unable to leave the port, the officers decided to send the *San Antonio* to San Blas with despatches informing the viceroy and José de Gálvez of the deplorable conditions at San Diego. The vessel was ready to sail just as Governor Portolá came up with the second division. The governor approved the decision. Captain Pérez on July 9th, accordingly set sail with a small crew of convalescent men; but, though he made the voyage in only twenty days, he lost nine of the sailors at sea.[40]

Portolá next offered Captain Vila of the *San Carlos* sixteen of his own men with whom to go in search of Monterey Bay; but as there was not one sailor among them Vila could not accept the offer; he therefore determined to await the return of the *San Antonio* with reinforcements.[41] The governor, on the other hand, felt himself bound to continue the journey by land, in view of the fact that all his men were in good health and well supplied with food and packmules. He also counted for supplies on the packetboat *San José,* which might even then be on the way or perhaps waiting for them in the Monterey harbor.[42] This determination he reported to the viceroy under date of July 4th, and then went to work making preparations for the march into the unknown regions to the north.[43] Before we proceed to relate the incidents of this memorable tour, it will be necessary to record an event which concerns the missionaries more directly, as it is the starting-point of their activity in Upper California.

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[40] Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. ii, cap. ix, 98-99; cap. xx, 256; *Vida,* cap. xvi, 80; Costansó, *Diario;* Fr. Crespi to Fr. Andrés, June 22nd. *Museo Nacional,* Qto. i; Fr. Serra to Fr. Palóu, July 3, 1769, *Vida,* cap. xvi.

[41] Costansó, *Diario;* Portolá to viceroy, July 4, 1769; *Arch. General;* Palóu, *Noticias;* tom. ii, cap. ix, 98; *Vida,* p. 80.

[42] The *San José* was a third ship which Gálvez had intended should furnish supplies to the presidios and missions. She never reached her destination, but was lost at sea. See vol. i, 379-380.

[43] Portolá to viceroy, ut supra; Costansó, *Diario.* The viceroy on August 12, 1769, replied, "You may rest assured that your decision and your trusting to Heaven are agreeable to me." *Arch. General.*

CHAPTER II.

Founding of Mission San Diego.—Indian Attack.—Frustrated Baptism.—Preparations for the Monterey Expedition.—Faith of the Explorers.—The Start.—First Fruits of Christianity.—Earthquakes.—At Our Lady of the Angels.—Down the Santa Clara River.—At San Buenaventura.

THE Fr. Presidente and the other Fathers, meanwhile, had their hands full visiting and consoling the sick and administering the sacraments to the dying. When Portolá on July 14th started out on his eventful journey only eight leather-jacket soldiers remained to guard the camp at what is now Old Town near San Diego. The little colony consisted of Fr. Junípero Serra, Fr. Juan Vizcaino, Fr. Fernando Parrón, Dr. Pedro Prat, José Cañizares, an unknown number of helpless sick, eight Christian Indians from Lower California, a blacksmith, a carpenter, and a servant for the friars. On board the *San Carlos,* which lay at anchor about one league from the camp, were Captain Vicente Vila, five sailors, and two boys. Two of the soldiers staid aboard the ship, for the savages in their tule canoes ventured to approach her, and would carry away whatever suited their fancy. On the eve of a Sunday or holyday two other soldiers accompanied one of the Fathers to the *San Carlos,* and remained their until after holy Mass the next day. On such occasions the settlement enjoyed the protection of only four soldiers, whereas, as Fr. Palóu remarks,[1] with such neighbors as the thieving savages, twenty would not have been too many. Fr. Serra had remonstrated with the governor, but Portolá declined to grant a stronger guard.

Notwithstanding the gloomy prospects, but mindful of the inspector's instructions, Fr. Serra determined to found the first mission without further delay on Sunday, July 16th, the feast of the Triumph of the Holy Cross. He purposely chose this day, says Fr. Palóu, "because on that date in 1212, by means of the holy Cross, the Spaniards had gained a glorious victory

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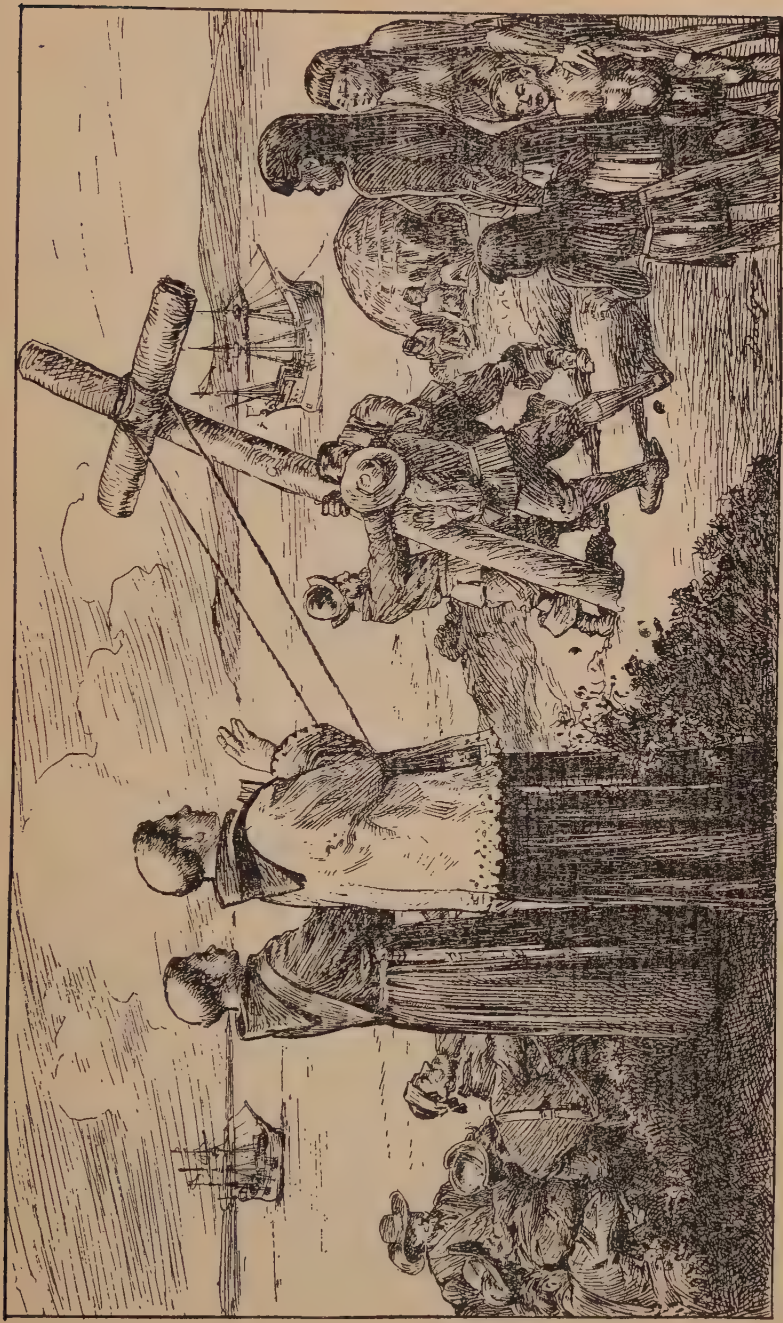
[1] "Aunque hubiesen quedado veinte soldados, nada había de sobra. Bien consideraba el Rev. P. Presidente era necesaria más escolta, pero no fué asequible del señor comandante." Palóu, *Noticias,* cap. xix, 249-250.



FOUNDING MISSION SAN DIEGO. ORIGINAL DRAWING BY ARTHUR B. DODGE over the Mahomedans; and he hoped that under the same Standard of Christianity, we should likewise succeed in putting to flight the whole infernal army, and subject these barbarous savages to the sweet yoke of Christ." Another motive was that the feast of Our Lady of Carmel, through whose intercession the zealous Father expected to win the reluctant pagans for the faith, occurred on this day.[2] With the assistance of all the men not absolutely needed to attend the sick, a spacious brushwood structure was erected for a chapel, and a large cross constructed. On the morning of the 16th of July Fr. Serra then blessed the cross planted in front of the chapel and in sight of the bay. He also blessed the site and chapel, after which he sang High Mass and delivered a fervent address to the little company present. Such was the beginning of Mission San Diego de Alcalá, and its first missionaries were Fr. Junípero Serra and Fr. Fernando Parrón.[3]

Nothing more was needed to complete the happiness of the Fr. Presidente than converts; but these would not come. If the heathens approached at all it was to reecive the gifts which the Fathers distributed in order to attract them. Beyond this they would steal whatever came within their reach, and they would annoy the very sufferers in their beds. Fortunately these Indians would not touch the foodstuffs of the Spaniards, otherwise the missionaries and their people must have perished from hunger. Only one Indian boy would visit the mission occasionally and remain for some time. The Fathers petted and regaled him in the hope that he might become an instrument for the conversion of his people. They also endeavored to learn the Indian language from him, and induced him to learn Spanish so that he might act as interpreter. They succeeded a long time after, but for the present the surrounding natives manifested marked ill will. They would in every way molest the Spaniards, and would mimic the firing of a gun or musket, and ridicule the soldiers when the latter, to frighten their tormentors, discharged their muskets into the air; for as yet the Indians had not experienced the disastrous effects of a shot fired in earnest. Every day they grew more insolent. On August 12th and 13th they approached with open hostility, but retired when they encountered resistance, though the soldiers as yet made no use of firearms against their aggressors.

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[2] Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. ii, cap. ix, 98-100; cap. xix, 249-250; *Vida,* cap. xvi, 81; Costansó, *Diario.*

[3] Palóu, *Vida,* cap. xvii, 82-83; *Noticias,* tom. ii, cap. xix, 250. See vol. i, 397-398, for ceremonies of mission founding. It seems strange that Portolá did not wait to witness the founding of the first mission. The two Fathers accompanying him would doubtless have wished to be present. Possibly the Fr. Presidente did not arrive at a decision until after the departure of the expedition.

On August 15th the feast of the Assumption, when two of the six soldiers had accompanied Fr. Parrón to the *San Carlos,* and two others had taken out the horses, the savages determined to make a general attack on the camp. Fr. Serra and Fr. Vizcáino had just celebrated holy Mass, during which some of the men had received holy Communion, when a great crowd of armed pagans fell upon the settlement. The corporal gave the alarm, and the few able-bodied men prepared to defend the place. Happily the two soldiers in charge of the horses had noticed the unusual number of Indians armed with bows and arrows. They had suspected the intention and, hastening back, encountered some of them in the act of robbing the very sheets from under the sick, who could make no resistance. Rebuked by the soldiers the thieves began to shoot arrows at the guards. The four soldiers now hastily put on their leather jackets and, reinforced by the carpenter and the blacksmith, all used their muskets with such deadly effect that three savages fell dead and others were wounded. The rest with their wounded fled in terror to their rancherias.

During the affray the two Fathers remained in the brushwood hut calmly recommending themselves and their people to God, and praying that none of the gentiles might be killed and die without baptism. After a little while Fr. Vizcáino raised the mat, which served as a door, in order to see whether the enemies had retired. Before he could drop it, an arrow pierced his hand. Soon after the servant of the Fathers rushed in, and falling upon his knees before Fr. Serra, exclaimed, "Father, give me absolution, for the Indians have killed me!" The Father complied, and immediately after the youth fell dead. His throat had been pierced by an arrow. He had been a muleteer, named José María Vergerano, and was only twenty years of age. None of the other Spaniards was killed in this first bloody encounter with California savages; but the brave blacksmith, one soldier, and a Christian Indian were wounded.

The lesson received at the hands of the soldiers had a salutary effect on the pagans; and for many days the lamentations of their women in the rancherias could be heard at the Spanish quarters, though the bodies of the slain, as was the custom, had been immediately burnt. Some days after the sad occurrence the savages reappeared, but without arms, and begged that their wounded might be treated. The surgeon kindly applied his skill and succeeded in restoring every one of them. To prevent any more murderous attempts, a stockade of poles was built around the camp, and thereafter no pagan was permitted to enter with his weapons; but they had lost every inclination to molest the colony. Unfortunately they also ceased to come and listen to the missionaries; even the youth of fifteen years, who had been accustomed to make long visits, appeared less frequently.

Fr. Serra in every way possible tried to attach the boy to the mission, because he wished to employ him as interpreter. When the young Indian had acquired some knowledge of the Spanish language, the Fr. Presidente persuaded him to induce some Indian father to bring his child to the chapel. He explained that he wished to pour water on the infant's head which would then become a child of God and of the missionaries, and a relative of the soldiers who would give it clothing similar to that which the Spaniards wore. The boy understood this simple instruction so well that one day an Indian accompanied by many others brought his infant boy to the chapel, and signified that the priest should pour water on the child's head. The delighted Fr. Serra had the infant suitably dressed, and then invited the corporal to act as sponsor and the other soldiers to come and witness the solemn administration of the first Baptism at the port of San Diego. Scarcely had he concluded the preliminary ceremonies, and was about to pour the baptismal water upon the child's head, when the pagans snatched it away and, leaving the amazed missionary holding the baptismal shell in his hand, ran off to their rancheria.[4] The enraged soldiers wanted to revenge the insult, but Fr. Serra, who attributed the act to ignorance and native rudeness, forbade any violence, and so the savages departed unharmed. For many days, however, says Fr. Palóu, the face of the venerable man showed the grief he felt in his heart at the failure of his plan, and long after tears would come into his eyes whenever the incident was recalled.[5]

The scurvy, meanwhile, continued to do its deadly work in spite of the best endeavors of the faithful Pedro Prat. Some of the afflicted recovered; but from the day on which the mission was established until Portolá's land expedition returned, January 24, 1770, nineteen additional deaths occurred. The victims were eight Catalonian volunteers, four sailors, one servant, and six Christian Indians. In this state the governor and Fr. Crespi found the mission and camp when they arrived, and not a single convert had been made.[6]

We now proceed to give an account of the expedition to the north, which Portolá, as already stated, began two weeks after his arrival from Lower California. Those accompanying him were Captain Fernando Rivera y Moncada with twenty-seven leather-jacket soldiers, Lieutenant Pedro Fages with seven Catalonian volunteers, Engineer Miguel Costansó, Sergeant José Francisco de Ortega heading the pioneers, Fathers Juan Crespi and Francisco Gómez with two neophyte servants, two servants for Portolá and Rivera, seven muleteers, and fifteen neophytes from Lower California, in all sixty-seven men.[7] By order of the Fr. Presidente Fr. Crespi kept a diary which we shall follow, as it is the most complete. It covers one hundred and forty-four pages in Fr. Palóu's *Noticias,* volume two. The governor, Pedro Fages, Costansó, and Sergeant Ortega likewise kept diaries of the journey. Ortega generally preceded the main body in order to clear the road and select the camping-place. As a rule holy Mass was celebrated every Sunday and on the principal feastdays.

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[4] "Luego que el V. Padre concluyó las ceremonias, y estando para echarle el agua, arrebataron los gentiles al niño, y se marcharon con él á la ranchería, dejando al V. Padre con la concha en la mano." Palóu, *Vida,* cap. xvii, 86.

[5] Fr. Serra's action was most unusual and scarcely wise. There was no moral certainty that the child, which enjoyed sound health, would be brought up a Christian. The zealous Father probably reasoned that eventually these natives would accept the Gospel, and so thought himself justified to administer Baptism.

[6] Palou, *Noticias,* tom. ii, cap. xix; *Vida,* cap. xvii.

[7] Palóu, *Vida,* cap. xvi.

In order to understand and appreciate the narrative the better, some preliminary remarks from Costansó will prove helpful. Soldiers *de cuera* or leather-jacket soldiers are frequently mentioned. "The soldiers of the garrisons and missions in California used two sorts of arms, offensive and defensive. The defensive are the cuera or leather jacket and the shield. The first, whose form is like that of a coat without sleeves, is made of six or seven thicknesses of tanned deerskin. It is impenetrable to the arrows of the Indians, because they are not discharged at close range. The shield is made of two thickneses of raw ox-hide. It is carried on the left arm, and with it spears and arrows are warded off, whilst the rider defends himself and his horse. In addition they use a kind of leather apron, which is fastened to the pommel of the saddle and hangs down on both sides. It thus covers the thighs and legs of the rider and prevents them from suffering harm while running through the woods. Their offensive weapons are the lance, the broadsword, and a short flintlock musket which they carry securely fastened in its case. They are men of much endurance and patience in fatigue, obedient, resolute, and active."

It must be observed that the day's march of these troops, with such a train and amid so many obstacles through unknown lands and unused roads, could not be long, not to mention another fact which obliged them to halt and camp early, namely, the necessity of exploring the country one day for the march of the other, in order to regulate the marches according to the distance between the watering-places. Longer stops, as necessity demanded, were made every four days more or less. On the march the following order was observed. At the head went six Catalonian volunteers and some neophyte Indians[8] with spades, pick-axes, crowbars, axes, and other implements in order to cut away the brush and open a passage wherever necessary. Next came the commander with the officers and the two Fathers, followed by the pack-train, which was divided into four divisions, each with its muleteers and a suitable guard. In the rear came Rivera with the rest of the troops and neophyte Indians convoying the relay horses and mules.

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[8] Costansó says Portolá went ahead; but that refers to the departure from the camp at San Diego, or to the parade. The narrative itself shows that Ortega with his men and some Indians cleared the way.

As their guide the expedition had only a copy of Pilot Cabrera Bueno,[9] which though exact and abundant in details as far as landmarks are concerned, is very inexact in fixing the latitude of the different localities. The scientific instruments used by Fr. Crespi and Miguel Costansó were also inaccurate; for the observations made by both at the same time disagree from nine to thirty-three minutes. This absence of good charts and instruments considerably increased the difficulties encountered in searching for the port.

Faith was still strong in the explorers of those days, and therefore, on Friday morning, July 14th, holy Mass was celebrated in honor of St. Joseph, the patron of the expedition, for the success of the enterprise.[10] "To-day," Fr. Crespi writes, "the feast of the Seraphic Doctor San Buenaventura, at about four o'clock in the afternoon,[11] we set out from the port of San Diego and went about two leagues towards the northwest, when we came to an Indian rancheria near some fresh water pools, to which we gave the name Los Ojitos de la Rinconada de San Diego."[12] Half a league beyond in a cañada with some springs, the expedition halted for the night, after having traveled two hours and three-quarters, or three hours as Portolá has it. In this manner, with much description of country and Indians, Fr. Crespi records the journey from day to day. The details are interesting, but we shall have to content ourselves with noting the chief incidents and localities along this first exploration of California by land, and with merely giving the names of other stopping places. On the following days mention is made of the Valle de Santa Isabel, La Posa de Osuna or San Jacome de la Marca, Cañada del Triunfo de la Santísima Cruz, Cañada de los Encinos, San Alejo, San Simón Lípnica, and Santa Sinforosa, until on July 18th the expedition entered the valley which on this occasion was called San Juan Capistrano. Nothing along the way attracted more attention than the abundance of flowers, particularly roses, which were like those of Old Castile.

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[9] "Navegación Especulativa y Práctica, por el Almirante D. Joseph Gonzáles Cabrera Bueno, etc. Impresa en Manila en el Convento de Nuestra Señora de los Angeles de la Orden de Nro. Seráfico Padre San Francisco. Año de 1734." It is a folio of 396 pages.

[10] "Después de haber celebrado el Santo Sacrificio de la Misa todos los Padres al Santísimo Patriarca Señor San Joseph, como Patrono de las Expediciones."

[11] One writer has morning. Crespi says, "Salimos de este puerto de San Diego, etc., como á las cuatro de la tarde."

[12] It was on a corner of False Bay, hence Rinconada or corner.

Comparatively few Indians were seen, but on reaching Capistrano Valley, Fr. Crespi says, "more than forty Indians came to visit us. All were nude and their bodies smeared over with paint of different hues. This is their custom when visiting or going to war. All carried bows and arrows. The chief made his usual harangue, and after ending it all threw their weapons on the ground and squatted down near to us. The governor took out some beads, and giving me one-half desired that we should distribute them among the gentiles, who on their part offered to the governor a gift of some nets, made of a fabric which when woven resembles unbleached flax. Behind the men came more than fifty women and children, who did not dare to approach. We made them signs not to be afraid; and after one of the Indians had spoken to them, they drew near, and we made them also presents of beads. The women are modestly dressed, having in front a cloth which falls down to the knees and behind a deer skin. Their breasts are covered with what resembles a small cloak made of rabbit and hare skins, which torn in strips are twisted like cords, and then fastened together. These guard the breasts against cold, and at the same time afford a chaste covering. Very nearly all the females dress in this fashion; but the men go as perfectly naked as did Adam in paradise before he had tasted the forbidden fruit, and they feel not the slightest shame in appearing in this state before us, just as if the dress which nature has given them was of the richest fabric. We gave to this valley, which is excellent for a mission,[13] the name of San Juan Capistrano, so that this glorious saint, who in his lifetime converted so many souls to God, would pray Heaven for the conversion of these poor gentiles, to whom, on the next morning, we addressed a few words about God and Jesus Christ, heaven and hell. They seemed to comprehend something, but although they saw us both friars, the commander and all the officers, venerating the Cross, and notwithstanding we told them to do likewise, and for that purpose raised it to their lips, they not only refused to kiss it, but pushed back with their hands. I attributed this to their ignorance, and their inability to understand our speech. I took observations and found that we were in thirty-three degrees and six minutes latitude."

Proceeding, the Spaniards varying their course named in succession Santa Margarita, Santa Praxedis, and Los Cristianos. At the latter place, "our scouts," Fr. Crespi reports, "informed us that they had found two sick baby girls in a rancheria. We asked the commander for an escort of soldiers, and visited them. We found one of the children to all appearances dying on her mother's breast. We begged the woman to allow us to wash the head of the child, so that, in case it should die, it would go to heaven. She at last consented, and then my companion, Fr. Francisco Gómez, baptized the little girl, and gave her the name María Magdalena.[14] Afterwards we visited another sick girl, who was badly burnt, and also seemingly about to die. We baptized her under the name of Margarita.[15] We doubted not that both would die and so partake of the joys of paradise. With only this much accomplished we Fathers were satisfied with the journey undertaken, and considered ourselves well paid for the hardships already suffered and which still await us.[16] On account of this incident the soldiers called the place Los Cristiános. I named it San

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[13] Mission San Luis Rey was later established there.

[14] For the saint of the day, July 22nd.

[15] Her feast occurred on the 20th. These children were the first fruits of Christianity in Upper California.

[16] "Con solo esto que hayamos logrado damos, los Padres, por bien empleado el dilatado viaje y trabajos que en el se pasan y se nos esperan."

Apolinario. To others it is known as the Cañada de los Bautismos. I took the meridian and found that we were in thirty-three degrees and fourteen minutes."

On the 24th the explorers came to a wide mesa or tableland, at the foot of a high sierra through which a fine mountain stream wended its way to the ocean, opposite Catalina Island. On account of the saint of the day the place was christened San Francisco Solano. It may be identical with the site of Mission San Juan Capistrano. The Indians were very hospitable. Men, women, and children all day long would offer refreshments. Good Fr. Crespi relates, "I made the gentiles say the acts of Faith, Hope, and Charity, which, without understanding one word, they repeated with such fervor and tenderness that it re-echoed in my heart at least. They also devoutly venerated the crucifix." The latitude was here found to be thirty-three degrees and eighteen minutes. Both Fathers celebrated holy Mass on the two days while the Spaniards rested here. On the afternoon of the 26th of July the march was resumed. Los Ojitos del Padre Gómez or San Pantaleón, at the edge of a large plain, was named on the same day. After passing the Arroyo Santiago, so called in honor of the Apostle St. James, the patron of Spain, the expedition on July 28th arrived at a stream which the soldiers called Santa Ana. "We camped on the left side of this river. On the right bank is a large Indian rancheria," says Father Crespi. "We called this place 'El Dulcísimo Nombre de Jesus de los Temblores,' because four times during the day we had been roughly shaken up by earthquakes. The first and heaviest shock occurred at about one o'clock,[17] and the last near four o'clock in the afternoon. One of the gentiles, who happened to be in camp, and who undoubtedly exercised the office of priest,[18] not less scared than we, began in a hideous voice and with demonstrations of fright to shout aloud for mercy, turning in every direction the while."

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[17] All seem to have taken to prayer, since the governor measured the time by the length of the Ave Maria. "Implorando á María Santísima, duraría como media Ave María," Portolá writes.

[18] "Sacerdote." Fr. Crespi for the moment knew no suitable term. The fellow was merely a juggler, or sorcerer. The Indians had no priests, as they had no sacrifice.

FIRST BAPTISM IN UPPER CALIFORNIA. ORIGINAL DRAWING BY A. B. DODGE.

With some difficulty the company crossed the rapid current on the 29th. After passing some hills they reached a ranchería where the savages were celebrating some occasion with dances. In the diary the place is noted as Santa Marta. More earthquakes were felt. Here on Sunday, July 30th, both Fathers celebrated holy Mass for the company. All then set out for the northwest, and traveled four leagues over a level stretch of land. Then crossing through a pass in the hills they descended into a large valley of the richest black soil. Through the center of the valley ran a stream with a good volume of water which could be well used to irrigate that excellent land, as Fr. Crespi remarks. Portolá in his diary thought the locality good for a mission. "The valley," Fr. Crespi says, "is surrounded by mountains, which on the north are very high. The mountains on the east and west do not rise so high. The plain has about six leagues, which is also the distance covered by us to-day. I took observations, and found we were in thirty-three degrees and thirty-four minutes. In order to cross the arroyo it became necessary to build a temporary bridge of poles, so as to keep from sinking into the mud at every step.[19] On the morning of the 31st of July we traveled two leagues through high grass and underwood, where we had to dismount every little while. We crossed an arroyo of very muddy water, and stopped a little beyond it at a clearing, near to a wood which we saw toward the west.[20] We rested here on August 1st in order that the surrounding country might be explored, but above all, in order to gain the jubilee indulgence of Our Lady of the Angels of Porciúncula.[21] We both priests celebrated holy Mass; the men received holy Communion and performed what was required to gain the indulgence. At ten o'clock in the morning we felt the earth shake; the trembling recurred at one o'clock in the afternoon with more force, and an hour later we felt another trembling. Two soldiers went out hunting and brought back an antelope, which are plentiful in this country. They are similar to mountain goats, with horns somewhat larger. I tasted the roasted meat, and found that it had no bad flavor. I took the meridian together with Sr. Costansó; it gave us thirty-four degrees and ten minutes." Next day, the feast of Our Lady of the Angels,[22] or Porciúncula, the explorers resumed the march, and, proceeding a league and a half to the westward through a pass between two hills, entered a wide valley abounding in poplar and alder trees. A beautiful stream crossed this country, and later turned around a hill to the south.[23] After traveling three leagues the Spaniards camped on this stream and named it Río Porciúncula. Portolá says they felt four or five earthquakes on the 2nd of August. Early next morning the explorers forded the Río Porciúncula and made their way through a spacious valley to the westward. In the course of their march they applied the names of Agua de los Alisos de San Esteban and San Rogerio or Berrendo. On August 5th they reached the valley in which later on Mission San Fernando was located. On this occasion the plain was called Santa Catalina de Bononia de los Encinos. While resting here until Sunday afternoon, August 7th, many Indians came to visit the camp. "Each one carried some article of food as a gift," says Fr. Crespi, "and we made to all suitable returns by means of beads and ribbons."

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[19] "Aquí se huvo de construir punete para pasar el arroyo; contemplo buen parage para misión," Portolá writes.

[20] They were now in the Los Angeles region.

[21] "Porciúncula," or small portion. This was a chapel near Assisi, which St. Francis had obtained as a gift from a Benedictine abbot. Owing to its small dimensions, the holy founder of the Franciscan Order always referred to it as Portiuncula. It was his favorite retreat, and became the cradle of the Order. The famous indulgence was originally granted for visiting this chapel only. Hence the name. An indulgence is, of course, not a forgiveness of sin, much less a permission to commit sin, as ignorant and malevolent writers tell their unfortunate readers. What it is may be learned from any Catholic catechism.

On August 9th, "keeping the course to the north," the diary continues, "we climbed up a ridge leading to a high pass. The ascent to it and descent from it was hard work; on account of the steepness we had to go down on foot." "Some natives appeared," Portolá writes, agreeing with Fr. Crespi, who goes into particulars for which we have no room, "and begged us to go to their village, which was near. There we found eight villages together,[24] which must have numbered more than three hundred inhabitants, who had a great supply of seeds. We rested at a village of about fifty natives." "These Indians," Fr. Crespi informs us, "lived really without shelter; for their habitations were nothing more than *enramadas* constructed after the manner of corrals. For this reason the soldiers gave it the name Corral, but I christened it Santa Rosa de Viterbo. Here we rested on the 9th, in order to give our scouts an opportunity to make explorations to the ocean beach. All day long we received visits from the poor people, who brought us their presents of pinole, nuts, and other things. One of the Indians, who came to see us, recognized Fr. Gómez and embraced him. He gave us to understand that he had already met the Father down on the coast aboard the vessel, and that he knew Fages and Costansó. The scouts returned and reported a good road down the cañada, and that we could continue by way of the beach. I gave the name of Santa Clara to this delightful cañada, which begins at the foot of the mountain pass. At the rancheria where we rested we observed that a wedding was being celebrated. We were shown the bride. She was the most richly decked of all in paint and shell strings. From this place on the women dress somewhat more decently; for, instead of a narrow cloth, they use skirts of buckskin from the waist down, and they cover the rest of the body with small cloaks made of rabbit skins."

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[22] Nuestra Señora de Los Angeles de Porciúncula. This is the origin of the name which the southern metropolis bears.

[23] North branch of the San Gabriel, Bancroft thinks.

Proceeding down the Santa Clara Cañada and River, Fr. Crespi named one Indian village San Pedro á Moliano and another Santos Mártires Hipólito y Casiano. In the evening of the 13th two earthquake shocks were observed. Guided by three pagans on the 14th of August the expedition arrived at the most populous Indian village so far discovered. "This village, as Fr. Crespi described it, "is situated on a point of land close to the beach which it dominates as if ruling the ocean. We counted thirty large and spacious houses of spherical shape, well built and thatched with grass. According to the number of people whom we saw, and who came to the camp, there must be no fewer than four hundred souls. They are of good stature and gentle disposition, active, industrious, and ingenious. Their cleverness and skill is very great in building boats, which are made of good pine boards, well joined together, and have a graceful shape and two prows. The Indians are excellent boatmen, three or four in one such boat often venturing far out into the sea to fish. Some of the boats may hold ten men. They use long paddles with which they propel the boats with incredible swiftness. All the articles which they make are neat and well finished. What causes wonder is that, in working either wood or stone, they use no other tool than flint, since they know not the use of iron and steel. We pitched our camp at a short distance from the bank of a river, whose waters, coming through a ravine from the mountains, empty into the sea. I gave the name La Asunción de Nuestra Señora [25] to this settlement. I hope that this fine locality, to which nothing is wanting, through her intercession may become a good mission. I found the latitude to be thirty-four degrees and thirty-six minutes. Costansó's observation gave him thirty-four degrees and thirteen minutes. On Tuesday, August 15th, all attended the holy Masses celebrated by us both priests, and in the afternoon at two o'clock we departed. We found it quite difficult to cross the river, on account of the rocks and the large volume of water."

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[24] From San Fernando upwards to the northern extremity of the Santa Barbara Channel, the coast was studded with numerous Indian villages, and all the natives proved exceedingly hospitable.

Proceeding along the beach, and after naming two Indian rancherias respectively Santa Cunigundis and Santa Clara de Montefalco, the expedition on the 17th arrived at a village of thirty-eight huts. The savages here possessed a large number of canoes, and, as they were just building another, the soldiers called the place Carpintería;[26] Fr. Crespi baptized it San Roque for the saint of the 16th. It was only a league from Santa Clara de Montefalco.

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[25] Our Lady of the Assumption for the feast of the next day. Fr. Crespi's prayer was realized, for Mission San Buenaventura arose here later.

[26] By this name it is known to the present day.

CHAPTER III.

The Expedition at Santa Bárbara.—Indian Hospitality.—Indian Customs.—Gaviota.—At San Luis Obispo.—In the Santa Lucía Sierra.—Las Llagas de San Francisco.—On the Salinas.—Camp Santa Delfina.—Monterey Bay Not Recognized.—Spaniards Perplexed.—Council of War.—Río del Pájaro.—Dreadful Sufferings. Nuestra Señora del Pilar.—Through the Sierras.—Point Angel Custodio.—Discovery of Old San Francisco Bay.

"WE broke camp at seven o'clock in the morning of August 18th," Fr. Crespi writes, "and kept on traveling near the beach in a westerly direction. The chief of the rancheria which we had just left accompanied us with a large number of Indians, all in the happiest and gayest humor. After traveling for a league we came to the ruins of a rancheria. The gentiles told us that about three months before the Sierra Indians had come down and killed all the inhabitants. One league and a half farther on we came to another ruined village, which had suffered the same misfortune. After marching four leagues, we arrived at a large rancheria, far larger than any we had yet seen, situated on a good point of land which enters the sea. With much difficulty we crossed a large estuary which extends inland for some distance. We forded it near a rancheria, and then went into camp about two gunshots from the village. Soon after our arrival the whole population came out and brought us presents of seven bundles of fish. We in return gave them some beads with which they were well satisfied. In the neighborhood of this rancheria is a spring of very good water, and near to the camp we found a large lagoon, which in all probability is not due to rain, but is fed by a spring in the center. The level land in this locality is covered with many large evergreen oaks. The pueblo was named La Laguna de la Concepción. We could take no observation on account of the cloudy weather."[1]

"Our only object in traveling to-day, Saturday, August 19th," Fr. Crespi says, "was to separate ourselves from so many people. Having traveled only half a league, we pitched our camp in a cañada with running water.[2] Here many Indians from villages farther up visited the camp. On Sunday, after the holy Masses, the Spaniards marched three leagues, when they came in sight of a bare point of land. In the west a double estuary entered the land, forming an island about half a league wide. On this island we saw a large town in which we counted more than a hundred huts. There were other villages on the shores the exact number of which we could not ascertain, though some of the soldiers said there were four, besides the village on the island. In order to arrive at the watering-place to camp, we had to pass through one of the villages.[3] Shortly afterwards the gentiles of all the towns came, and brought us broiled and dried fish, acorns, atole, and other kinds of food which they begged us to accept. The commander in turn made them presents of beads and ribbons with which they were highly delighted. They were not satisfied with spreading food before us, but desired to amuse their guests. The mutual strife and rivalry among the different villages to excel in their gifts and sports so as to merit our approval was evident. Toward evening we received the visit of the chiefs of each village, who came one after the other in all their finery of paint and overloaded with feather ornaments, holding in their hands split reeds, the motion and noise of which they used in order to keep time at their singing and dancing. This they did so well and so uniformly that the effect was very harmonious. The dances lasted all the afternoon, and we had hard work to send our visitors home. We dismissed them, and begged them by means of signs not to return and trouble us during the night; but this was in vain, for as soon as darkness set in, they came back, blowing a kind of horn the noise of which hurt the ears. As we were afraid that our horses might stampede, the commander with some officers came forth, gave them some beads, and tried to impress the unwelcome visitors that they must retire, and that if they returned to disturb our sleep, our friendship would come to an end, and their reception would not be agreeable. This was enough; they went away and left us in peace during the rest of the night. The soldiers called these villages collectively Mescatitlán. I christened them Santa Margarita de Cortona. The observation showed thirty-four degrees and forty-three minutes. In this rancheria, as well as in the others along the channel, and even before coming to this locality, we discovered that the Gentiles have cemeteries. The Indians explained to us that one is for men and the other for women. Above each grave a high pole, painted in different colors, is placed. From the poles over the graves of the men hang their hair, which doubtless had been cut from the corpse before burial; from those of the women swing wicker baskets. We noticed two small inclosures, which were kept very clean. We were given to understand that one was for their games, and the other for their superstitious ceremonies."[4]

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[1] The Spaniards had arrived and camped on or near the spot where later the presidio of Santa Bárbara was established.

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[2] This camping-place must also be within the limits of Santa Bárbara.

[3] Speaking of this group Portolá writes, "We came upon seven towns, the smallest having twenty, the largest more than eighty huts, in which we have seen about eight hundred natives."

On August 21st the explorers broke camp and, after marching two leagues in sight of the sea, halted for the night at a rivulet near an Indian town of "more than one thousand souls. Some of our people," Fr. Crespi writes, "thought that this rancheria, instead of being only one, really consisted of two joined together; we called them San Luis Obispo. I took the latitude and found it to be thirty-four degrees and forty-five minutes.[5] Continuing along the shore, the pioneers were every little while obliged to repair many bad places, which troublesome work caused much delay." After stopping at San Guido de Cortona, the expedition reached an estuary on whose border stood a rancheria of fifty-two huts with three hundred souls. This place, for having killed a seagull there, the soldiers remembered as Gaviota; Fr. Crespi christened it San Luis Rey de Francia for the saint of the following day, August 25th.[6] On this day the Spaniards encountered the worst part of the road so far traveled. "We required about four hours to cover two leagues across high and rugged ground bordering on the ocean," the journal tells us. "At one point, by reason of its precipitous incline, further progress became impossible. We had to take to the beach, and pick our way over the wave-bathed stones scattered along the foot of a rocky ledge which afforded a passage only at low tide. This ledge or cliff has a length of about a quarter of a league, and we scrambled up to its highest part, which is an Indian rancheria of twenty-four huts having a population of about two hundred souls. I gave it the name of San Zeferino, Pope. At the mouth of the cañada enters an estuary which the Indians use as a landing place for their canoes. We are in sight of two islands. I took the latitude and found it to be thirty-four degrees and fifty minutes," whilst Costansó counted thirty-four degrees and thirty minutes.

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[4] "Adoratorio ceremonial."

[5] Probably the Dos Pueblos Indian village of a later date.

[6] Doubtless at Gaviota Pass northwest of the present railroad station.

Resuming the journey on Saturday, August 26th, the Spaniards named Santa Ana, El Cojo or Santa Teresa, near Punta de la Concepción, Ranchería de la Concepción de María Santísima, Pedernales or San Juan Bautista, Santa Rosalía or Cañada Seca, Río San Bernardo or Santa Rosa,[7] and La Graciosa or San Ramón Nonato, which latter place the expedition left on September 1st, and found much trouble in passing the sand dunes. On the same day the weary explorers arrived at a large lake in a fine valley to which they gave the name La Laguna Grande de San Daniel. This may be near the Río Santa María. Three leagues beyond they camped at a "large lake, very nearly circular, situated within a cañada, which is surrounded by sand dunes." The hunters went out and were fortunate to kill a bear which weighed more than fifteen arrobas.[8] For this reason the place was called Oso Flaco. Others named it Real de las Víboras, on account of the many snakes found there. Fr. Crespi named the lake for the Martyrs San Juan de Perucia and San Pedro de Saxoferrato." Since leaving Point Concepción but few Indian villages were discovered. For instance, on September 4th Fr. Crespi says that "during our whole day's journey of four leagues we came across only one very small rancheria." A short distance from the camp stood another rancheria whose chief had an enormous goitre hanging down his throat, wherefore the village was called El Buchón. Fr. Crespi baptized it San Ladislao.

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[7] Probably identical with the Santa Inés River.

[8] 375 lbs.

On September 6th the expedition rested in a narrow cañada which was named Santa Elena or Cañada Angosta. After crossing high mountains on the 7th, the Spaniards camped in a wide cañada where they encountered many bears, for which reason it was called Los Osos. According to his custom Fr. Crespi applied a Christian name, and, as it was the eve of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, the place was remembered as La Cañada de la Natividad de Nuestra Señora. Mission San Luis Obispo was founded there three years later. "We started toward the northwest on Friday, September 8th," the journal continues, "and our road took us across tablelands covered with rich soil, but without trees. During the four hours which our journey of about three leagues lasted we crossed eight arroyos, which carried their water down from the mountains to the ocean, near the border of which we traveled. We came to a halt at the eighth arroyo which empties in an estuary. We called this locality Santa Serafina." Proceeding along the beach and meanwhile naming San Benvenuto or Osito, San Nicolás or El Cantil, and San Vicente Arroyo, the expedition on September 13th camped in a cañada between two arroyos, which were named Los Arroyos de Santa Humiliana at the foot of the Sierra de Santa Lucía.

From there on pickaxes and crowbars had to be used in order to make a road for the expedition along the arroyo into the sierra. "Although with the greatest pleasure," Fr. Crespi tells us on Sunday, September 17th, "I would have rested and with my companion celebrated the feast of the Stigmata of our seraphic Father St. Francis, we had to travel another league. The first task was to climb up to the summit, and be ready for death at any moment."[9] A halt was finally made in a basin near an encampment of about sixty friendly Indians. The locality was called La Hoya de la Sierra de Santa Lucía, or San Francisco, for the feast of the Stigmata. Mission San Antonio was established in the same region only two years later. Resting there until Wednesday 20th, in order to give the men time to clear a passage through the mountains, "we broke camp," the journal goes on, "and immediately began to climb up the steep height. Later we followed along a narrow and deep ravine with a running stream of water. We climbed up another high mountain, and on the top we appeared to have a view of the whole sierra which extended in all directions without end. This was a sad spectacle for poor wanderers, tired and exhausted from the hardships of such a march full of obstacles, which required the filling up of marshes, the opening up of roads through mountains and forests, sand dunes and swamps. The cold now began to make itself felt. Some of the soldiers, ill with scurvy, were unable to work, and thus increased the hardships of the others. All this weighed heavily upon our minds; but, remembering the object of all these efforts, which is the greater glory of God, the conversion of souls, and the service of the king, whose dominions are widened by this expedition, every one went to work with a will under the patronage of the holy Patriarch St. Joseph." After moving onward for five hours the expedition rested four days.

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[9] "Con el Credo en la boca."

Leaving the last camp, which was called Los Piñones, the explorers on September 25th moved one league to the banks of an arroyo which Fr. Crespi christened Arroyo de las Llagas del Seráfico Padre San Francisco, "reserving his principal feast for his famous port, as the inspector-general said to our Fr. Presidente at Santa Ana before bidding him farewell."[10] From there the expedition next day wended its way down a ravine to a river, which Fr. Crespi noted down as Río de San Elzeario,[11] whilst the soldiers remembered the stopping place on its banks as Real del Álamo. After crossing the river on the 27th, the march continued down the stream until on October 1st the Spaniards camped within a league and a half[12] of the mouth and of their destination. "Shortly after the commander, the engineer, and myself, accompanied by five soldiers," Fr. Crespi informs us, "went to survey the beach. We ascended a little hill [13] which is not very far from it, and from the summit beheld a grand ensenada or open bay, and we conjectured that it was the one which Cabrera Bueno puts between Point Año Nuevo and Point Pinos de Monterey, for we saw the latter covered with tall pines, so that near it must be found the Port of Monterey.[14] We saw not one single Indian around here. We returned to the camp, and the commander decided that the captain [15] should on the following morning go forth to examine said point. Rivera with eight men on Monday set out and marched southward along the shore of the bay in search of which they had come, but which they did not recognize. They crossed Point Pinos, and on the other side they discovered "a small bight formed between the said point and another south of it, with an arroyo flowing down from the mountains, well wooded, and a slough, into which the said stream discharges its waters." [16] They returned Tuesday evening, and all declared that no port had been discovered. On hearing this Portolá decided to call a council of his officers and the two Fathers, and directed the latter to celebrate holy Mass to the Holy Spirit next morning.

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[10] "Reservando su principal (i. e. feastday, October 4th), para su famoso puerto, como lo dijo á nuestro P. Presidente el Exmo. Sr. Visitador General en el real de Santa Ana antes de despedirse."

[11] Without doubt the Salinas River.

[12] Near the present railroad station Morocojo.

The next day, October 4th, Fr. Crespi wrote, "this is a grand day for all the children of St. Francis, whose feast we his two

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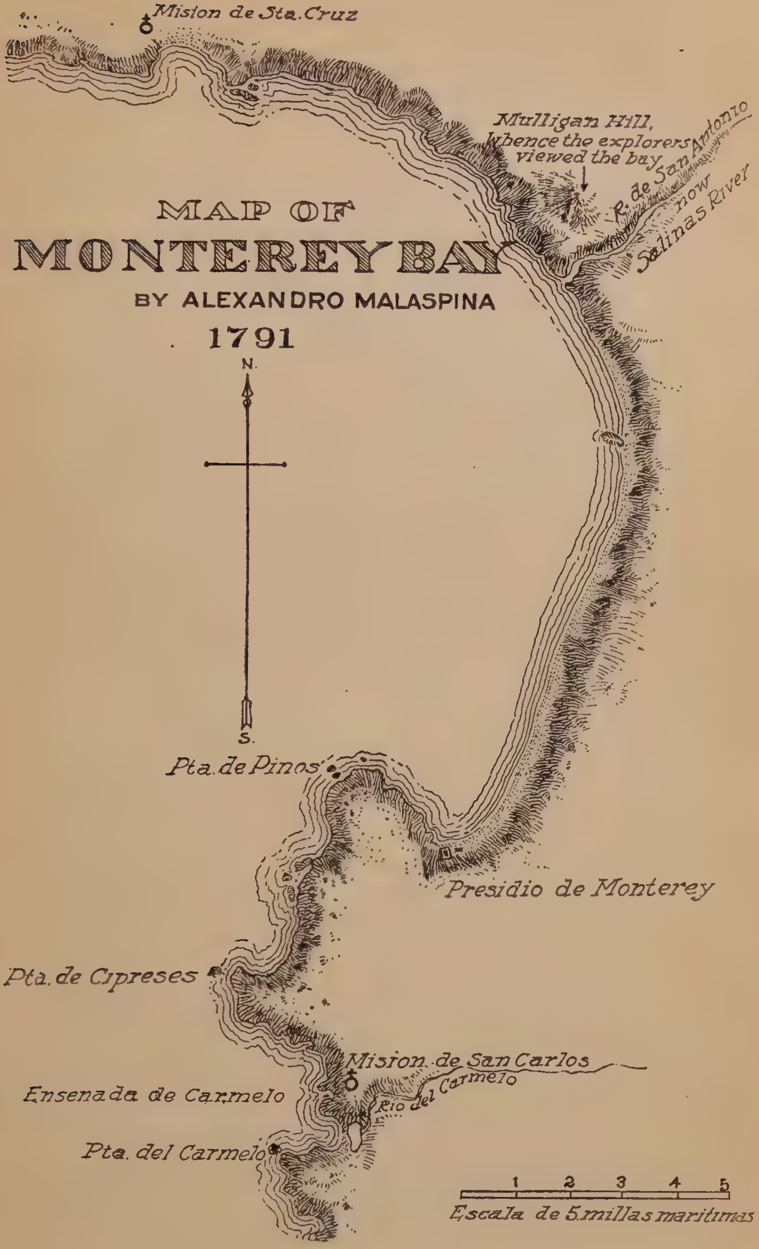
[13] Doubtless Mulligan's Hill on the Moro Cojo Rancho. It is about eighty feet high. Through the kindness of H. S. Fletcher of Watsonville we were enabled to view the bay from the point on November 7, 1909. We came to the conclusion that the expedition was quite excusable for not recognizing Cabrera Bueno's landlocked bay. From this hill it appears to be but a roadstead.

[14] "That is to say, believing yet doubting they look out over the bay and harbor of Monterey, then pass on wondering where is Monterey." Bancroft, i. 150.

[15] Rivera.

[16] The places named are Carmelo Bay and River, and Point Cypress. It is remarkable that standing north of the presidio hill where now lies the city of Monterey, as they must have done, Rivera and his men should not have recognized the port. For from that point the bay is just what Cabrera Bueno describes it.


MAP OF
MONTEREY BAY
BY ALEXANDRO MALASPINA
1791
N.
S.
Mision de Sta. Cruz
Mulligan Hill, whence the explorers viewed the bay
R. de San Antonio
now Salinas River
Pta. de Pinos
Presidio de Monterey
Pta. de Cipreses
Mision de San Carlos
Rio del Carmelo
Ensenada de Carmelo
Pta. del Carmelo
1 2 3 4 5
Escala de 5 millas maritimas

sons celebrate in this corner of the world, without any other church or choir than a desert, having constructed a brushwood shelter for the celebration of the holy Sacrifice of the Mass, which each of us offered up[17] with as much devotion as possible, praying the Holy Spirit through the intercession of our seraphic Father, to enlighten the officers so that they might determine what is conducive to the greater honor and glory of our king.

"Holy Mass concluded, the commander[18] called the officers, and when all had assembled in the name of God he laid before them the lack of provisions, the many sick we had (who were seventeen men,[19] half crippled and in no condition for hardships), the distance already traveled, all that the men still able suffered from the excessive burden of guarding the stock at night, having to perform sentinel duties, and continually making explorations and surveys. In view of what had been said, and that the Port of Monterey had not been found in the latitude in which it was supposed to be, he wished each one to give his opinion freely, in order to determine what might be judged most expedient. All the officers unanimously voted that the journey should be continued as the only expedient that remained, in the hope, with the favor of God, of reaching the desired port of Monterey, and to find in it the packetboat *San José,* which would relieve all necessities; and that, if God should permit that in search of Monterey all perished, we shall have complied with our duty to God and to men while working together till death for the success of the enterprise entrusted to us. With this all agreed and all determined to continue the journey. We two religious also attended this council, and we voted the same way. We also endeavored to encourage all and to persuade them that the help of the Lord would not fail us, under the supposition that the undertaking had in view His greater honor and His desire for the conversion of all souls."

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[17] It was a Low Mass not, as Bancroft and others say, a Solemn Mass.

[18] Both Fr. Crespi and Miguel Costansó generally use the term "comandante" in speaking of Portolá. They never call him governor.

[19] Portolá to the viceroy, February 11, 1770, as quoted by Professor Herbert Bolton (San Francisco Sunday Call, October, 1909), writes: "The expedition was attacked with such force by the scurvy or mal de loanda, that in a few days twenty-one of the twenty-seven Leather Jacket soldiers, including myself, fell sick. Six became paralyzed and received all the holy Sacraments." Costansó agrees with Fr. Crespi: "Contábanse á la sazón enfermos hasta diez y siete hombres tullidos del escorbuto."

Before starting out to execute this resolution, Ortega with his men made one more attempt to discover the long-sought harbor. On the two following days he examined the coast towards the north, but returned Friday evening, October 6th, and reported that no harbor had been found. The main hope of the explorers now rested on the supposition that they had not yet reached the latitude in which Cabrera Bueno and Vizcaino placed the port, that is to say, in thirty-seven degrees.[20] According to Costansó's observations their camp one league and a half from the beach lay in thirty-six degrees and forty-four minutes, though Fr. Crespi reckoned thirty-six degrees and fifty-three minutes.[21] The march was resumed on Saturday, October 7th. "At midday about twelve o'clock," Fr. Crespi relates, "we set out from this place which we named Santa Delfina,[22] and went towards the northwest. After traveling a short distance we entered a marsh or dry lagoon which abounded in mallows and other plants. Then we proceeded along some foothills through a valley, and with considerable difficulty passed four lagoons.[23] The journey lasted three hours, during which we advanced two leagues. We camped by a lagoon near a rancheria which appeared to have been abandoned by the Indians but a little while before. In the pond we saw a good many cranes, the first we observed on our whole journey. For this reason the soldiers called this place La Laguna de la Grulla; but I christened it Santa Brígida. This night I heard the confession of one leather jacket soldier, and we also gave him Extreme Unction, for he was very ill with scurvy.

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[20] "Está este puerto en altura de 37 grados." Cabrera, *Navegación*, 303.

[21] "Tomé la altura y me salió de treinta y seis grados cincuenta y tres minutos; y el Sr. Costansó observó por medio de gnomon, y le salió de treinta ye seis grados cuarenta y cuatro minutos," says Crespi.

[22] The camp which they had occupied since the 1st of October. The river at that period, as may be seen to this day, made a wider bend towards the north.

[23] They passed the site of the present Castroville, crossed over to the east, skirted the foothills along the marshy cañada through which the Southern Pacific Railroad runs, and emerged on the southern end of Pájaro Valley. Portolá has no entries for the days of October 2nd to 6th. He then writes: "El 7 de Octubre anduvimos dos horas y media por pantanos y lagunas; aquí se celebró la junta pedida por el comandante de la expedición, la que incluio." This is unintelligible. The council was held at Santa Delfina on the 4th, as the report states to which he refers.

"After holy Mass, Sunday, October 8th, we administered the Holy Viaticum to the sick soldier of last night, and to another who is likewise very ill. The latter also received Extreme Unction to-day. They nevertheless followed the expedition seated or fastened on the litters prepared for them.[24] In the same manner nine others traveled who were crippled from scurvy, though not so grievously as the two mentioned before. After this tender and devout function we set out for the north over hills which are somewhat higher than those of the preceding day, but every break in the hills was found to be a lagoon of greater or smaller size, which compelled us to make a circuit many times. After wandering onward five hours, during which we covered four leagues, we reached a village of which our advance guard had spoken before; but contrary to our expectations we found it deserted and destroyed. This was a great drawback, inasmuch as it prevented us from obtaining information about the country, the people, their language, etc. We camped on the bank of a river which the advance guard had discovered not far from the destroyed village. The stream courses through a shady and delightful valley full of poplar, alder, high oak trees, and other species of trees not known to us. Here also we saw a bird which the savages had killed and stuffed with dry grass. To some it appeared to be an eagle. It measured from the end of one wing to the tip of the other eleven *palmos*.[25] For this reason the soldiers called the stream El Río del Pájaro,[26] but I applied the name of Lady Santa Ana." After resting on the 9th for the sake of the sick and to allow the pioneers time for exploring the region beyond, "on Tuesday 10th," Fr. Crespi writes, "we set out towards the northwest. We could not accomplish the whole day's journey as intended, because we saw the sick growing worse, and every day their number increased. We therefore made perhaps a little more than a league across plains and low hills, studded with very tall trees whose wood is of a reddish color, similar to the cedar, but without its odor. There are a great many of these trees in this region, but as no one in the expedition recognized them, we named them for the color of the wood.[27] We pitched our camp near a lake where there was plenty of pasturage and an abundance of these redwood trees."

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[24] "No obstante van siguiendo en las sillas de tijeras que se les han hecho y compuesto."

[25] A palmo is a measure reaching from the tip of the thumb to the end of the little finger—about nine inches.

"Our sick," the diary continues on Wednesday, "became much worse and others were also prostrated. For this reason the commander decided to stop here. We both Fathers celebrated holy Mass this morning in honor of St. Joseph for the recovery of the afflicted and the happy outcome of the expedition. We gave the Holy Viaticum and Extreme Unction to three others whose condition is worse. The commander determined that, while we tarried here for the sake of the sick, as much of the country should be explored as possible. For that purpose Sergeant Ortega started out with eight soldiers, each having three mules so as to change about; for owing to the cold weather these animals were much weakened." Ortega and his men returned Saturday evening and reported having advanced twelve leagues to the foot of a high, white sierra without discovering any sign of the port. Yet they all the while had been in sight of it.

Meanwhile, October 12th, Fr. Crespi wrote in his journal, "It seems the sufferers have somewhat improved. We recommended them to Our Lady of the Pillar, in whose honor we named the site Nuestra Señora del Pilár.[28] I took the latitude and found it to be thirty-six degrees and fifty-five minutes." On Sunday 15th, Fr. Crespi writes, "we both Fathers celebrated holy Mass and recommended to God the afflicted who felt somewhat relieved. The commander therefore resolved that we should proceed, and so we set out going towards the northwest over low hills covered with redwood timber, and through a valley overgrown with hazel-bushes. After half a league of road we came to an arroyo which had a good volume of water. It seemed to run between high banks along which grew many poplar, alder and willow trees; but there was no level ground near, which might have the benefit of the water.[29] Owing to the sick,[30] we traveled only one league and a half, and then pitched our camp in a cañada near another small lake which we christened Santa Teresa for the saint of the day."

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[26] River of the Bird. Valley and stream still bear the name. The Indian village probably stood near the site of "Chinatown" opposite Watsonville.

[27] This is the origin of the term "redwood," palo colorado, for which Central and Northern California are famous.

Continuing, the expedition next day called their stopping-place Rosario del Beato Serafín, and after crossing and naming the San Lorenzo River, on the 17th, rested for the night near the site of the later Mission Santa Cruz. Progress was necessarily slow, as the explorers had to make their way over hills, through ravines, and along precipices which produced depression of spirits.[31] No Indians had been seen since leaving the Pájaro River. On the 18th and 19th the wanderers crossed and named Arroyo de Santa Cruz, Arroyo de San Lucas or Puentes, and Barranca de la Olla. The latter place was so called because the mule, which bore the camping kettle, with its burden tumbled over a precipice. San Pedro de Alcántara, or El Alto de Jumín was also climbed and Indians discovered before going to rest on the 19th. Next day the advance guard had to cut its way through all kinds of obstacles. At Arroyo de San Beltrán, on the shore near Point Año Nuevo, Fr. Crespi found the latitude to be thirty-seven degrees and twenty-two minutes, whilst Costansó's observations resulted in nineteen minutes less.

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[28] Our Lady of the Pillar, for the feast of the day. Most probably this lake is identical with Pinto Lake, also known as Amesti Lake.

[29] That is to say for irrigation.

[30] According to Ortega (Bancroft, i. 155), sixteen men had lost the use of their limbs. Each night they were rubbed with oil and each morning fastened to the "tijeras," a kind of wooden frame, and raised to the backs of the mules.

[31] "que infunden tristeza."

During the night of Saturday, October 21st, heavy rains set in and, as there was no shelter, gave all a thorough drenching, so that the next day was occupied in drying the clothes. "With the rains came an epidemic of diarrhea which attacked everybody without exception," Costansó writes in his Díario. "It was feared that this disease, which exhausted the strength and dispirited the men, would put an end to the expedition altogether; but quite the contrary happened, for all those who were afflicted and suffering with the scurvy, crippled, swollen in all their members, and tormented with pains, from that time forth began to feel relief from their ailments. Little by little the swellings disappeared, the pains ceased, the men recovered the use of their limbs, and were finally restored to perfect health without the use of any medicine whatsoever." On this account, with many thanks to God, the camping-place was remembered as La Salud.

Next day the half-starved explorers received much needed refreshments at an Indian village, which lay near a point of land extending into the ocean. In the center of the settlement stood a large round structure, probably a sweathouse. The soldiers spoke of it as Casa Grande, but Fr. Crespi named the village in honor of San Juan Nepomuceno. Other names applied as the expedition proceeded were San Pedro Regalado, Santo Domingo, Arroyo de San Ivón or Las Pulgas,[32] and Arroyo de San Simón y San Judas, or Llano de los Ánsares. The latter place was reached on October 28th. By this time rations had to be reduced to five tortillas [33] a day. Only a little fleshmeat remained; this was reserved for the sick. It was proposed to slaughter some of the mules for food; but the soldiers rejected this proposition until want should grow worse. A little relief was obtained from some Indians who brought tamales[34] made of black seeds. The hungry Spaniards found them quite palatable. Continuing the journey on the 30th the expedition reached a point of land on the coast which Fr. Crespi christened Punta del Ángel Custodio, or Angel de Guarda. Here the famished men feasted on clams of which they found an abundance, and for which reason they named the point Almejas. It is identical with Point San Pedro. Without as much as suspecting it the Spaniards were approaching a startling discovery.

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[32] So called on account of the multitude of fleas encountered in the huts of a deserted village.

[33] Thin pancakes of meal, usually of maize, mixed with water and baked on a hot stone or sheet of iron.

"Tuesday, October 31st," Fr. Crespi writes, "lofty hills impede our progress along the beach. Though the ascent of the hills is not difficult, the descent on every side is arduous. Sergeant Ortega with some men, therefore, started out early in the morning to make a road down the declivity. We then began the march at about ten in the morning. When we reached the summit, we beheld a grand bay formed by a point of land, which runs far out into the ocean, and appears to be an island. Moreover, towards the west-northwest, from our point of vision, but somewhat to the southwest of the aforesaid point, six or seven white farallones, or rocky islets, are observed. Following the shore of the bay on the north some white cliffs are distinguished, and turning to the northeast, the mouth of an estuary,[35] which seems to enter the land within, is seen. At sight of these landmarks, to which the description of Pilot Cabrera Bueno refers, we came to recognize this port. It is that of our Father San Francisco.[36] We have therefore left the Port of Monterey behind. With these doubts and convictions we descended the hill, and pitched our camp in the center of a little valley which is about six hundred yards long and one hundred yards wide. Two small arroyos, which unite to run into the ocean, furnished enough water."

"A short distance from our camp we found a rancheria of very gentle Indians, who visited us immediately after our

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[34] Ordinarily ground corn mixed with highly seasoned meat or other eatables wrapped in corn-shucks and boiled in water. The tamales of these Indians contained only black seeds.

[35] The Golden Gate.

[36] That is to say, the port so named by Cermeño, and which is now miscalled Drake's Bay. See vol. i, 33; 68.

DISCOVERY OF OLD SAN FRANCISCO BAY, OCTOBER 31, 1769. BY A. B. DODGE.

arrival, and brought us some *tamales* made from black seeds. Judging from the fires which we saw along the beach, the coast must be well covered with rancherias. From this beach we could observe that the farallones extend from west to southwest, and that the point, which I believe is Point Reyes, forms the bay and bounds it on the north and northwest. All the landmarks which we find here, are given in the description of Pilot Cabrera Bueno, so that we may conclude that this is the Port of San Francisco. The latitude in which we find ourselves, which is thirty-seven degrees and a half, confirms our belief; for though the said author places the port in thirty-eight degrees and a half, we have found that his figures generally are from one to one and a half degrees too high. Hence it is not strange that this harbor, found in thirty-seven degrees and a half, should be that of our Father San Francisco."

CHAPTER IV.

"Arm of the Sea," or San Francisco Bay Discovered—More Explorations.—Return March.—Again at Monterey Bay.—Why It Was Not Recognized.—A Council.—Raising Crosses at Carmelo and Monterey Bays.—Return to San Diego.—Thanksgivings.—Portolá's Resolution.—Fr. Serra's Determination.—A Novena and Its Result.—The *San Antonio's* Mishaps.—Bancroft's Criticism of Fr. Serra.—Amusing Notions of Non-Catholic Writers.

SOME of the men still pretended to doubt that Monterey Bay had been passed or the Port of San Francisco re-discovered. Portolá, therefore, ordered Sergeant Ortega to cross over to the bay below Point Reyes, and to report in three days. Next day, the Feast of All Saints, after Fr. Crespi and Fr. Gómez had celebrated holy Mass in the camp at Point San Pedro or Ángel Custodio, Ortega with a squad of soldiers went forth on his errand. Going north and then ascending the mountain ridge to the east, he must soon have come in sight of the grand bay which they called an arm of the sea, but which now is known the world over at San Francisco Bay. Ortega and his companions must, therefore, be regarded as the discoverers though others credited the discovery to Portolá and his company; for on All Souls' Day, November 2nd, some of the soldiers set out from the main camp to hunt for deer, and returned in the evening with the news that towards the north and east they had observed an immense arm of the sea, which extended into the land southeastward as far as the eye could reach. "This report," Fr. Crespi says, "confirmed us in the opinion that we were at the port of our Father San Francisco,[1] and that what they reported was doubtless the estuary described by Cabrera Bueno, the outlet [2] of which we had not seen coming down to the shore because of the intervening cliff." [3] Late on Saturday, November 3d, Ortega with his companions returned and explained that he had found it impossible to cross or go around the great estuary, but that he had understood some Indians to say that far down the arm of the sea a ship lay at anchor. It was then decided to go in search of this vessel, as it might be the long-expected *San Jose*.

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[1] That is to say, the grand roadstead which extends from Point Reyes to Point San Pedro and as far as the Farallones. This stretch of water, from its proximity to the real San Francisco Bay under Point Reyes, by navigators was frequently called San Francisco Bay.

[2] The Golden Gate.

[3] See Appendix C for Cabrera's description.

Before starting out on the 4th, the two Fathers celebrated holy Mass in honor of St. Charles, the patron saint of their king, and then the whole company marched along the beach to the south for some time. Turning to the eastward they made their way over the San Bruno Hills. "From the top of a hill," writes Fr Crespi, "we beheld the grand estuary or arm of the sea, which is probably four or five leagues wide and extends towards the south-southeast.[4] Turning our back upon the bay,[5] and keeping it always to the left of us, we proceeded southward down a cañada for three hours, and then pitched our camp at the foot of a sierra. All assisted at holy Mass on Sunday 5th, and after that traveled four and a half hours to the next camping-place close by a lagoon.[6] Large herds of deer, tracks of bears, and innumerable wild geese were observed but all this game eluded the aim of the famished hunters, who were glad enough to satisfy their hunger with wild strawberries. Small quantities of black seeds and crushed acorns secured from the Indians in return for the coveted glass beads also afforded some little relief. Next day the march continued for three leagues and a half to the end of the cañada which Fr. Crespi named in honor of St. Francis.[7] Here the Spaniards went into camp on a stream which flowed into the oft-mentioned "arm of the sea." [8]

Portolá ordered an exploring party to go out and obtain information concerning the ship, which Ortega had understood must be somewhere in the estuary. They were allowed rations for four days.[9] Guided by a few gentile Indians from a neighboring rancheria, Sergeant Ortega and eight men departed in the afternoon of the 7th. Meanwhile hunger drove the soldiers in the camp of feed on acorns, with the result that those who ate them suffered from indigestion and fevers. "On the night of November 10th the explorers returned quite disheartened and convinced that they had misunderstood the gentiles. They reported the whole country towards the north impassable by reason of the scarcity of grass and the ferocity of the Indians who had tried to oppose their march. Furthermore, they told of having seen another estuary of the same size as the one we had in sight of us with which it was connected;[10] and that to go around it would require many leagues of travel." Next day, after holy Mass to the Holy Ghost, a council of the officers and the two Fathers was held in Portolá's tent. All gave it as their opinion that they must go back to Point Pinos in order to find the Port of Monterey, and in it the *San José* with supplies waiting for them.

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[4] Portolá with the officers and Fathers, therefore, sighted the bay on the fourth day after its discovery by Ortega.

[5] "Bahia." It is the first time that Fr. Crespi so terms the "arm of the sea."

[6] Probably Laguna Grande on San Mateo Creek. (Bancroft.)

[7] Now San Andrés and San Raimundo, according to Bancroft.

[8] San Francisquito Creek in the vicinity of Searsville. (Bancroft.)

[9] "para divertir el hambre," rather, to divert hunger. Their rations, like those of the rest, consisted of five tortillas a day.

In the afternoon the expedition began the return march up the Cañada de San Francisco, recrossed the San Bruno Hills, and on the 14th again rested at Point Ángel Custodio. Here the famished wanderers fed heartily on clams. Two days later, at San Simón y San Judas, the soldiers were fortunate enough to kill twenty-two wild geese. Farther on, at San Lucas, they killed others, which made Fr. Crespi exclaim: "Blessed be the Divine Providence that deigns to aid us poor, lonely wanderers in our extreme necessity." All along the road the Indian villages were found abandoned. Sunday 26th, at last, saw the explorers return to Camp Santa Delfina near the mouth of the Salinas River. Next morning they forded the stream above tidewater, went by sand dunes, and halted for the night near a small lagoon in view of Point Pinos. On the 28th they crossed the pine-covered hills and pitched their camp back of Carmelo Bay, probably on or near the spot where Mission San Carlos was later established. Costansó found the latitude to be the same as that of Cádiz, Spain: thirty-six degrees and six minutes.

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[10] Doubtless San Pablo Bay. They may have gone as far as Oakland or Berkeley. In either case Ortega must have discovered the outlet to the ocean, the Golden Gate, if indeed he did not see it on November 1st.

Portolá now ordered a close survey of the coast to be made. While Captain Rivera, some soldiers and six Lower California Indians, who thus far had remained faithful, examined the surrounding country and shores, the men in camp suffered exceedingly for want of food; for neither game nor fish, not even clams could be obtained. Only the animals fared well, Fr. Crespi remarked; for there was plenty of grass. Hunger drove the men to kill sea gulls and pelicans. Finally a mule was slaughtered, but only the Catalonian volunteers and the Indian attendants would eat the flesh. As cold weather set in, the situation became desperate. Rivera on the night of December 4th, returned with his men, but with only four of the Indians; the other two had deserted. To the astonishment of all the captain reported that he had failed to discover the desired port; that the only certainty he had was that they were at the foot of the Santa Lucía Sierra, and that there was no way to pass it along the coast.

"It is," says Bancroft,[11] "and must ever remain more or less inexplicable that the Spaniards should have failed to identify Monterey at this time. All that was known of that port had resulted from Vizcaino's visit, and this knowledge was in the hands of the explorers in the works of Venegas [12] and Cabrera Bueno. The description of the landmarks was tolerably clear, and in fact these landmarks had been readily recognized by Portolá's party at their first arrival on the bay shore. Moreover, the advantages of the harbor had not been greatly exaggerated, both Torquemada, as quoted by Venegas, and Cabrera Bueno having called Monterey simply a *famoso puerto,* the former stating that it was protected from all winds, and the latter, from all except the northwest winds. Yet with the harbor lying at their feet, and with several landmarks so clearly defined that Vila and Serra recognized them at once from the reports at San Diego, and penetrated the truth of the matter in spite of their companions' mystification, the Spanish officers could find nothing resembling the object of their search, and were even tempted to account for the port's disappearance by the theory that since Vizcaino's time it had perhaps been "filled up with sand."

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[11] *History of California,* vol. i, 152.

[12] Venegas in his first volume, chapters xlv-lviii, merely reproduced the account which Fr. Torquemada in his *Monarquía Indiana,* tom. i, lib. v, capp. xlvi-lvi, pp. 694-721, gives of Sebastian Vizcaino's voyage. See vol. i, this work. The expedition had a copy of Cabrera Bueno's work.

Fr. Palóu ventures an explanation, and Bancroft acknowledges that it would be difficult to prove the theory inaccurate. "When the venerable Fr. Junípero Serra," Fr. Palóu writes, "conferred with the inspector-general about the first three missions which Gálvez had directed him to establish in New California,[13] seeing the names and patrons which he had assigned, he said to him, 'and is there to be no mission for our Father San Francisco?' Don José Gálvez replied, 'If San Francisco wants a mission, let him cause his port[14] to be discovered, and it will be placed there.' The expedition went up; it reached the Port of Monterey; it halted and planted a cross there; yet not one of those who went recognized it, though they made out all the marks in the history. They went up forty leagues farther on; came to the Port of San Francisco, our Father; and at once all recognized it from the conformity with the description which they had brought along. In view of this, what else must we say than that our holy Father wanted a mission at his port?"[15] "St. Francis had indeed brought the Spaniards within sight of his port," Bancroft comments, "but his mission was not to be there; and some years later, when the Spaniards found they could not go to San Francisco, they decided that San Francisco must come to them, and accordingly transferred the name southward to the peninsula and bay."[16]

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[13] Present State of California.

[14] The one named San Francisco by Cermeño, and which is miscalled Drake's Bay. See vol. i, 36, 68.

[15] Palóu, *Vida,* cap. xviii, 88-89.

[16] Bancroft, vol. i, 152. The absurd explanation proposed by Vallejo and Alvarado that the explorers had secret orders from Gálvez not to find Monterey, but to go on to San Francisco, hardly deserves notice. The views expressed thus early by Vallejo and Alvarado give us a glimpse at the character of these two men. They were ever ready to impute unworthy motives.

The consternation among the explorers may be imagined. Fr. Crespi describes his own state of mind thus: "In view of what has been said of the Sierra Santa Lucía, which this sierra back of our camp doubtless is, and that we do not find in this neighborhood the celebrated Port of Monterey, though the examination was made at their leisure by men of character, who are capable, intelligent, and versed in navigation, who came expressly to survey this coast by order of the king, we have to say that they did not find it after the closest investigation made at the cost of much labor and hardship. Possibly it may have to be said that it has been filled up and destroyed in the course of time; but, inasmuch as we see no reason for such a decision, I suspend my own judgment on this matter. What I can say with certainty is that efforts have been made on the part of the commander, the officers and soldiers, yet no such port has been discovered, though God permitted that we should reach and recognize the Port of San Francisco."

When Portolá had received the report of Captain Rivera, he explained the critical situation to the officers, and then called a final council for the 7th. The Fathers on the 6th and also on the day named celebrated holy Mass to the Holy Ghost in order that the officers might come to the right decision. Some at the council were of the opinion that all should remain until the provisions had been consumed, and then to subsist on mule-meat while returning south. The majority, however, decided that the return march should begin at once, inasmuch as the supplies had dwindled down to fourteen sacks of poor flour, snow was covering the hills and might make the roads impassable, and the cold was excessive. Next day, Friday, December 8th, Fr. Crespi writes, "we two priests celebrated this day the feast of our most Beloved Superioress [17] by offering up the holy Sacrifice of the Mass at which all attended. The weather was rough and stormy, and did not permit us to leave the place. On Sunday, the 10th, we both celebrated holy Mass, and every one attended. Before we departed, a large cross, which had been framed for that purpose, was raised.[18] Upon the cross were carved the words: "Dig at the base and thou wilt find a writing." The object was that if any packet-boat came up to this vicinity it might obtain information about the land expedition. The document was put into a bottle and buried at the foot of the cross. It reads as follows:

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[17] "Fiesta de Nuestra Amantísima Prelada." It was the feast of the Immaculate Conception under which title the Blessed Virgin is regarded as the Patroness of the Franciscan Order.

" 'The land expedition which started out from San Diego on the 14th day of July, 1769, in command of the governor of California,[19] Don Gaspar de Portolá, entered the Channel of Santa Barbara on August 9th, passed Point Concepción on the 27th of the same month, arrived at the foot of the Sierra de Santa Lucía on September 13th, entered the sierra on the 17th of that month, finished crossing the sierra on the first of October, and came in sight of Point Pinos and the ensenada to the north and south of it on the same day without seeing the marks of the Port of Monterey, and therefore resolved to pass on in search of it. On October 30th it sighted Point Reyes and the farallones, off the Port of San Francisco, seven in number. The expedition desired to reach Point Reyes, but some immense estéros, which in an extraordinary way entered into the land, would have compelled it to make a great circuit. The extreme lack of provisions presented other difficulties and forced it to turn back in the belief that the Port of Monterey perhaps might be found along the sierra, and that it had been passed without being seen. The return march was begun from the end of the Estero of San Francisco[20] on November 11th. The expedition passed Point Año Nuevo on the 19th of said month, and a second time arrived at this Point and Ensenada de Pinos on the 27th of the same month. From that day to this, December 9th, it diligently searched for the Port of Monterey among the mountain ridges, going along the shore notwithstanding its ruggedness, but in vain. At last, undeceived and despairing of finding it after so many hardships, surveys, and anxieties, with no more provisions than fourteen sacks of flour, the expedition leaves this ensenada for San Diego. Pray Almighty God to guide it; and thou, navigator, may Divine Providence will to bring thee to the port of safety. Ensenada de Pinos, December 9, 1769.' "

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[18] On a hillock near the bay south of Point Pinos, that is to say, Carmelo Bay, which the explorers likewise did not recognize.

[19] That is to say, Lower California, of which he had been appointed governor. It is the first time that Portolá uses the term in connection with this expedition. In his diary he always styles himself Comandante de la Expedición. Costansó and Fr. Crespi, as stated elsewhere, generally use the title comandante. Fr. Palóu, on the other hand, always calls him governor, and such he was of Lower California.

[20] The second time that *San Francisco* is found coupled with the bay hitherto described as "arm of the sea;" for Costansó in his *Diario* first so names it on November 11th.

In a note Portolá gives the latitude of the principal places on the march from San Diego as far as Point Reyes, and then requests the commander of any vessel arriving soon to sail down the coast and endeavor to communicate with the land party. On the same date he had another cross erected north of Point Pinos on the shore of the very harbor which they could not find, probably on Presidio Hill. The inscription read, "The expedition for want of provisions returns by land to San Diego to-day, December 9, 1769." Next day the explorers left the camp at Carmelo, crossed the pine-covered peninsula, forded the Salinas on the 11th, and camped somewhat farther up on the spot which they had occupied on September 30th. Here they celebrated the feast of Our Lady of Guadalupe, both Fathers offering up the holy Sacrifice, and then proceeded southward over the same road which had brought them to the north.

The journey is not without interest, but we shall mention only a few incidents, and in a note merely fix the dates and places hallowed by the celebration of the holy Sacrifice which was usually offered up by both Fr. Crespi and Fr. Gómez.[21] Hunger aggravated the hardships suffered from the rough and steep roads, so much so that some of the explorers would secretly help themselves to the flour which could be distributed in small quantities only. To prevent further thefts, Portolá on the 20th had the remainder divided among the men. Each one received enough to make forty tortillas. At the rate of five a day this was sufficient for a week. The officers and the two Fathers, besides a little chocolate and ham, received a small quantity of biscuits, which had been brought up all the way from Mission Purísima Concepción, Lower California. The men fared better after descending the sierra into the Valley of the Bears. Meat became available, and the Indians from there down brought fish in abundance for which they received the glass beads of which they were fond. Only one mishap occurred, and that was near the site of San Luis Obispo on December 28th. Besides being wet all through from heavy rains, they were mired and could find no dry place to celebrate holy Mass. All felt this very much, Fr. Crespi writes, as it was the feast of the Holy Innocents, and the only holyday along the entire journey on which holy Mass was not celebrated.

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[21] These days and places were: December 12th on the Salinas; Sunday, 17th, and Thursday, 21st, in the sierra; Sunday, 24th, and Christmas Day at San Benvenuto or Osito; St. Stephen's Day just below Estero de Santa Serafina; December 27th at San Adriano; Sunday 31st, two leagues and a half below El Buchón; January 1st at Laguna de San Daniel; Epiphany at San Zeferino; next day, Sunday 7th, at Gaviota Pass; Sunday 14th, at Triunfo de Nombre de Jesus before reaching San Fernando Valley, and Sunday 21st, in the Santa María Magdalena Valley. For purposes of identification see Appendix D.

Below Asumpta, or San Buenaventura, instead of going back up the Santa Clara River, the Spaniards on January 12th took a more southern route. In the Los Angeles region they also traveled a somewhat different road. On the 17th they crossed the Rio Porciúncula and, after proceeding three leagues, reached a valley which was called San Miguel. Here they camped on a spot which they had occupied on July 30th of the past year.[22] The expedition next moved to the southwest along the river for some time, crossed it and marched to the Río de los Tremblores or Santa Ana River, which was also forded, and then the Spaniards halted for the night, after having traveled six leagues from San Miguel. Thereafter the explorers continued on the old road until they reached the vicinity of San Diego, where on Wednesday, January 24th, they announced their safe arrival by a volley from their muskets. All that were able hastened out to welcome them with a hearty embrace.

"We found our Fr. Presidente," Fr. Crespi concludes his journal, "and Fr. Fernando Parrón convalescing from the scurvey;[23] and Fr. Juan Vizcáino was still suffering from the arrow wound which he had received on August 15th, the year before. We gave an account of our journey, which had lasted six months and ten days, and thanked God and the holy Patriarch St. Joseph, the patron of the expedition, for having returned in good health. The special favor which we acknowledge having received from His Divine Majesty through the intercession of St. Joseph was that no one died during the whole journey." In thanksgiving holy Mass was offered up on the following day. Portolá likewise acknowledged his obligation by closing his diary in these words: "On this day we arrived at San Diego, giving thanks to God that, notwithstanding the great hardships and privations which we had undergone, not a single man has perished. Indeed, we accomplished our return march, through the great providence of God, without other human aid than that, when we were in dire need, we killed some mules for our necessary sustenance." [24]

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[22] The site of the later Mission San Gabriel. (Bancroft.)

When the commander examined the stock of supplies he discovered that, unless relief came soon, hunger would compel the abandonment of the territory. To avert such a disaster, he ordered Captain Rivera to bring up from Mission San Fernando de Velicatá, Lower California, all the provisions obtainable, along with all the cattle left there in the previous year. Accompanied by Fr. Vizcáino, who had permission to retire, Rivera on February 11th set out with twenty soldiers,[25] two muleteers, two Christian Indians, ten horses, and eighty pack

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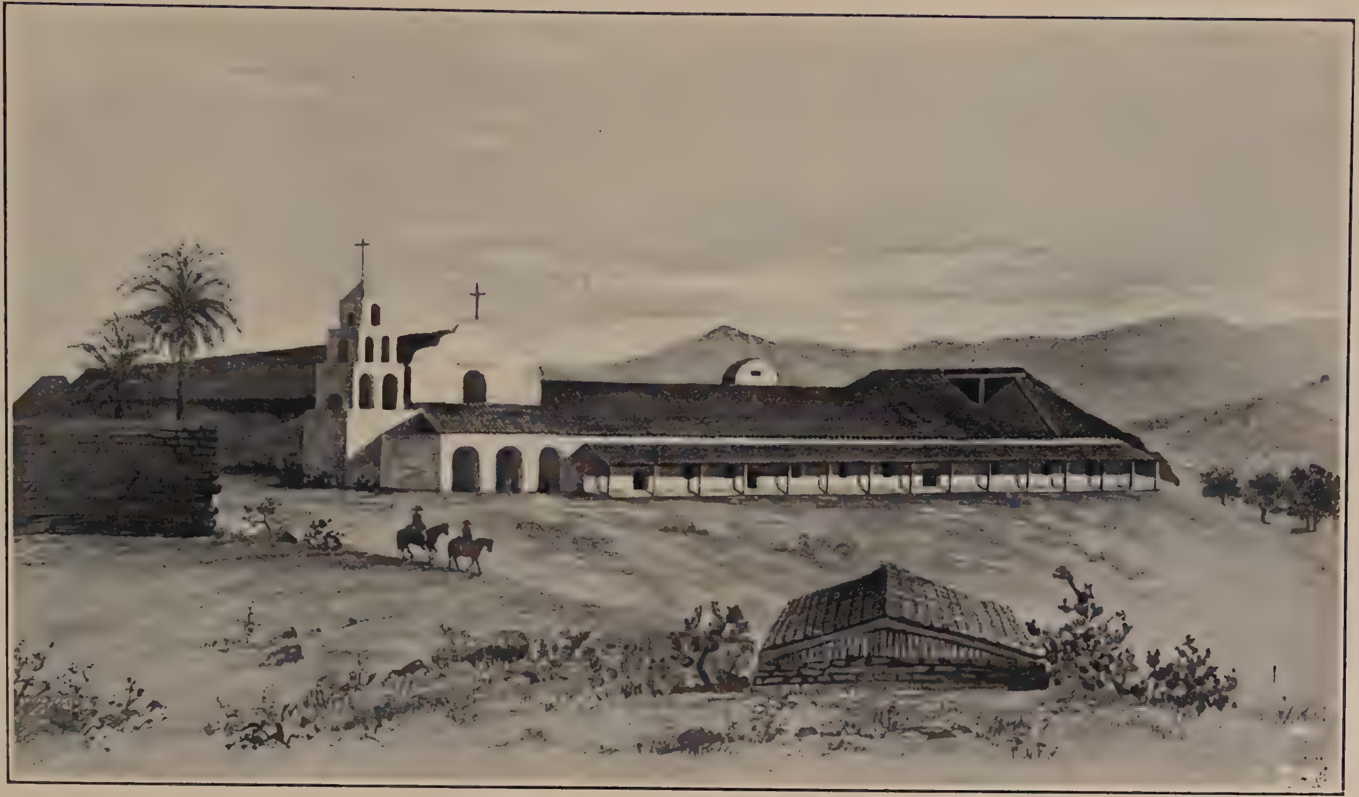
[23] "The Missionary Fathers, as well as Surgeon Pedro Prat and Don Vicente Vila, were recovering from the common malady; for the contagion had not spared a single person," writes Costansó in his *Diario Histórico*. For the daily occurrences on the expedition with Portolá see also Costansó's *Diario*, which is distinct from the other work, He generally agrees with Fr. Crespi, except as to latitude.

[24] Costansó gives the number of mules killed for food as twelve. Fr. Crespi, *Diario;* Fr. Crespi to Fr. Andrés, February 8, 1770; Portolá, *Diario;* Portolá to the viceroy, February 11, 1770. *Arch. General.*

[25] In his *Vida,* Palóu says nineteen soldiers; Costansó, *Diario Histórico,* has forty. He also says that Rivera departed on the 10th. Hereafter we shall drop the designation leather jacket, because all the guards and presidio men will be of that class. The Catalonian volunteers will be designated as such when credit is due them.



I. MISSION SAN DIEGO, FOUNDED JULY 16, 1769

mules. Only once was the company attacked by savages, who hastily withdrew when two of their number had been killed by the musket shots of the Spaniards. Although the captain arrived at San Fernando on February 25th, he encountered so many obstacles in his efforts to procure supplies from distant Loreto that he could not begin the return march until May 23d.[26]

Meanwhile the settlement at San Diego was in sore straits. The mission buildings consisted only of a few rickety tule structures within a stockade. Fr. Serra hoped that some improvements would be made when Portolá returned from the north; but when he broached the subject the commander replied that his men were worn out, and that after all the mission might not be permanent, because he had decided, unless assistance came by the feast of St. Joseph, March 19th, to retire to Lower California, inasmuch as the provisions would last no longer,[27] and his men had not come to perish from hunger.[28] The Fr. Presidente said no more, but his grief may be imagined; nor was anything more built than a corral for the horses.[29]

As soon as Portolá's determination became known it formed the common topic of conversation, Fr. Palóu writes, and every word went like an arrow to the heart of the zealous Fr. Presidente. He incessantly pleaded with Almighty God to hasten the arrival of the relief ship, lest the conversion of the savages be postponed for an indefinite number of years, during which period many of these immortal souls would necessarily perish. One hundred and sixty-six years had elapsed since the visit of Sebastian Vizcaino; when would another expedition again set foot on the shore of San Diego? Gradually he reached the heroic resolution of remaining there with one companion and leaving the result to God, even though every Spaniard abandoned the country. His sentiments are well expressed in a letter addressed to Fr. Palóu, presidente of the Lower California missions, from which we quote the following extract:

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[26] Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. ii, cap. xviii, 245-246; *Vida,* cap. xix, 94; Portolá, *Diario;* Costansó, *Diario;* Portolá to Viceroy De Croix, February 11, 1770; Fr. Serra to Fr. Palóu, February 10, 1770, in *Vida,* 93.

[27] Fages, February 8, 1770, reported to Gálvez that they had then 30 fanegas de mais bueno, 29 fanegas de mais picado, 47 costales de harina, 4 tercios de frijol, un tercio de lentejas, un tercio de garbanzos, and 10 arrobas de panocha. Costansó, *Diario,* writes: "Había en San Diego provisiones de mais, harina, y semillas suficiente á la manutención de los que componían el presidio para algunos meses"; but sixty additional men would not let these provisions last long. On the other hand, twenty-five men departed with Rivera. Costansó also complains to Gálvez, February 7th, that "there is such a scarcity of writing paper that in future I shall have to write on Papel de Holanda" (wrapping paper). *Arch. Gen.,* California, 66.

[28] "que la gente no había venido á perecer de hambre." Palóu, 254.

[29] Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. ii, cap. xix, 254.

"The lack of communication with you and your missions is doubtless one of the great drawbacks at this place. What I am desiring least is provisions. The necessities are numerous, it is true; but if we have health, a tortilla, and some herbs, what more do we want? By the mercy of God I find myself well satisfied and content with whatever God may dispose. Fr. Vizcaino with a wounded hand is leaving in company of the captain.[30] The others staying here are the Fathers Juan Crespi, Fernando Parrón, Francisco Gómez, and myself, so that when the ships arrive we may plant the second mission. If we see that along with the provisions hope vanishes, *I shall remain alone with Father Juan Crespi and hold out to the last breath.*[31] God grant us His holy grace, to that end we recommend ourselves to God. Send us a little incense, for in packing the goods they forgot this. The ordos [32] should come along if they have arrived, also the new Oils,[33] in case you have received them."

Besides appealing to Heaven, Fr. Serra on his own account took steps to accomplish his purpose. He boarded the *San*

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[30] As this was written on the 10th it would seem that Costansó was right; yet the letter was taken along by Fr. Vizcáino. See note 25.

[31] "me quedaré con solo el P. Fr. Juan, para aguantar hasta el último esfuerzo."

[32] *Kalendarios.* This is a booklet which regulates the daily recital of the divine office. It is rearranged and reprinted each year.

[33] The holy Oils blessed by the bishop every year on Holy Thursday had to be procured from Guadalajara, Mexico, to which diocese California belonged. Fr. Serra to Fr. Palóu, February 10, 1770; Palóu, *Vida,* cap. xix, 92-93.

Carlos, which for want of sailors lay idle in the harbor since April 30th of the preceding year, and addressed Captain Vila to this effect: "Señor, the commander of the land forces, the governor, has determined to withdraw and to abandon this port on the 20th of March, unless by that date a ship arrives with provisions. He is moved thereto by the dearth of food, as well as by the general opinion that the Port of Monterey has filled up, though I suspect that they merely failed to recognize it." "In view of what I have heard and of what I have read in the reports," the worthy captain replied, "I think likewise. The port is just where they planted the cross." "Well, sir," Fr. Serra rejoined, "I have resolved to stay, even if the expedition departs, and with me will be Fr. Crespi. If you permit, we shall come here as soon as the expedition starts out, and on the arrival of the other packet we shall go up by sea in search of Monterey." The captain readily agreed to the proposition, and the Fr. Presidente with a much lighter heart returned to his brushwood quarters.[34] What then occurred is best told in Fr. Palóu's own words.

"When the venerable servant of God saw how near at hand was the feast of the holy Patriarch St. Joseph, he proposed to the said commander and governor that a novena [35] be made to this holy patron of the expeditions. The commander consented, and it was then held in common after the daily recital of the Rosary. The day of St. Joseph had at length arrived, and everything had already been made ready for the return march to Old California, which was to be commenced by the whole company on the following day. Nevertheless, the feast of this great saint was celebrated with a High Mass and sermon. That evening God willed, owing to the intercession of the holy patriarch, to gratify the ardent desires of His servant, and to grant to all the consolation of clearly and distinctly beholding a ship, which, though it disappeared from view, dropped its anchor in the Port of San Diego on the fourth day. The sight of the vessel was sufficient to suspend the abandonment of the place and mission, and animated all to persevere, inasmuch as they attributed to a miracle of the holy patriarch that on his own day, on which the period of waiting had terminated for the expedition, the bark had allowed itself to be seen.[36] The astonishment increased as the particulars became known.

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[34] Palóu, *Vida,* cap. xx, 95-96. See *Mission San Diego,* 33, 331.

[35] A devotional exercise of nine consecutive days, private or public; this one was public.

It will be remembered that, when the viceroy through Captain Pérez had learned the critical situation at San Diego, and that Portolá's expedition would be awaiting supplies at Monterey, he immediately ordered the *San Antonio* to be freighted with everything necessary. He then directed the captain to sail directly for the Port of Monterey without touching at San Diego, in order to hasten provisions to the land expedition at the newly discovered harbor. The *San Antonio,* accordingly, put to sea on December 20, 1769, and, after taking more supplies on board at Cape San Lucas, sailed straightway for her destination. It was while the vessel passed the San Diego port that she was sighted by the anxious Spaniards, who had made every preparation to depart for Lower California on the next day. About eighty leagues from Monterey Bay the water supply gave out. This incident forced the captain to land in the Santa Bárbara Channel in order to refill the barrels. The Indians here, by means of signs, informed Pérez that the land expedition had passed their rancherias and was on the way to the south. He was perplexed, but finally decided to follow his instructions and to proceed on his way north. In the vicinity of Point Concepción, however, the ship lost her anchor. This accident compelled the captain to take refuge in the harbor of San Diego, where the sorely tried soldiers and missionaries welcomed the ship with loud demonstrations of joy and thanksgiving to God on the afternoon of March 23d.[37] In obedience to the instructions of both the viceroy and the inspector-general,[38] Portolá and Captain Pérez now resolved to make a combined effort by land and sea in search of the Monterey harbor. Fr. Junípero Serra, Miguel Costansó, and Dr. Pedro Prat accompanied Captain Pérez on the *San Antonio,* while Fr. Juan Crespi again joined the land expedition, which consisted of Governor Gaspar de Portolá, Lieutenant Pedro Fages and his twelve surviving Catalonian volunteers, seven regular soldiers, five Lower California Indians, and two muleteers.[39] Before leaving San Diego Fr. Serra wrote the following characteristic letter to Fr. Francisco Palóu, the presidente of the Lower California Missions:

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[36] Palóu, *Vida,* cap. xx, 96; *Noticias,* tom. ii, cap. xix, 255.

[37] Palóu, *Vida,* 96, has "on the fourth day"; in his *Noticias,* 258, he says March 24th, which may be one of the misprints in which the Doyle edition abounds. Costansó, *Diario,* has 23rd. Portolá to the viceroy, April 17, 1770, reports: "I must not omit the particular circumstance that the *Príncipe (San Antonio)* was sighted in the neighborhood of this port on the day of our Patron of this expedition, St. Joseph, and that two days later she entered the port. I firmly believe that the Saint has co-operated to prevent him (Pérez) from concluding his voyage to the Port of Monterey." *Mus. Nacional.*

"Live Jesus, Mary and Joseph![40]

"Rev. Fr. Lector[41] and Presidente. Dear Friend and Companion.—When the *San Antonio* (formerly *El Príncipe*) reached this port on St. Joseph's day, though she did not enter till four days later, the officers decided to return to Monterey. Fr. Juan Crespi a second time goes by land, and I make the voyage by sea. While we were under the impression that there was no hurry (though I had sent aboard whatever I wanted to take along, except my bed), yesterday, Holy Saturday, very late in the evening I received notice from the captain, our friend and countryman, Don Juan Pérez, that we must embark that very night. I went on board and now we are at the entrance of the port. The men have been setting the sails in order ever since I celebrated holy Mass very early this morning.

"Fathers Parrón and Gómez stay at San Diego as missionaries, and some of the soldiers will share the hardships with them. I and Fr. Juan Crespi go with the intention of separating like the guards, one for Monterey and the other for San

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[38] "I cannot omit instructing you again to promptly fulfill whatever the Most Illustrious Señor Visitador (Gálvez) may have ordered." De Croix to Portolá, August 12, 1769. *Arch. Gen.*

[39] Palóu, *Vida,* cap. xx, xxi, 96-98; *Noticias,* tom. ii, cap. xix, xx, 255-260; Costanó, *Diario;* Portolá, ut supra.

[40] "Viva Jesus, María y Joseph!" With this salutation Fr. Serra usually begins his personal letters.

[41] Fr. Palóu had been professor of higher studies in his monastery.

Buenaventura about eighty leagues from it, lest on our account or through the fault of the College [42] the foundings of that third mission in this New California be frustrated.[43] For me that kind of solitude will indeed be the greatest hardship,[44] but God in His mercy will make good the loss. If I should not have an opportunity to write to the college and to the Fr. Guardian, I beg Your Reverence to do so in my name, giving an account of all, and also that I write this letter with considerable difficulty seated upon the floor. In the same way I have written the enclosed letter to his Most Illustrious Lordship.[45] It is very brief, but gives an account of myself. By this ship [46] I have not received a note or letter from any one.

"Verbally we have received the news of the death of our Holy Father and Lord Clement XIII, and that the Most Excellent Lord Ganganelli, one of our religious,[47] has been elected. Dominus conservet eum, etc. This information has pleased me very much in my solitude. Likewise I have heard of the death of Fr. Morán for whom we are bound to apply the holy Masses according to agreement.[48] The reason why no letters arrived, they say, is because this ship had sailed with directions to proceed to Monterey without stopping here. All letters intended for us at San Diego were therefore left behind, in order that the *San José,* which is destined for this place, may bring them up; but it has not appeared, and in the opinion of the seamen it is very doubtful whether it will come.[49] When the other vessel arrives, since it is not to pass on, the letters will remain here, and when the Fathers have read them they may do with them as they please, for I do not know when other ships may reach our destination. It is already a year since I have received news from the college or from the viceroy, and soon it will be a year since I received the last from Your Reverence. Blessed be God! When there is occasion I will deem it a favor if you will send us some wax for the holy Masses and some incense. Should any more brethren have arrived from Spain, I recommend myself with sincere affection to all their Reverences as well as to all others.

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[42] The missionary college of San Fernando in the City of Mexico which supplied the missionaries for California.

[43] It was delayed, nevertheless, and not founded till 1782.

[44] For the reasons see vol. i, 262, 336, 428, 438, 432.

[45] Inspector-General Don José de Gálvez.

[46] San Antonio on her return. Fr. Serra elsewhere states that he had received no letters for more than a year.

[47] Cardinal Ganganelli, or Clement XIV, belonged to the Conventual Franciscans, who follow the first Rule of St. Francis and have a Superior-General of their own. It was he, who, driven to it by Carlos III and other Bourbon Kings, dissolved the Jesuit Order. See vol. i, 304-320.

[48] See vol. i, 343, 412.

[49] The *San José* with all on board was lost at sea.

"From a letter written at Cape San Lucas by Fr. Murguía to Captain Juan Pérez I learned that Fr. Ramos had gone to Loreto, called there by Your Reverence for some business matters. This information gave me much pleasure, because from it I see that Your Reverence and Fr. Ramos are alive, of which I had no evidence since I left Velicatá or San Juan de Dios. I conclude this letter to-day, the second day of Easter,[50] the day of the profession of our holy Father St. Francis,[51] because, owing to a change of wind, we did not sail away yesterday evening. Now, about seven in the morning, we have just passed out of the mouth of the port, and we are towing the launch of the *San Carlos* to whose sailors, God willing, I shall hand this letter when they depart, in order that they may take it to the Fathers on land, who can deliver it to the couriers, who are prepared to start out as soon as the expeditions depart. Finally, farewell, my dear friend, and may the Divine Majesty unite us in heaven. To Fr. Ramos and to Fr. Murguía most especial regards. To all I shall write a circular recommending myself to their prayers. God keep Your Reverence many years in His holy love and grace. South Sea in front of the Port of San Diego, April 16, 1770. Your most affectionate brother, friend, and servant, etc. Fr. Junípero Serra."[52]

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[50] "Segundo día de Pascua" i.e. Easter Monday. He began on Sunday.

[51] St. Francis pronounced his vows on the feast of St. Raphael, Archangel, April 16, 1209, which year is therefore considered the beginning of the Franciscan Order.

[52] Palóu, *Vida,* cap. xxi, 98-100; *Noticias,* tom. ii, cap. xx, 260.

The foregoing is a sample of Fr. Serra's letters. They abound in idiomatic expressions, proverbs, quotations, and allusions which no one not acquainted with the priestly and religious education, and the whole mission history, will find it easy to comprehend or translate. Bancroft acknowledges that he does not understand Fr. Serra's letters; but then there are a great many other things in mission history which that historian failed to comprehend, not because they were of themselves mysterious or purposely rendered unintelligible, but chiefly because he judged the missionaries, their aims and their work, from the standpoint of selfish commercialism of which he is an adept beyond comparison. Hence it is that he writes: "It is to be noted that in writing to his friars, especially about his political quarrels, he adopted a peculiar and mysterious style wholly unintelligible, as it was doubtless intended to be,[53] to all but the initiated.[54] His letters were long, verbose, and rambling, but left no minute detail of the subject untouched."[55]

In this connection we may allude to the amusing notions which the average non-Catholic historians and magazine writers, some college and university professors included, entertain about the missionaries who sacrificed themselves endeavoring to Christianize and civilize the California Indians. Greenhow,[56] for instance, who is one of the more noble of his kind, gives his readers this lucid description: "The Franciscans were, for the most part, plain, uneducated men—taken from the lower class of society, and knowing no books but their breviaries, and the biographies of their saints."[57] As Hittell is ashamed of what he wrote about them, not to speak of the drivel about the Jesuits and the Catholic Church in general, we shall let it pass; but is it not passing strange that men, who affect education, will persist in making themselves ridiculous by such a display of abject ignorance? Men, who are ashamed to be ignorant of some popular science, feel no shame in being utterly without knowledge of the Religion and its institutions about which they glibly retail the most absurd statements.

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[53] A bald assertion, but in keeping with Bancroft's plan to belittle Fr. Serra wherever possible. Fr. Serra simply wrote as childlike as he was and felt. It would have been difficult for him to dissimulate.

[54] Fr. Serra possessed a wider range of solid learning than his critic. He was a brilliant theologian, versed in the Sacred Scriptures, a thorough philosopher, a practised accetic, a good Latinist, a zealous missionary, and a true Spaniard, not to speak of his executive ability; in short, he knew somewhat more than Bancroft and his kind, and could therefore speak intelligently about many things of which his traducer has no conception. The university student is capable of conversing on a great many topics in a way that sounds unintelligible to the "uninitiated" grammar pupil. Yet no one would accuse him of duplicity.

[55] Bancroft, *History of California*, vol. i, 416.

[56] *Oregon and California*, p. 113.

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[57] Bancroft, on the other hand, forgetting his role of rabid Voltairian as regards the Franciscans, tells us that "the friars were themselves all men of good education, some of them deeply learned." (*Pastoral,* 509.)

CHAPTER V.

Second March to Monterey.—Discovered at Last.—Fr. Serra Arrives on the *San Antonio*.—First High Mass.—Taking Formal Possession.—Founding of San Carlos Mission.—First Funeral.—Corpus Christi.—The News in Mexico.—Departure of Portolá.—The *San Carlos*.—Petition for Missionaries.—The Viceroy's Orders to Fages.—Contributions from the Pious Fund.—Missionaries Arrive.—Solemn Corpus Christi Procession.—The Viceroy's Orders.—Distribution of the Missionaries.

GOVERNOR PORTOLÁ and his company began the second march for the Port of Monterey in the afternoon of April 17, 1770, the day after the *San Antonio* had sailed for the same destination.[1] Traveling very much the same route as the year before, they reached the Sierra de Santa Lucía about the middle of May. In the region of the later Mission San Antonio, called Los Robles, the Spaniards recovered two of the three Lower California Indians who had deserted in the year before. The third had meanwhile died. On Ascension Day, May 24th, the expedition arrived at the shore of the vast bay which lies northeast of Point Pinos. Here they camped within half a league of the spot on which they had planted the cross in the previous December.[2]

Accompanied by Fr. Crespi, Lieutenant Pedro Fages and one soldier who had been present at the raising of the cross, Portolá went in search of the *San Antonio*. When they approached the sacred emblem of Redemption they noticed with amazement that it was surrounded with feather-topped arrows and sticks which had been driven into the ground. From one of the sticks, a yard from the cross, dangled a string of sardines; and on the other side to another rod was fastened a piece of meat; and at the foot of the cross lay a heap of clams. It was plain that savages had put these things there, but the reason for it was not learned until some time later. "As soon as the recently baptized Indians had begun to express themselves in Spanish," Fr. Crespi relates, and the Lower California neophytes[3] understood the language of these natives, they on various occasions explained that the first time they saw our men they noticed that each one wore on his breast a small, glittering cross; that when the Spaniards had gone away and left this large cross on the shore the Indians dreaded to draw near to the sacred sign, because at night they would see it surrounded by brilliant rays which would even dispel the darkness; that the cross appeared to enlarge so as to reach the skies; that in the daytime, when it stood in its natural size without the rays, they would approach it and offer meat, fishes and mussels in order to enlist its favor, lest it harm them; and that, when to their amazement, they saw that the cross did not consume these things, they would offer their plumes and arrows in token of their desire to be at peace with it and with the people who had planted it there." This declaration, Fr. Palóu continues, different Indians made at various periods, and also repeated it to the venerable Fr. Presidente, without the least variation, when he returned from Mexico in 1774.[4]

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[1] Portolá to De Croix, April 17 and June 15, 1770. *Arch. Gen.* Costansó, *Diario;* Palóu, *Vida,* cap. xxi, 101; *Noticias,* tom. ii, cap. xxi, 261; Fages and Costansó to De Croix, June 13, 1770. *Mus. Nac.*

[2] "Llegaron el día de la Ascensión del Señor, que fué el 24 de Mayo, á la ensenada grande de la Punta de Pinos á la banda del Nordeste, parando como media legua antes de llegar á la mera Punta de Pinos en donde se había enarbolado y fijado la segunda cruz con la inscripción de que se volvía la expedición á San Diego por falta de víveres." (Palóu, tom. ii, cap. xxi, 261.) Hence they camped somewhere on the site of the city of Monterey. The Berkeley University edition of Costansó has May 23rd. Doubtless a misprint, as Ascension Day was on the 24th.

The two officers with Fr. Crespi and the soldier, Fr. Crespi further relates, "now turned to the harbor in order to see whether the ship had appeared. As the day was very clear they observed that the bay was formed by Point Pinos and another point which runs out much farther into the sea, and which had always been mistaken for Point Año Nuevo. They saw that the whole immense bay was as calm as though it were a grand lagoon, and that countless seals were disporting themselves in its water. They also noticed two large whales only five yards from the shore, which was evident proof of sufficient depth. While the two officers and Fr. Crespi walked along the beach a short distance, they perceived that the bay was locked in by the supposed Point Año Nuevo and Point Pinos in such a way that the grand body of water seemed to be a round lake and shaped like the letter O. At sight of this the three with one voice exclaimed, "This is indeed the Port of Monterey for which we are searching; for it is to the letter as Sebastian Vizcaino and Cabrera Bueno describe it!"[5] To make sure that they were not deceived, the commander resolved to await the arrival of the *San Antonio* on the other side of Point Pinos, at the Río Carmelo, because the water on the north side was brackish or insufficient for their needs.[6]

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[3] "Neófitos Californios," i.e. Lower California Indians who had come with the Fathers. They were always so designated to distinguish them from the others among whom as yet there were no Christians.

[4] Palóu, *Vida,* cap. xxii, 105-106; *Noticias,* tom. ii, cap. xxi, 261-263.

In the meantime the *San Antonio* had been battling with heavy storms which drove her as far south as the thirtieth degree of latitude. She made her way back and continued as far north as the farallones, southwest of Point Reyes, whence she sailed along the coast until she cast her anchor in Monterey Bay late in the evening on the Octave of Ascension Day, May 31st, and greeted the watch-fires of the land expedition with volleys from her cannons. Next day, June 1st, Portolá, Fages, and Fr. Crespi crossed the peninsula of Point Pinos from the Carmelo, and heartily welcomed Fr. Serra and the whole crew on the shore of the famous bay.[7]

"The delight aroused in all," Fr. Crespi writes, "at finding themselves at last in the long-sought Port of Monterey is not easy to express in words. I therefore leave it to the consideration of him who may read about the hardships and privations and the rest that can be inferred from the account of the journey as related in the Diary. Orders were given to remove the camp from the arroyo near the Río Carmelo[8] to the newly discovered harbor of Monterey. The shore was closely examined, and then very near the ravine the pools of water and the oak trees were seen, especially the large one whose branches touched the sea when the tide was in, and where holy Mass was celebrated in the year 1602 when Sebastian Vizcaino's expedition was here."[9] The ceremony of taking formal possession was fixed for Pentecost Sunday, June 3d. Fr. Crespi describes the memorable event as follows:

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[5] "La grande ensenada parecía una laguna coma una O. Al ver esto á una voz prorumpieron los tres: Este es el puerto de Monterey que buscamos, pues está á la letra como refiere Sebastian Vizcaino y Cabrera Bueno!" Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. ii, cap. xxi, 264. Viewed from the old customhouse the bay presents that shape indeed.

[6] Palóu, *Noticias,* 264.

[7] Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. ii, cap. xxii, 265-266; *Vida,* capp. xxi-xxii, 101; Costansó and Fages to viceroy, June 13, 1770. "It seems," Portolá reports to the viceroy, June 15, 1770, "that the Patron Saint of this expedition has favored it, for in thirty-seven days I reached this place, while the sea expedition arrived in forty-five, likewise almost without sickness." *Arch. Gen.*

"On the third day of June, 1770, Pentecost Sunday,[10] when Commander Don Gaspar de Portolá with his officers, subalterns, soldiers and the rest of the land expedition, Don Juan Pérez, captain of the packet-boat *San Antonio,* with his sub-captain, Don Miguel del Pino, the whole crew and the rest of the sea expedition, and the Rev. Fr. Lector and Presidente of all the missions, Fr. Junípero Serra, with Fr. Juan Crespi, had assembled on the shore of the Port of Monterey, an enramada[11] having been erected on the very spot and near the live-oak where in 1602 the Rev. Carmelite Fathers, who had come with the expedition of Commandant Sebastian Vizcaino, celebrated the holy Sacrifice of the Mass, the altar having been arranged and the bells suspended, the celebration began with the loud ringing of the bells.

"The said Fr. Presidente vested with alb and stole, all kneeling, then implored the assistance of the Holy Ghost (whose coming upon the small assembly of the apostles and disciples of the Lord the Universal Church celebrated that day), and sang the hymn of the day, the *Veni Creator Spiritus*. Thereupon he blessed water and with it the great cross, which had been constructed and which all helped to raise and place in position, and then venerated.[12] He then sprinkled the whole surroundings and the shore with holy water in order to drive away all infernal enemies.[13] Thereupon High Mass was commenced at the altar upon which stood the image of Our Lady, which, through the inspector-general, the Most Rev. Francisco de Lorenzana, Archbishop of Mexico, had donated for the expedition to Monterey. This first holy Mass was sung by the said Fr. Presidente, who also preached after the Gospel, whilst repeated salutes from the cannons of the bark and volleys from the muskets and firearms supplied the lack of musical instruments. At the close of the holy Mass the *Salve Regina* was sung before the lovely statue of Our Lady, and then the whole ceremony concluded with the Te Deum Laudamus."[14]

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[8] "que se mudase al real del arroyo vecino del Río Carmelo." This location of the camp corresponds with the spot on which Mission San Carlos was established later.

[9] See vol. i, this work, 64-66. "Registraron mas despacio la playa y vieron muy immediata la barranca de los pocitos, los encinos y principalmente el grande, cuyas ramas bañan las aguas del mar cuando está en creciente, en donde se dijo Misa el año 1602 cuando estuvo allí la expedición del Comandante D. Sebastian Vizcaino." Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. ii, cap. xxii, 267.

[10] "Primer día de la Pascua del Espiritu Santo."

[11] A brushwood shelter.

"When this function of the Church was finished," the good Father continues, "the commander took formal possession of the land in the name of our King, Don Carlos III (God preserve him), by raising anew the royal standard which had already been unfolded after the erection of the holy Cross. Then followed the customary ceremonies of the uprooting of herbs, throwing of stones, and drawing up a record of all that had transpired."[15] This account of the formal act of taking possession reads as follows: "Don Gaspar de Portolá, Captain of Dragoons of the Regiment of Spain, Governor of California and Commander-in-Chief of the Expedition to the ports of

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[12] "adoraron," the English for which in this connection is simply "venerated."

[13] "para ahuyentar á todos los infernales enemigos." They must have stayed close by, in fact, all over California, if we may judge from the incessant struggles of the missionaries against every kind of opposition.

[14] "Thee, God, we praise." What Fr. Crespi in his simplicity and happiness relates so minutely recurred at the founding of the missions generally. Hereafter there will be no need to describe the ceremonies again.

[15] Palóu, *Noticias*, tom. ii, cap. xxiii, 268-269.

FIRST HOLY MASS AT MONTEREY, DECEMBER, 1602

San Diego and Monterey, situated in thirty-three and thirty-seven degrees, in accordance with the Royal Decree:

"By these presents be it known that in the Camp and Port of Monterey on the third day of the month of June of this year, in fulfillment of the orders which I bear from the Most Illustrious Señor Inspector General Don Joseph de Gálvez of the Council and Cabinet of His Majesty in the Royal and Supreme Council of the Indies, as appears from the decree which he was pleased to give me, naming me Commander-in-Chief of said expedition in virtue of his having the viceregal powers, finding among the chapters of the orders which I had to execute, that as soon as I should arrive at the Port of Monterey, I should take possession in the name of his Catholic Majesty, I ordered the officers of the sea and land to assemble, and begged the Reverend Fathers to please attend, in obedience to the said order, commanding the troops to be at arms, and notifying them of what had been thus ordered, and having made these preliminary arrangements, and having set up the triumphant standard of the holy Cross as the primary care of the Catholic, Christian and pious zeal of His Majesty, as is manifested by the superior orders and is known, far and wide, from the fact that his royal treasury is open for the purpose of gathering the evangelical harvest which is being undertaken for the sake of the many gentiles who inhabit this country.[16] I proceeded to take possession in the name of His Majesty, in the form provided by the decree, going through the ceremony of throwing earth and stones to the four Winds and proclaiming possession in the Royal name of His Catholic Majesty Don Carlos Third, may God guard him, who must be recognized as sovereign of said Port of Monterey and such other lands as is right and fitting. And in order that it may be known for all time, I sign this and the officers sign it as witnesses. And since it is the duty of the sea officers to understand the affairs of ports better than those of land, I desire that the captain of the ship named *El Príncipe,*[17] which is in said Port, Don Juan Pérez and his pilot, Don Miguel del Pino, and other land officers, shall be witnesses in order that they may give fuller faith and credence.

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[16] That was the general impression; but, as we have seen, the conquest was not undertaken for the sake of evangelizing the inhabitants, nor was the royal treasury "open" for that purpose to the extent of contributing one peso.

"GASPAR DE PORTOLA" (Rubrica).[18]

"With this day, therefore," Fr. Crespi remarks, "divine worship began here, and the famous Port of Monterey passed into the dominion and command of our king. All the officers joined the Fathers in a repast on the bayshore, whilst the men of the land expedition and the crew of the ship enjoyed themselves similarly amid the salutes of the artillery and the musketry.

"On the same day of Pentecost, June 3d," Fr. Crespi continues, "the Rev. Fr. Presidente of the missions, Fr. Junípero Serra, in the name of the king and of the Rev. Fr. Guardian and the venerable Discretory[19] of the Apostolic College of the Propagation of the Faith of San Fernando de Mexico, established the new mission under the title of San Carlos Boromeo. Naming as principal patron of the new church the most holy Patriarch St. Joseph,[20] he took possession of it in the name of the said college, and assigned as his fellow missionary Fr. Juan Crespi, his disciple in philosophy."[21]

Another ceremony of a different nature took place on that momentous day. Alejo Viño, the ship calker of the *San Antonio,* had died the day before. The solemn funeral took place immediately after the cross and site had been blessed, and before the High Mass. The remains were interred at the foot of the large cross which had been erected in front of the proposed chapel.[22]

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[17] The *San Antonio.* The ship was known by these two names.

[18] *Archivo General,* Mexico. See vol. i for autograph.

[19] For the meaning of these and other titles see vol. i, 326, 335.

[20] "Dió principio á la nueva misión, título de San Carlos, nombrando de patrono de la nueva iglesia al santísimo Patriarca, Señor San José, y como principal nuestro." Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. ii, cap. xxiv, 271.

[21] Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. i, cap. xx, 101; tom. ii, capp. xxiii-xxiv; *Vida,* cap. xxii, 101-103; Portolá to De Croix, June 15, 1770, *Arch. Gen.;* Fages and Costansó to De Croix, June 13, 1770, *Arch. Gen.* 66; Costansó, *Diario.*

[22] Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. ii, cap. xxiv, 271; Libro de Entierros, Monterey.

Temporary buildings for the presidio were now built, and a structure of palisades was hastily raised and blessed in order to serve as a church.[23] On June 14th the first celebration of the feast of Corpus Christi took place. High Mass was sung and the solemn procession with the Blessed Sacrament was held in the open air amid the booming of cannons, the discharge of muskets and the ringing of bells. "This sacred function," Fr. Crespi says, "was for all a source of rejoicing and extraordinary delight, as every Roman Catholic Christian will understand." Thus far no Indians had allowed themselves to be seen, probably from fear which the roaring of the cannons had excited when the *San Antonio* first appeared. Gradually dread gave way to curiosity. Thereafter they frequently visited the mission, but none could be admitted to baptism until six months after the founding of San Carlos.[24]

In the afternoon of June 15th a soldier and a sailor, who both had volunteered, set out on horseback to take Portolá's despatches and other mail to Lower California. At San Diego they were given an escort of five soldiers, and safely reached Governor Ármona at Mission Todos Santos on August 2d. The news of the discovery of Monterey caused such great satisfaction that Fr. Palóu on the following day sang a High Mass of thanksgiving.[25] Ármona at once hastened a ship across the gulf in order to forward the despatches to Mexico; but another courier had preceded him. "His Excellency," Fr. Crespi relates, "wanted the whole population forthwith to share in the happiness which the information gave him, and therefore ordered a general ringing of the bells of the cathedral and all other churches, in order that all might realize the importance of the Port of Monterey to the Crown of our monarch, and also to give thanks for the happy success of the expeditions; for by their means the dominion of our king had been extended over more than three hundred leagues of good land inhabited by numerous heathen people who in time would submit to our holy Catholic Faith. Being a Catholic, the viceroy directed that a Solemn Mass of thanksgiving should be sung in the cathedral at which he assisted with the whole viceregal court. He moreover commanded that a short history of the expeditions should be printed and distributed."[26]

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[23] Portolá to De Croix, June 15th, ut supra; Costansó, *Diario;* Fages and Costansó to De Croix, ut supra; Palóu, tom. ii, 272; *Vida,* 103.

[24] Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. ii, cap. xxiv, 272; *Vida,* cap. xxii, 103.

[25] See for action taken on the peninsula vol. i, 419.

Meanwhile Commander Portolá, in obedience to Gálvez's instructions,[27] turned the military command over to Lieutenant Pedro Fages, and with Mig. Costansó on July 9th sailed away for Mexico in the *San Antonio*. As the winds favored him, Captain Pérez, without stopping at San Diego, steered directly for San Blas, where he arrived on August 1st. From there the ex-governor despatched a courier to the capital, who in advance of the other messengers presented the reports to the viceroy on the tenth of the same month.[28] In recognition for his services Portolá was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and in 1776 he became governor of Puebla. Eight years later he was relieved of that office and retired to Spain, at the age of sixty years, with the title of colonel.[29] Lieutenant Fages appears to have been in command some time before Portolá's departure from Monterey, for on July 1, 1770, he writes to the viceroy: "I am here with Surgeon Don Pedro Prat, twelve soldiers de Partida, seven soldiers de la Compañía de Californias, and five sailors, whom Captain Pérez left behind because of sickness." He does not mention Portolá, who was still there.[30]

During all these fifteen months the *San Carlos* lay at anchor in the harbor of San Diego unable to leave for want of sailors. Her captain, Don Vicente Vila, expected the *San Antonio* to bring up some sailors from San Blas; but when he learned that she had left the Port of Monterey in July and continued south without stopping at San Diego, he asked Captain Rivera for one soldier and two cowboys who had some knowledge of the sea. With these, his pilot and five sailors the worthy navigator braved the dangers of the ocean and reached San Blas without mishap; but he soon after fell sick and died. Both the *San Antonio* and the *San Carlos* were now put in condition, and thereafter, once a year, made the voyage to upper California in order to provide the missions and presidios with missionaries and supplies.[31]

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[26] This *Relación* or account, dated Mexico, August 16, 1770, may be found in Palóu, *Vida*, cap. xxiii, 108-112; *Noticias*, tom. ii, cap. xxvi, 277-281; and *Land of Sunshine*, Los Angeles, July, 1901.

[27] "His Illustrious Lordship" (J. de Gálvez) "has commanded that, having attained the object of the expediition, I might retire to Mexico, because Your Excellency had conceded me this favor." Portolá to De Croix, August 1, 1770. *Arch. Gen.*

[28] Palóu, *Vida*, cap. xxiii, 110, 107; *Noticias*, tom. ii, cap. xxvi, 275; Costansó, *Diario*.

[29] Professor Herbert Bolton in October *Sunday Call*, 1909; Professor Donald Smith in *Sunset*, October, 1909.

[30] *Arch. Gen.* 66.

As there was not in the vicinity of the presidio of Monterey sufficient land capable of cultivation, nor water in abundance for irrigation, Fr. Serra scoured the country round about in order to find a more suitable locality for the proposed mission. Back of the mountain ridge to the south, in the valley of the Río Carmelo, he discovered enough good soil which could be easily irrigated from that stream. He therefore asked and received permission from the viceroy to establish the mission on the banks of the Carmelo, or wherever he thought proper.[32] The zealous Fr. Presidente at the same time urged De Croix to establish a chain of missions along the coast in order to render communication between them more easy, and to facilitate the conversion of the numerous savages encountered along the road from San Fernando de Velicatá, Lower California, to the Port of San Francisco. For that purpose he prayed His Excellency to send more missionaries[33] well provided with vestments, sacred vessels, house furniture, and especially agricultural implements, so that the Indians, besides becoming Christians, might be induced to lead an industrious and civilized life, and thus learn to support themselves. He also importuned his Superior, the Fr. Guardian of San Fernando College, to the same effect. In his enthusiasm Fr. Serra somewhat exaggerated the situation when he declared that, even though one hundred religious came to California, there would be work for all in gathering the spiritual harvest of souls which was then ripe. These letters reached Mexico at a most opportune moment; for only six weeks before, May 29, 1770, forty-nine Franciscan friars had arrived from Spain to prepare themselves for missionary work at the famous College of San Fernando.[34]

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[31] Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. ii, cap. xxvi, 282; Costansó, *Diario.*

[32] "donde juzgase por más conveniente." Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. ii, 286.

[33] It will be observed that the viceroy, not the missionary college, is petitioned to "send" missionaries; for the college could send no religious to the missions without orders from the king or the viceroy, no matter how urgently needed. This anomaly must be borne in mind throughout. It was always the king, not the Pope, not the Bishop, not the Superior-General, who "sent" the missionaries. Such was the consequence of the union of Church and State under the Spanish kings. With them the Church of God existed for the sake of the secular ruler and his plans, whereas in the mind of her Divine Founder rulers should aid her in her mission to mankind, or at least leave her absolutely unhampered.

When the viceroy received Fr. Serra's petitions, he resolved to found ten new missions, besides San Buenaventura and those already established. Five were to be located on the peninsula between San Fernando de Velicatá and San Diego, and to bear the names respectively of San Joaquín, Santa Ana, San Juan Capistrano, San Pascual Baylon, and San Félix de Cantalicio.[35] The other five missions were to be erected between San Diego and the Port of San Francisco and to be known as San Gabriel, San Luis Obispo, San Antonio, Santa Clara, and San Francisco.[36] At the request of De Croix and De Gálvez the College assigned thirty religious to California: twenty for the old missions on the peninsula, and ten for the five new missions proposed for Upper California, in order that there might be, as the college constitutions required, two friars at each establishment.[37]

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[34] Palóu, *Vida,* cap. xxiv, 112-113; *Noticias,* tom. i, cap. xx, 102.

[35] The Franciscans were prevented from establishing these five missions in Lower California through the hostility of Governor Barri; their successors, the Dominicans, founded them, but applied other names. See vol. i, 429-430, 562; Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. i, 107; *Vida,* cap. xxiv, 114.

[36] Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. i, cap. xxi, 107; tom. ii, cap. xxvii, 283; cap. xxviii, 286; *Vida,* cap. xxiv, 114.

[37] Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. i, cap. xx, 102; tom. ii, cap. xxvii, 283-284; *Vida,* cap. xxiv, 114.

The instructions issued by the viceroy to Commandant Pedro Fages on this subject were as follows: "In order that the founding of the new missions on the coast may not be delayed, the packet *El Príncipe* brings ten Fathers, abundant supplies, farm implements and other useful articles, as you will see from the invoice which the comisario at San Blas, Don Francisco Trillo Bermúdez must forward and give to Don Juan Pérez. You will distribute the supplies in orderly proportion between the presidio and the Missionary Fathers. You will moreover deliver to the latter the clothing which may not be of use to the soldiers, also the field implements and carpenter tools which may not be needed at the presidio, so that the missionaries may go and teach the Indians those profitable occupations to which they can and must accustom themselves in order to be useful to themselves and the State. You will also assign of the cattle and mules, which have been brought up from Velicatá, a certain number to the Fathers. Two boxes of medicines also go along in the *San Antonio* for Dr. Prat who is to give a part of them to the Fathers, whose missions are not in the vicinity of the presidio, with necessary instructions for using them.

"If on receipt of this it has not yet been done, you will make preparations to establish Mission San Carlos on the banks of the Río Carmelo, and you will station there a sufficient guard of soldiers. You will observe the same arrangement with regard to the other missions which are to be founded along the coast to San Diego as I herewith instruct you. For this purpose I this day give the necessary orders, so that you may obtain the soldiers whom Captain Rivera is bringing up from Loreto.

"With this understanding the said ten missionaries are sent. Eight of them are necessary to found four Doctrinas[38] at suitable distances between San Diego and Monterey, in addition to that of San Buenaventura. Then, as soon as possible, you will by land and by sea, examine the Port of San Francisco, situated much to the north of Monterey. You will place yourself in accord with the Fr. Presidente of the missions to the end that a mission may be established there, so that the said important locality may not be exposed to foreign occupation.[39] I herewith charge you very particularly to proceed to establish said missions without the least delay as an object demanding your first attention. In order that you may execute this with punctuality, I direct the captain at Guaymas to send you twelve soldiers to replace those who have died on the voyage."[40]

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[38] Doctrina here means the same as mission. Both terms were used promiscuously to designate an Indian missionary establishment.

To aid the missionaries in their work, besides providing church goods and bells, De Croix directed that from the revenues of the Pious Fund ten thousand dollars, one thousand for each new mission, should be paid to the College síndico[41] so that he might procure whatever was needed and desired by the Fathers. He also allowed each friar going to California four hundred dollars for traveling expenses. In addition the viceroy instructed the commissary at the port of embarkation to provide for the comfort of the friars on board the ships. As a personal donation De Croix sent for the new Mission of San Carlos a set of precious vestments, consisting of chasuble and dalmatics, which were to be used on solemn occasions. Gálvez forwarded some vestments which had been taken from the churches and sacristies of the expatriated Jesuits.[42]

The thirty volunteer missionaries left the capital of Mexico in October, 1770, for Tepíc where the ten friars destined for Monterey had to wait for an opportunity to embark in the *San Antonio* until January 20, 1771.[43] These ten religious were Antonio Paterna, who acted as superior on the journey and voyage, Antonio Cruzado, Francisco Dumetz, Ángel

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[39] Here the real purpose for the hasty founding of the missions crops out, as far as the government was concerned.

[40] De Croix to Fages, November 12, 1770. *(Museo Nacional.)*

[41] A layman who received the alms and disbursed them for the needs of the Franciscan friars. It is a peculiarly Franciscan institution.

[42] "El Illmo. Visitador General envió algunos ornamentos de todos colores ya usados y algunos muy viejos de las iglesias y sacristías de los Padres Jesuitas." Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. ii, cap. xxviii, 287.

[43] For the names and vicissitudes of those who went to the peninsula see vol. i, 439-440.

Somera, Miguel Pieras, Buenaventura Sitjar, Domingo Juncosa, José Cavaller, Luis Jaime, and Pedro Benito Cambón. On March 12th the ship dropped her anchor in the harbor of San Diego, where the new recruits were heartily welcomed by Fathers Fernando Parrón and Francisco Gómez. As both were suffering from scurvy, Fr. Paterna directed Fr. Dumetz to take the place of Fr. Gómez, temporarily. After the freight, which was billed for the mission and presidio, had been unloaded, the nine Fathers, accompanied by Fr. Gómez, reembarked on April 14th, but by reason of contrary winds could not make the Port of Monterey until May 21st. Needless to say, they were joyously embraced by Fr. Serra and Fr. Crespi, who were agreeably surprised to receive so many companions in the missionary field.

As the feast of Corpus Christi was near, and this year fell on the day of San Fernando, the patron saint of their College, May 30th, the Fr. Presidente determined to keep all the Fathers at Monterey in order to celebrate the Mystery of the Holy Eucharist with all the splendor which such a number of priests made possible. A solemn High Mass with deacon and subdeacon was sung and a sermon preached.[44] The procession with the Blessed Sacrament was then held in the open air. Tears of joy streamed from the eyes of the venerable Fr. Presidente as he beheld the magnificent tribute to the Lord in the Holy Eucharist.

When the festivities were concluded the Fr. Presidente assigned the religious in the following order: *San Diego*: Fr. Luis Jaime and Fr. Francisco Dumetz; *San Buenaventura*: Fr. Antonio Paterna and Fr. Antonio Cruzado; *San Gabriel*: Fr. Ángel Somera and Fr. Pedro Benito Cambón; *San Antonio*: Fr. Miguel Pieras and Buenaventura Sitjar; *San Luis Obispo*: Fr. Domingo Juncosa and Fr. José Cavaller; *San Carlos*: Fr. Junípero Serra and Fr. Juan Crespi.

Only the first and last named missions existed. The others were to be established presently. The lack of missionaries, or rather the scarcity of guards, delayed the founding of the missions of San Francisco and Santa Clara for several years. The five Fathers appointed for San Diego (Fr. Dumetz was already there), San Gabriel and San Buenaventura embarked on the 7th of July.[45] Fr. Francisco Gómez, who had obtained leave to retire to the College on account of ill-health, went with them on the *San Antonio* as far as San Diego where the vessel landed on the 14th. From there he continued the voyage to San Blas. Fr. Parrón, who had been stationed at San Diego, but like Fr. Gómez was in ill-health, retired to Lower California and probably made the journey overland. Captain Pedro Fages, now military commander of Upper California, who wanted to inspect the troops at the Port of San Diego, and desired to be present at the founding of at least one of the new missions, also accompanied the friars to their destination.[46]

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[44] Fr. Serra was doubtless the celebrant and probably preached, though Fr. Palóu forgot to note that circumstance.

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[45] Palóu, *Vida,* cap. xxvi. The *Noticias,* tomo ii, cap. xxviii, has June 7, a misprint, because it does not agree with subsequent movements.

[46] Palóu, *Noticias,* tomo i, cap. xxi, tomo ii, capp. xxvii-xxviii; *Vida,* cap. xxvi.

CHAPTER VI.

Founding of Mission San Antonio. Removal of Mission San Carlos.—Soldiers Desert.—Founding of Mission San Gabriel.—Indian Assault and Its Cause.—Mission San Buenaventura Delayed.—Expedition to the North.—Discoveries to the Right of the "Arm of the Sea."—San Pablo Bay.—Carquînez Strait.—Point Reyes Out of the Question.—Discovery of Rio San Francisco (Río San Joaquín).—Return March.

TWO days after the departure of the *San Antonio,* which had brought the viceroyal order to that effect,[1] Fr. Serra set out for the valley of the Carmelo for the purpose of making preparations to remove the mission of San Carlos from the vicinity of the presidio.[2] He discovered a suitable locality, and then put three sailors and four Lower Californians to work cutting timber for the proposed buildings under the supervision and protection of five soldiers. While the men were engaged in this work the Fr. Presidente hastened to found Mission San Antonio de Padua.

Accompanied by Fathers Miguel Pieras and Buenaventura Sitjar, three sailors, and some Lower California neophytes, he started out early in July, 1771. A mule-train with the mission goods and supplies followed under the protection of a corporal and six soldiers[3] who were to constitute the mission guard. Proceeding for about twenty-five leagues, probably along the route taken by Portolá, the little company reached an oak-studded valley in the Santa Lucía Mountains which they called Los Robles. Here they pitched their camp near a stream which Fr. Serra at once christened Río San Antonio. When the mules had been relieved of their burdens, and the bell swung from a stout oak tree, the Fr. Presidente in a transport of zeal suddenly rang the bell and exclaimed in a loud voice:

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[1] See instructions of De Croix to Fages in the preceding chapter.

[2] "para mudarla del presidio." This would seem to indicate that, besides the insufficiency of good soil and water, the nearness of the soldiery was a reason for the removal. The history of the missions in Lower California, Texas, and other countries, indeed, shows that the neighborhood of the military proved one of the worst afflictions of the missionaries and their convert Indians.

[3] "con la escolta de siete soldados y el uno de ellos con plaza de cabo." Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. ii, cap. xxix, 290.

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"Oh ye gentiles! Come, come to the holy Church! Come, come to receive the faith of Jesus Christ!"[4] Amazed at this strange action of their superior Fr. Miguel said to him, "Why, Father, do you tire yourself? This is not the spot on which the church is to be built; nor is there a gentile in the whole vicinity. It is useless to ring the bell!" "Father," the Fr. Presidente pleaded, "let me give vent to my heart which desires that this bell might be heard all over the world, or at least by the heathens that live in this sierra!"[5]

On July 14th, the feast of the Seraphic Doctor St. Bonaventure, the large cross was at length raised, blessed and venerated after the usual manner, and under a brushwood shelter Fr. Serra celebrated the first holy Mass in honor of San Antonio, the patron of the new mission. As was his wont, he also preached to his little following after the first Gospel. While addressing the men his quick eye noticed the presence of a pagan Indian who had doubtless been attracted by the sound of the bell. This caused the enthusiastic preacher to remark, "I hope to God, and in virtue of the intercession of San Antonio, that this mission will be a settlement for many Christians; for we see, what was not observed at the founding of the missions thus far established, that at the first holy Mass the first-fruit from paganism has assisted. He will not fail to communicate what he has seen to the other savages." Immediately after the holy Sacrifice Fr. Serra hastened over to the Indian, caressed him, and gave him some little presents hoping that he would induce his people to visit the mission. The impression created must have been favorable; for from that day the gentiles would appear in crowds to see the kind strangers, and receive the glass beads and other trinkets which they coveted. In return they brought pine-nuts, acorns, and wild fruits to the Fathers, whose language they did not understand, but whose gentleness had won their hearts. The necessary buildings, such as chapel, dwelling, and barracks, were hastily constructed of palisades and surrounded with a stockade. After staying fifteen days instructing the Fathers how to deal with the Indians, and how to arrange the temporal affairs of the establishment, Fr. Serra returned to Monterey.[6]

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[4] "Ea Gentiles, venid, venid á la Santa Iglesia! Venid, venid, á recibir la Fe de Jesu Christo."

[5] "Déjeme, Padre, explayar el corazón, que quisiera que esta campana se oyese por todo el mundo, ó que á lo menos la oyese toda la Gentilidad que vive en esta sierra."

He now desired to found Mission San Luis Obispo, but as there were no guards available, he had to desist until Comandante Fages returned from the south. In August, therefore, the restless Fr. Presidente again went over to the Carmelo in order to hasten the work of construction which was proceeding very slowly; but it was not until December, 1771, that the wooden chapel, dwelling, storehouse, soldiers' quarters, and corral were completed and surrounded by palisades. Fr. Serra and Fr. Crespi with the five soldiers then took up their quarters at Carmelo and began missionary work in good earnest. Fr. Juncosa and Fr. Cavaller also lived there until Mission San Luis Obispo could be established. The new mission thereafter was often described as Mission Carmelo because of its location on that little stream; but in official reports it was always designated as San Carlos de Monterey, or San Carlos alone. The chapel and buildings reserved for the soldiers and their families at Monterey were called Presidio de Monterey, or simply Monterey, though the chapel likewise stood under the patronage of San Carlos.[7]

In the meantime Comandante Fages and the six religious had arrived at San Diego on July 14th.[8] Fr. Luis Jaime and Fr. Francisco Dumetz took charge of Mission San Diego, whilst Fathers Parrón and Gómez retired on account of ill-health. The other four religious prepared themselves for the long journey to their respective posts farther to the north. Fr. Serra and Comandante Fages had agreed to locate Mission San Gabriel on the Río del Nombre de Jesus de los Temblores, known among the soldiers as the Río de Santa Ana, and to place Mission San Buenaventura at the first Indian town on the Santa Bárbara Channel which the explorers in 1769 had named Ascunción. Fages was only waiting for the soldiers to come up from Loreto who had been promised him. They appeared four days after his own arrival, as we see from his report to the viceroy. "On July 18th," he writes, "the cattle from Lower California reached the Mission of San Diego, accompanied by twenty soldiers, five cowboys, and sixty mules. All this will help me to found the two missions of San Gabriel and San Buenaventura. I shall immediately proceed to carry out the resolution, and shall leave at each a proportionate number of cattle and mules, and put each mission in a good state of defense."[9]

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[6] Palóu, *Vida,* cap. xxvii, 122-124; *Noticias,* tom. ii, cap. xxix.

[7] Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. ii, cap. xxix, 289; *Vida,* cap. xxvi, 121; cap. xxvii.

[8] Fages reports to De Croix, July 17th, that the *San Antonio* had reached San Diego on July 13th, after nine days at sea. *Arch. Gen.,* 66.

On July 22d, just as the expedition was to begin the journey, it was found that nine soldiers and a muleteer had deserted. Fages asked Fr. Paterna to use his influence with them, and to offer full pardon to the fugitives if they returned to their duty. The good Father accompanied by some soldiers overtook the men, and succeeded in bringing them back. Fr. Ángel Somera and Fr. Benito Cambón on August 6th went forth escorted by ten soldiers and followed by packmules carrying the mission goods and provisions under the protection of four additional soldiers and four muleteers. During that same night five soldiers and their corporal deserted from the presidio. They returned on August 24th, but only to steal some cattle. The enraged Fages resolved to bring them back himself; but when he found them intrenched and determined to resist, he returned to San Diego and induced Fr. Dumetz to reason with the men. The good friar complied, and persuaded every one of them to resume his duties.[10]

Fathers Somera and Cambón meanwhile proceeded northward without the commander. After marching about forty leagues to the Río de los Temblores, they suddenly found themselves surrounded by a numerous band of armed savages. Fearing an attack, and not knowing what else to do, one of the friars unfurled a banner, which on one side showed the picture of Our Lady of Sorrows, and held it up to the gaze of the howling Indians. No sooner had the gentiles set their eyes on the image of the Blessed Virgin than they threw down their bows and arrows. Two chiefs took from their necks the strings of beads which they wore, and in token of submission placed them at the foot of the picture. The Indians from all the neighboring rancherias, men, women and children, then flocked together offering seeds which they laid before the picture, while they gazed in wonder and delight at the holy Virgin.[11]

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[9] Fages to De Croix, July 18, 1771. *Arch. Gen.*, 66.

[10] Palóu, *Noticias*, tom. ii, cap. xxxi, 294-296.

A close examination of this region showed that it was unsuited for a mission; the Fathers therefore went further until they arrived in a valley which the first explorers on their march from San Francisco Bay in January, 1770, had christened San Miguel. Half a league from the stream of the same name, and not far from its source, they determined to erect the mission buildings on an elevation at the foot of which ran a creek with sufficient water for irrigation. Cottonwood, willows and other trees lined this arroyo. Blackberries and grapevines abounded, and at a distance of only a league was an oak forest.

The usual ceremonies of raising a large cross and blessing the immediate surroundings took place on the feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, September 8, 1771; and the first holy Mass was celebrated in a brushwood hut immediately after. Such was the beginning of Mission San Gabriel, Arcángel. All now went to work constructing the temporary chapel and other necessary buildings. The walls of them all consisted of palisades or poles. Tules placed over the rafters formed the roof. The whole group was enclosed in a stockade for the sake of security against a possible attack from the savages. The Indians, however, had so willingly assisted in the work that the missionaries anticipated no opposition to their efforts at conversion. Unfortunately the bad conduct of one soldier, even at this early date, destroyed the good impression made by the Fathers, delayed the acceptance of the Gospel, and created lasting hatred for the military. Fr. Palóu gives the particulars as follows:

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[11] Palóu, *Vida,* cap. xxix, 130.

On October 10th, only a month after the founding of the mission, a large number of armed savages fell upon two soldiers who were guarding the horses at some distance from the barracks. The two men had no time to put on their leather jackets, but caught up the missiles with their shield. One of the savages, bolder than the rest, drew nearer and discharged his arrows especially at one of the two soldiers. The latter fired his gun at the aggressor and killed him. When the Indians saw the deadly effect of the firearms they fled in dismay. At the sound of the musket shot the corporal and his men hastened to the rescue, but found only the body of the dead Indian. On hearing what had occurred the corporal commanded the head of the savage to be cut off and placed upon a pole in order to strike terror into the pagans. It was discovered later that the soldier who was assailed had outraged the wife of the Indian chief. The exasperated savage had aroused his friends to avenge the wrong, with the result that he lost his life in the attempt to kill the guilty soldier. This was only the beginning of a long line of similar wrongs committed against the natives by the uniformed adventurers whom the missionaries were compelled to tolerate among their wards. The wonder is that under such circumstances the messengers of the Gospel made any headway at all. The result of their labors speaks volumes for their prudence and their unselfish devotion to their disheartening task. The unfortunate occurrence had other disagreeable consequences, among which is, that the founding of the first mission on the Santa Bárbara Channel, San Buenaventura, was delayed ten years more!

A few days after the bloody encounter Comandante Fages arrived with the two Fathers and the soldiers who were to be stationed at San Buenaventura. Twelve additional men had come up from Lower California; but when Fages heard of the savage assault, the cause of which had not yet become known, he increased the San Gabriel guards to sixteen men. This left him only eight soldiers for San Buenaventura, a number which he deemed insufficient. He therefore decided to postpone the founding of the mission, and to proceed with his men to Monterey. Fathers Antonio Paterna and Antonio Cruzado, with all the goods intended for the new establishment, for the time being remained at San Gabriel. The resident missionaries, Fathers Somera and Cambón, in the meantime fell grievously ill. As they recovered but slowly and were unable to discharge their duties, Fr. Serra permitted both to recuperate in one of the Lower California missions. Fathers Paterna and Cruzado took their places. The prudence and kindness of these religious gradually regained the confidence of the natives, so that very soon a few children were presented for Baptism. Among the first of them was the child of the murdered chief.[12]

When Fages, now styled captain[13] by Fr. Palóu, reached Monterey and learned that Mission San Carlos had already been removed to the Río Carmelo, he went out and informed the Fr. Presidente of what had happened in the south. Though Fr. Serra felt much disappointed that the founding of Mission San Buenaventura, the first projected by Gálvez, could not take place, he proposed that work commence on Mission San Luis Obispo; but Fages explained that the same reasons, lack of guards, would likewise compel the postponement of this one. The Fr. Presidente then suggested that the Port of San Francisco might be closely surveyed with a view to selecting a site for the contemplated mission. To this the captain agreed, and offered to head an expedition himself, after the rainy season, if Fr. Crespi would join him. The military commander's ready assent is easily explained by the fact that, as early as the month of May, he had received orders from the viceroy to explore the Port of San Francisco by land or sea, and in accord with the Fr. Presidente to establish a mission there, lest that important place remain exposed to foreign occupation. De Croix's instructions were dated November 12, 1770.[14]

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[12] Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. ii, cap. xxxi, 297; tom. iii, cap. xxxiv, 26; *Vida,* cap. xxix.

[13] Fages to De Croix, June 27, 1772, acknowledged receipt of royal appointment to the grade of captain. *Arch. Gen.,* 66.

"With the help of God," Fr. Crespi begins his journal of this expedition, "we, Captain Pedro Fages and I, on Friday, March 20, 1772, set out from the presidio of San Carlos de Monterey, at about half-past ten in the morning, determined to survey the port of our Father St. Francis for the purpose of finding a convenient site for the mission which is to be erected there. We were accompanied by twelve soldiers. One muleteer and one Lower California Indian followed in charge of the packmules. We went northeast for four hours and arrived at a river with much running water. We forded it with some difficulty and camped on its bank. I named it the Río Santa Delfina." [15]

The next day the expedition went in a northeasterly direction through a valley and round several miry arroyos. At a distance of four leagues from the Santa Delfina they reached a pass in the hills to the right. They continued through this pass and descended to a small valley traversed by a stream upon which they camped. Fr. Crespi baptized it Arroyo de San Benito, a name it still bears. On this day the company had marched seven hours and a quarter, and covered about six leagues.[16]

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[14] "para que luego que sea posible reconocer por tierra ó mar al Puerto de San Francisco á fin de establecer en él una misión, y que no quede expuesto tan importante parage á ocupación ajena." *Arch. Gen.*, 66; *Cal. Arch., Prov. St. Papers;* i, 101; Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. ii, cap. xxxi, 300.

[15] The Rio San Elzeario of the first expedition; now the Salinas. Fages in his Diario says they started out with fourteen soldiers and one Christian Indian, the servant of Fr. Crespi, and that four leagues from Monterey they crossed the Rio de Monterey (Salinas) with much difficulty, and camped on the same place where the first expedition stopped on October 1, 1769, hence at Camp Santa Delfina. See chapter iii.

[16] Bancroft (vol. i, 184) thinks they stopped near Hollister.

"The next day, Sunday, March 22nd," Fr. Crespi writes, "dawned upon us so cold that the water froze in the vessels. After I had celebrated holy Mass, at which all assisted, we went straight toward the northwest. Some miry swamps impeded our progress so that we had to make a circuit of two leagues. On leaving the Arroyo de San Benito we emerged upon a beautiful plain the length of which from east to west was about three leagues; in width it had a league and a half. I thought it ought not to stay without a name, and therefore called it San Pasqual Bailon." Crossing a little stream at the end of the valley, the explorers went towards the northwest and after a league of wandering entered an open plain which "was about four or more leagues wide, but from southeast to northwest it ran to an unknown distance." Having traveled for five hours and a half and advanced about eight leagues, the company camped on an arroyo.[17] "To my mind," Fr. Crespi says, "this extensive valley is very suitable for a large mission. I gave it the name of San Bernardino de Siena, in order that he might intercede with the Divine Majesty for the conversion of these numerous gentiles."

On Monday the company continued on their way up the valley for six hours, during which they advanced about six leagues without seeing a single Indian, and pitched their camp in an arroyo which Fr. Crespi noted down as San Benvenuto. Next day, the 24th, the expedition proceeded until, after marching two leagues, it reached Los Robles del Puerto de San Francisco, where Portolá and his company rested on November 7, 1769,[18] though Fages and Fr. Crespi "passed it much farther back." Here they changed their course from northwest to north-northeast for an hour, and, after having journeyed six leagues that day, halted on an arroyo which Fr. Crespi called Encarnación for the feast of the 25th.[19] The camp, according to the good Father, was about parallel with the head of the estuary or arm of the sea.

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[17] A little north of Gilroy, according to Bancroft.

[18] Santa Clara Valley, according to Bancroft.

[19] Penitencia Creek. (B.)

As the peninsula to the left had already been explored,[20] and the object was to pass around the arm of the sea, or San Francisco Bay, in order to reach Old San Francisco Bay under Point Reyes, Fages had the expedition turn to the right along the foothills between the bay shore and the Coast Range. It being the feast of the Annunciation or Incarnation, Fr. Crespi on Wednesday the 25th celebrated holy Mass very early, and then the travelers proceeded in the direction stated. The day's journey lasted about seven hours, during which, from the head of the "sea arm," the expedition gained about eight leagues, and then camped, at a distance of about three leagues from the great estero, on the banks of a stream which Crespi named San Salvador de Horta.[21]

Following the course of the valley and estero on Thursday 26th, for a distance of four leagues, during which they crossed two large [22] and three small arroyos, the explorers stopped on an arroyo, which Fr. Crespi noted as Arroyo del Bosque. This stream is a branch of the bay and with another arroyo forms a peninsula covered with oaks.[23] Fr. Crespi took the latitude, "about three leagues from the parallel of the mouth to the bay of the Farallones," and found it to be thirty-seven degrees and fifty-four minutes.[24]

Continuing on Friday, 27th of March, the expedition was compelled to turn towards the northeast in order to pass around an estuary, and then crossed low hills for a league and a half.[25] After advancing three leagues more, the travelers came upon an immense plain, and stopped at a place from

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[20] Fages in *Salida,* June 20, 1771, reported having made an attempt to reach Old San Francisco Bay with six soldiers and one muleteer, from November 21 to December 4, 1770, but that he had abandoned it when he found that it would require many days to go around the "arm of the sea." As Fr. Crespi makes no allusion to this expedition, and the outcome was so meager, we may omit further reference to it. *Archivo Gen.,* 66.

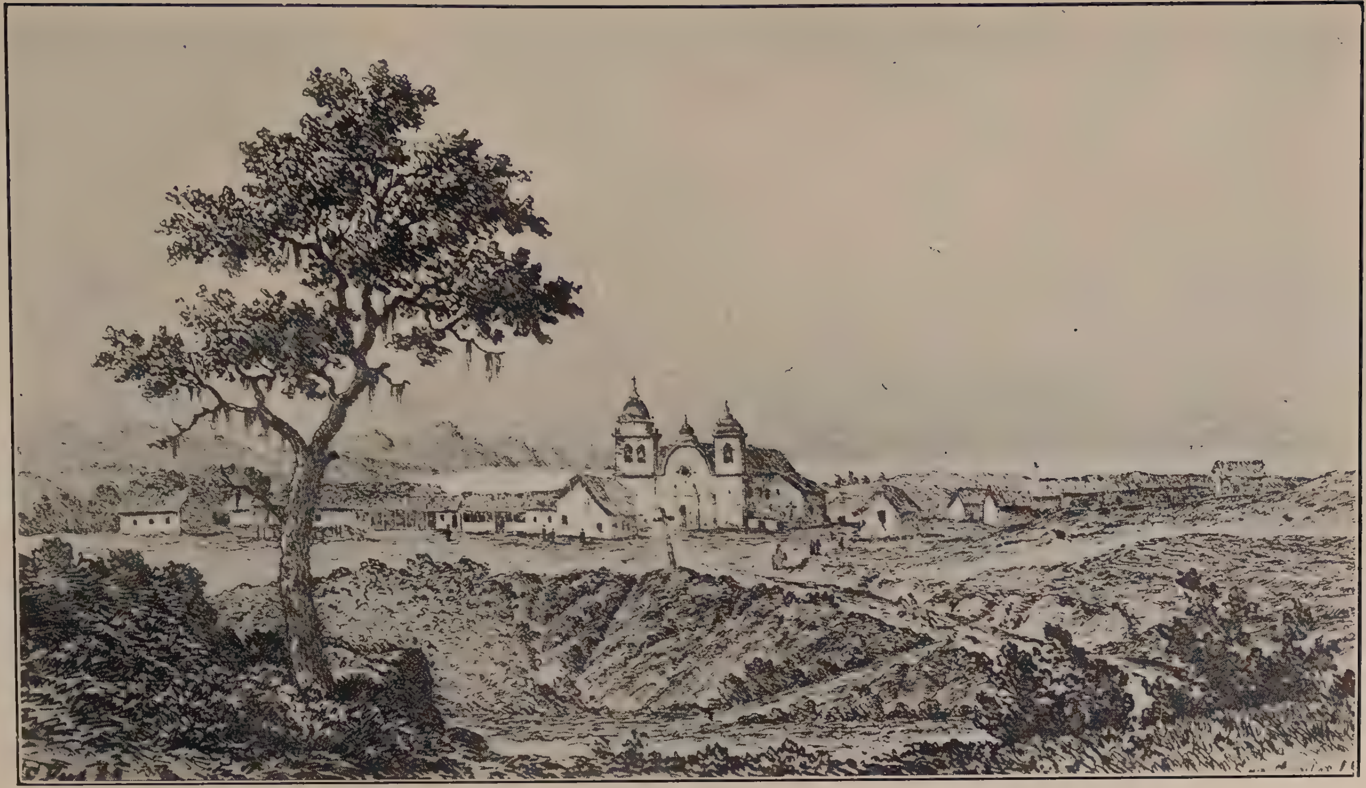
[21] Alameda Creek at a point near Vallejo's Mill (Bancroft).

[22] San Lorenzo and San Leandro Creeks (Bancroft).

[23] The site of Alameda without doubt.

[24] This mouth evidently was the Golden Gate.

[25] Apparently East Oakland or Brooklyn.



II. MISSION SAN CARLOS, FOUNDED JUNE 3, 1770

where they could look through the outlet to the sea.[26] Fr. Crespi gives a description of the islands in the bay and of the surrounding country which it is not necessary to repeat here. Neither on this nor the preceding day had any Indians been seen; but "during the two days' journey," Fr. Crespi remarks, "we were very much plagued by mosquitoes, which tormented us much more than at San Blas they pester the inhabitants of that beautiful port."

During the march of Saturday, during which they covered five leagues, the explorers made their way over a hilly region and descended to the banks of a deep arroyo where they found a large rancheria of light-complexioned and bearded Indians, from whom they received every attention which they returned with gifts of glass beads. On this day they also discovered what Fr. Crespi calls a "round bay like a lake" eight leagues in extent.[27] Four whales were observed, from which they concluded that there must be sufficient depth, and therefore room enough for all the ships of Spain.

"After holy Mass on Sunday 29th," Fr. Crespi continues his diary, "we ascended the heights of the bay or great lake, and turned around it for the purpose of passing on to the sierras in the north in order to reach Point Reyes, near which we judged the real port to be, as we thought that in said lake the second estero or arm of the sea terminated; but such was not the case, for towards the sierra we saw that the estero continued, although not any more so wide, but in a bed of a quarter of a league,[28] and in parts less. This prevented us from reaching Point Reyes. We went farther up following its course along low hills, whence we observed the low lands on the other side which appeared to extend to the sierra on the north. This I named Sierra de Nuestro Padre San Francisco, as I supposed it to be, to all appearance, the protection of his port.[29] After six and a half hours on the road, when in the judgment of all we must have covered about ten leagues, we reached a cañon traversed by an arroyo[30] which discharged its water into the estero along which we were proceeding. Not far from here we tasted the water and found it sweet."

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[26] They were at Berkeley and looked through the Golden Gate.

[27] Evidently San Pablo Bay.

[28] Carquínez Strait, for the first time visited by white men.

[29] That is to say, Old San Francisco Bay. The present San Francisco Bay to them was nothing more than an "arm of the sea."

After marching two leagues on the 30th the expedition crossed a deep arroyo of running water,[31] and entered a beautiful plain of about a league in every direction. Fr. Crespi thought the locality good for a settlement, and named it Santa Ángela de Foligno. As on the preceding day, many Indians were seen who proved very hospitable. Leaving the plain the explorers went up a pass in the hills,[32] and from its highest point saw that the land below was a grand level country as far as the eye could see. Fr. Crespi at some length now accurately describes the two broad rivers which have become so well known since, with the various channels, sloughs, and islands about their junction. "Having observed all this," Fr. Crespi relates, "we descended the pass and concluded our day's journey, which covered ten leagues. We camped on the bank of a small arroyo of somewhat brackish water, about a quarter of a league from one of the great rivers. A league before we halted, as it was midday, I took the latitude and found it thirty-nine degrees and thirteen minutes. I gave this river the name of our Father San Francisco, in order that he might intercede with the Divine Majesty that this whole immense heathendom might be converted; for I doubt not that there are many Indians along the banks of said great river, which seems to be the largest so far discovered in New Spain.[33]

"At this place we determined to return to the presidio of Monterey in view of the fact that said rivers prevent us from passing on to Point Reyes and survey the port of our Father San Francisco; for to cross them we have no boats, and to go around them we lack the men and supplies. According to the route which we have taken we are seventy-one leagues from Monterey. On returning we shall as much as possible take a more direct route, and explore the country to the interior."

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[30] Arroyo Del Hambre near Martinez. (B.)

[31] Arroyo de las Nueces near Pacheco (?). (B.)

[32] Vicinity of Willow Pass. (B.)

[33] "El P. Fr. Juan Crespi" (he writes Crespy) "llamó tanta inmensidad de aguas y tan grande río El Río Grande de Nuestro P. S. Francisco en la California Septentrional; y observó el Padre la latitud del norte 39 grados 13 minutos." Fages, *Diario*. This was the San Joaquin River, probably on or near the site of Antioch.

The explorers, accordingly, on Tuesday, 31st of March, recrossed Santa Ángela Plain and the range of hills, but then turned southeastward along a pleasant cañada, probably San Ramón Creek. On April 1st and 2nd they went through what are known as San Ramón and Amador valleys into Suñol Valley,[34] which Fr. Crespi called Santa Coleta. From there they went through a pass to the vicinity of the later Mission San José, and soon found themselves back on their former route. They camped one league beyond the Arroyo de Encarnación, where they had been on March 24th, on a stream to which Fr. Crespi applied the name of San Francisco de Paula.[35] On Sunday morning, April 5th, Fr. Crespi celebrated holy Mass on the Arroyo San Benito, at the foot of a high sierra, and in the evening of the same day he received the blessing of Fr. Serra at San Carlos Mission. The expedition had succeeded in shortening the return march by as many as fourteen leagues, as they had traveled only fifty-one leagues.[36]

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[34] According to Bancroft.

[35] In the vicinity of Milpitas. (B.)

[36] Crespi *Diario,* in Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. iii, capp. xxxii-xxxiii; "Vida," cap, xxx, 134; Bancroft, vol. i, 183-187. Fr. Crespi's report covers twenty-three pages in Fr. Palóu's work. He describes the country, soil, vegetation, animals, and Indians, and recites many interesting incidents, all of which will find a more appropriate place in the local history. Fages' Journal is of about the same length with Fr. Crespi's with whom he agrees, though at times he is more explicit. It is in the *Archivo General* de Mexico, 66.

CHAPTER VII.

Distress for Want of Provisions.—A Letter from Fr. Serra.—Relief.—Fr. Serra's Journey.—Founding of Mission San Luis Obispo.—Fages's Arrogance.—Bucareli's Instructions.—Unjust Accusation.—Fr. Serra Determines to See the Viceroy.—His Journey.—Arrives at Mexico.—His Memorial.—Saves the Port of San Blas for California.

WHILE Comandante Fages and Fr. Crespi were exploring the region to the northeast of San Francisco Bay, the Fr. Presidente received information from the missionaries in the south that, owing to the delay in the arrival of the supply ships and the increasing number of converts, the missions of San Gabriel and San Diego were in distress for want of food, and that Fr. Dumetz had left Fr. Jaime alone at San Diego in order to procure assistance from Lower California. After consulting with Fages, on the latter's return, a train of pack-mules laden with flour and escorted by soldiers was hastened southward. Fr. Crespi, April 13, 1772, went along to take the place of Fr. Dumetz until he could return from the peninsula. Ere long dearth of provisions was also felt at Monterey and San Antonio.[1] To obtain some relief, Fages sent a hunting expedition to the Cañada de los Osos,[2] fifty leagues south of Monterey. In the meantime Fr. Serra described the situation in a letter to Fr. Palóu.

"The principal supporters of our people," he wrote, "are the heathen Indians. Through them we live as God wills, though the milk from the cows and some vegetables from the garden have been the chief means of subsistence in these establishments; but both sources are becoming scanty. Nevertheless, it is not for this that I grieve; nor should Your Reverence regret that these missions have been founded, since there is not one of their missionaries who deplores it. Disappointment has been observed only in those who are unoccupied by reason of the obstacles to the founding of their missions; but the long, vexatious delay of fourteen months is coming to an end for the Fathers intended for San Luis Obispo. News has arrived that the ships are bringing abundant supplies, and that the founding of the mission will take place immediately.

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[1] Fages to De Croix, June 26, 1772, *Arch. Gen.*, 66, California, writes that the provisions would not last two months; that they had been largely living on a few vegetables and milk; and that he had hurried fifteen tercios, about 2400 lbs., of flour to San Gabriel and San Diego which places were in dire need. Fr. Crespi on the way down found that the Fathers at San Gabriel for want of victuals had already "tightened their cords." Arriving at San Diego he learned that for a long time the two Fathers had been subsisting on half a pint of corn, twenty ounces of flour and a little milk each day. Fr. Crespi to Fr. Palóu, May 21, 1772. *Out West*, January, 1902, 56-57.

[2] Valley of the Bears, now San Luis Obispo. Palóu, *Noticias*, tom. iii, cap. xxxiv, 25-27; *Vida*, cap xxx, 134-135.

"All the missionaries regret and deplore the vexations, hardships and other drawbacks which we have to encounter; but not one thinks of leaving his post. The reason is that, hardships or no hardships, various souls from Monterey, San Antonio, and San Diego are already in heaven: whether from San Gabriel I know not. There is quite a number of Christians who praise God, whose Name is in the mouth of the very pagans more frequently than on the tongue of many white Christians. Although some think that from gentle lambs, which they appear to be, they may some day turn tigers and lions, which may indeed happen if God permits; yet among those of Monterey we have already an experience of three years, and of two years among those of San Antonio, and every day they grow better.

"It, moreover, appears to me that I see already verified the promise made by God in these last ages to our Father St. Francis (as the seraphic Mother Mary[3] of Jesus says), that the gentiles would be converted to our holy Catholic Faith by the mere sight of his sons. If all are not yet Christians, to my mind it is due only to the ignorance of the language. This is a difficulty which is not new to me. I always imagined that my sins have made me unworthy of this grace.[4] In countries like this, where neither an interpreter nor a teacher can be procured for the study of the language, some time must pass by until one of the natives has learned the Spanish language. At San Diego time has already overcome this drawback. They already baptize grown people and celebrate marriages. Here, too, we are approaching that point; for already the young people are beginning to express themselves in Castilian. However, let the missionaries, who are to labor here, come well provided with patience and charity; they will then fare agreeably. They might even enrich themselves, I mean with hardships; but then, whither will the ox go that does not plow?[5] and if there be no plowing, how can there be harvesting?"[6]

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[3] Mother Mary de Ágreda, a saintly Spanish Nun, authoress of the *Mystical City of God*. See Palóu, *Vida*, 337-341.

[4] It would seem that Fr. Serra found it hard to learn Indian languages. Some have found it impossible, no matter how hard they tried. The Fr. Presidente at this time, moreover, counted fifty-eight years.

This letter reached Fr. Palóu about the same time with the information that the College of San Fernando had ceded all the missions of Lower California to the Dominican Fathers. This event was of the greatest consequence for Upper California, in that it released a number of experienced religious who were urgently needed in the new missions.[7]

The hunting expedition had meanwhile been successful. During their three months' excursion the soldiers killed so many bears that, together with the seeds bartered from the savages, they were able to load and send back twenty-five mules. These supplies, it was hoped, would maintain the presidio and the two northern missions until the arrival of the packet boats.[8] Both the *San Carlos* and the *San Antonio* landed at San Diego during the month of August, 1772. Captain Miguel Pino of the former and Captain Juan Pérez of the latter ship, however, notified Fr. Serra that contrary winds prevented the voyage to Monterey, and that the supplies would therefore be unloaded at San Diego.[9] As Capt. Fages intended to visit that port, the Fr. Presidente resolved to accompany him, and to found Mission San Luis Obispo on the way down. Lest either the presidio or Mission San Carlos be without holy Mass on Sundays or other days of obligation, he directed Fr. Pieras of San Antonio to live with Fr. Juncosa, and then with Fr. José Cavaller he joined Comandante Fages late in August. The company that followed consisted of a troop of soldiers and a number of muleteers who were in charge of the animals that bore the church goods, furniture, and farm implements destined for the new establishment. Passing by way of San Antonio Mission, the Father rejoiced to see the number of converts already settled about the church. Without undue delay the company continued for twenty-five leagues more to the Valley of the Bears, where a low hill was selected for the site of the new mission.

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[5] To the slaughterhouse, he means. He alludes to a Spanish proverb.
[6] Fr. Serra to Fr. Palóu, August 18, 1772, in *Vida,* cap. xxxi, 137-138.
[7] See vol. i, 509-511.
[8] Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. iii, cap. xxxiv, 25-27; *Vida,* cap. xxx, 134-135.
[9] Palóu, *Vida,* cap. xxxii, 140; *Noticias,* tom. iii, cap. xxxiv, 27.

A large cross was erected with the usual ceremonies, and on September 1, 1772, the Fr. Presidente celebrated the first holy Mass in a shelter constructed of boughs, and thus ushered into existence the fifth mission which he placed under the patronage of San Luis Obispo. Fages stationed there a corporal with four soldiers, and Fr. Serra left two Lower California neophytes. The supplies allowed consisted of fifty pounds of flour, some chocolate, three pecks[10] of wheat for sowing, and a box of brown sugar with which to procure seeds from the savages. Next day Fr. Serra and Capt. Fages bid farewell to Fr. Cavaller, who was quite cheerful and full of confidence in God, and proceeded on their way south. They stopped at San Gabriel, which the Fr. Presidente saw for the first time, from the 11th to the 13th, and finally reached San Diego on the 16th of September.[11]

Fr. Dumetz had already returned from the peninsula with a quantity of provisions and a flock of sheep, and Fr. Palóu had sent up Fr. Tomás de la Peña to take the place of the ailing Fr. Cambón at San Gabriel. Fr. Serra despatched Fathers Crespi and Dumetz to the north in order to release Fathers Pieras and Juncosa, who were at San Carlos, but belonged to San Antonio and San Luis Obispo respectively. The supplies brought by the *San Carlos* and intended for the missions on the road were taken up by a train of mules which accompanied the two missionaries. The Fr. Presidente now showed Captain Pérez of the *San Antonio* how impossible it would be for want of packmules and an escort to transport the goods and supplies to Monterey, one hundred and seventy leagues overland. He begged the captain to trust in God, and once more to brave the contrary winds in order to bring the sorely-needed provisions to their destination. The worthy navigator consented, put to sea on September 27th, and safely reached the harbor.[12]

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[10] "tres almudes de trigo." An almud is the 12th part of a fanega, which is equal to about a hundredweight.

[11] Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. iii, capp. xxxv-xxxvi, 28-32; *Vida,* capp. xxxii-xxxiii, 140-144.

The zealous Fr. Presidente thought the time had now come for establishing the three remaining missions ordered by the viceroy, especially that of San Buenaventura which the inspector-general had had so much at heart. He broached the subject to Captain Fages, but to his intense sorrow found him decidedly unwilling to lend his assistance.[13] The military commander, who, as Palóu explains, had already sought to interfere with the management of the missions, even gave the Fr. Presidente to understand that this was a matter which pertained to him and not to the missionaries.[14]

This was reversing things generally, meant failure to the missions, and might render impossible the conversion of the savages, Fr. Palóu comments. At all events, it was Fr. Serra, not the military commander, who had been directed to found and control the missionary establishments; the soldiers were intended to aid in the conversion and control of the Indians only in so far as the missionaries judged necessary or helpful. For this purpose the military commander, too, had been instructed always to act in accord with the Fr. Presidente.

Viceroy Bucareli merely emphasized these regulations (and Fages must have felt much chagrin to receive the letter so soon after his own arrogant declaration) when he wrote to the military commander under date of March 18, 1772: "*I charge Your Honor very strictly to preserve harmony with*

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[12] Palóu, *Vida,* cap. xxxiii, 144-146. In his *Noticias,* tom. iii, cap. xxxvi, 32, Fr. Palóu states that it was Fages who persuaded Pérez to sail for Monterey.

[13] "El Padre halló cerrada la puerta." Palóu *Vida,* cap. xxxiii, 146.

[14] "Ya se había entrometido en el gobierno de las misiones, que ya quería y defendía que todo le tocaba á él y no á los Padres." Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. iii, cap. xxxvi, 33.

the Missionary Fathers, and to let them freely perform their apostolic work, assisting them with all the means capable of attaining, as soon as possible, the reduction of those to whom they intend to preach. It would contribute much to this end if Your Honor would readily grant them the guards and the provisions for subsistence, bearing in mind the liberal hand of the king who maintains those missions with the Catholic and ardent desire that the Gospel should be propagated. Likewise I charge Your Honor that you do all that you easily can in order to keep the missionaries in the tranquillity which they desire entirely devoted as they are to the spiritual conquest, so that they may be beloved of the Indians. Your Honor will keep me informed on this point, and report what you think expedient for the service of God and the king, so that I may intelligently give suitable orders. You will choose the most proportionate means for the execution of those plans which are preferable for the object and advancement of the missions, the good treatment of the missionaries, the comfort of the neophytes, listening with affability and dignity to the complaints of one and all, and assisting them with whatever is necessary in order that the sovereign intentions of His Majesty may be realized."[15]

Ere long the venerable Fr. Presidente experienced another painful surprise at the hands of Captain Fages, who under date of October 12, 1772, communicated to Fr. Serra part of a letter which he had received from the new viceroy, Don Frey Antonio María Bucareli y Ursúa,[16] and which read as follows: "Your Honor (Fages) will see to it, and you will impress upon the Rev. Fr. Junípero Serra, presidente of the missions, the commendable obligations under which they are by example and persuasion to stimulate all to obey and comply with the orders of Your Honor."[17] In a note to this communication Fages remarked, "I bring all this to the attention of Your Reverence, and supplicate you to make the other religious understand it for the due accomplishment of so important an object."

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[15] "Encargo á Vm. muy estrechamente guarde buena harmonía con los PP. Misioneros, y que los deje obrar libremente en sus fatigas apostólicas, ayudándoles con todos los auxilios capaces de conseguir quanto antes la reducción de aquellos en cuya predicación entienden, para lo cual convendrá mucho que Vm. les facilite las escoltas y demás avios de su subsistencia con atención á la liberal mano del rey que mantiene esas misiones con el Católico y ardiente deseo de que se propague el Evangelio. También encargo á Vm. etc." *Arch. Gen.*, California, 66.

[16] He had been Captain-General of Cuba, had arrived at Vera Cruz on August 23d, and reached the capital on September 23, 1771.

It was plain that the Fathers had been misrepresented in Mexico, that the new victory labored under a serious misapprehension, and that the author of the misrepresentation was none other than Pedro Fages. He had reported the desertions[18] to Governor Barri of Lower California; but instead of stating that it was due to the efforts of the missionaries that on two occasions the soldiers, who had deserted on account of the overbearing manner and irascibility of Comandante Fages, returned to their duty when neither his entreaties and promises, nor his threats availed anything, Capt. Fages, July 23, 1771, reported that "the fugitive soldiers were in the church of the mission and protected by the missionaries."[19] It was after the receipt of these reports that Bucareli directed Fages, no matter what steps Governor Barri might take, to chastise the instigators of insubordination, and to warn the missionaries that they were expected to obey his commands. To Fages's note with its implied accusation Fr. Serra on the same October 12th answered briefly and with dignity, "I have always persuaded and urged the subalterns and subjects of Your Honor to obey your orders. For this I have the testimony of my conscience, and Your Honor could, if you would,

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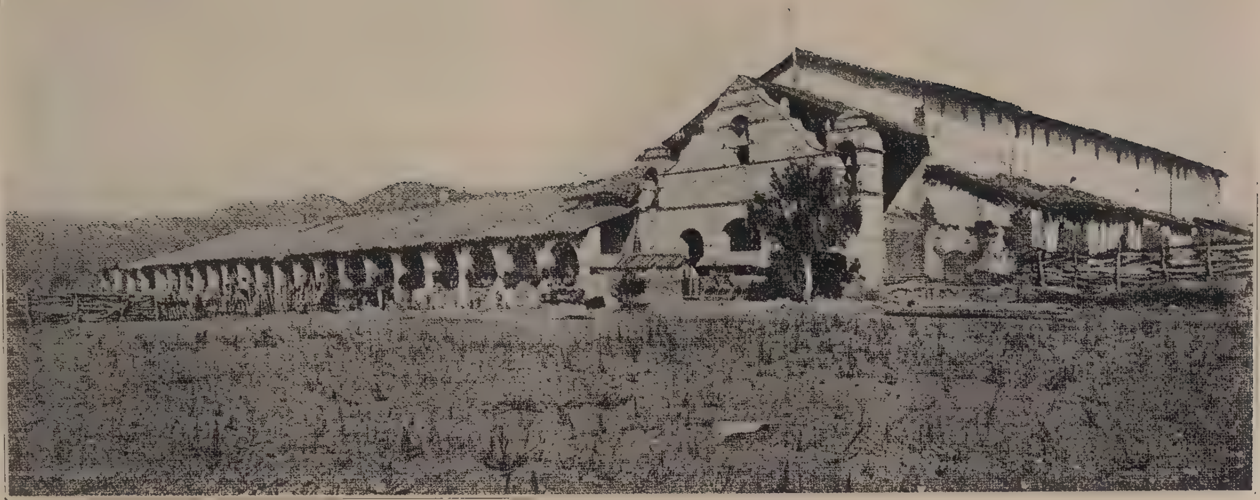
[17] Bucareli to Fages, November 30, 1771. *Arch. Gen.* California, 66, *Archbishop's Archives,* No. 2.

[18] "atentado de repetida descerción cometida por los soldados presidiales y voluntarios," hence even from his own Catalonians. Barri to Bucareli, October 24, 1771. *Arch. Gen.,* 66. Bucareli to Fages November 30, 1771. *Arch. Gen.,* California, 66; *Archbishop's Archives,* No. 2.

[19] "remanecieron refugiados en la iglesia de la misión protegidos de los PP. Misioneros." Barri to Bucareli, October 21, 1771. *Arch. Gen.,* California, 66.



III. MISSION SAN ANTONIO, FOUNDED JULY 14, 1771

bear testimony to what I have done in the case of the soldier Ignacio Estevanell."[20]

In view of Capt. Fages's attitude, the matter could not rest there. After a High Mass on October 13th Fr. Serra, therefore, consulted with the two Fathers stationed at San Diego and Fr. Tomás de la Peña. The four religious agreed that one of their number should proced to Mexico, present a truthful statement of the situation in California to the new viceroy, obtain the relief needed, and ascertain the sense of the government with regard to the management of the missionary establishments. The Fr. Presidente himself was chosen as the person most competent to undertake such an important task, and he consented despite his sore leg and advanced age. A few days later he informed his successor in Lower California, Fr. Palóu, "that he had determined to journey to Mexico in order to obtain from His Excellency such measures as were expedient for the welfare of the missions for the reason that Captain Fages created nothing but pain, disgust, and discouragement for the religious without any benefit to the mission."[21] On October 20th Fr. Serra sailed away in the *San Carlos* accompanied by an Indian youth, one of the first baptized at Monterey, and reached San Blas on November 4th.[22]

When on November 7th he arrived at the Franciscan convent at Tepic, he learned that the College of San Fernando had ceded all the Lower California missions to the Dominican Fathers. As this was a matter of great importance to the Upper California missions, Fr. Serra three days later wrote the interesting letter which was reproduced in the preceding volume.[23] In company of the Indian youth, the Fr. Presidente then set out for the capital, but on reaching Guadalajara, eighty leagues from San Blas, and one hundred and twenty leagues from their destination, both were seized with a malignant fever, which brought them so low that the last Sacraments were administered. Fr. Serra scarcely feared death, but what troubled him was the fear of the disastrous effect which the news of the boy's death would have among the Indians in California, especially among his relatives. They would never believe that he had died a natural death. With all the fervor of his soul Fr. Serra, therefore, implored God to restore the health of his youthful companion. Both eventually recovered, and though the aged priest again fell sick at the Franciscan missionary college of Santa Cruz, Querétaro, forty leagues from the capital, he was once more restored to health, and on February 6th received the hearty welcome of the community of San Fernando College. The Indian youth, whose name was Juan Evangelista and then about fifteen years of age, received the Sacrament of Confirmation from Archbishop Peralta on August 4, 1773. Juan was the first of his race in Upper California to be thus favored.[24]

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[20] "que de haber yo siempre persuadido y procurado, que los subalternos y subditos de V. S. obedescan á sus ordenes, tengo el testimonio de mi consciencia, y V. S. podrá darlo si gustará de lo que hice con el soldado Ignacio Estevanell." Fr. Serra to Fages, October 12, 1772. *Archb. Arch.*, No. 3.

[21] Fr. Serra to Fr. Palóu, October 17, 1772. Palóu, *Noticias*, tom. iii, cap. xxxvi, 33.

[22] Palóu, *Noticias*, tom. iii, cap. xxxvi; *Vida*, cap. xxxiii, 146-147.

[23] Vol. i, 515-517; Fr. Serra to Fr. Palóu, *Vida*, cap. xxxiv, 148-149.

The Fr. Presidente arrived at a most opportune moment. The new viceroy was unacquainted with the conditions in both Californias, but a strong party existed which endeavored to influence him against those territories. One of their schemes was that the port of San Blas should be abandoned as superfluous, because the supplies could be taken to Guaymas, farther north, about five hundred leagues from the City of Mexico, and from that port they could be brought by sea about two hundred leagues to Bay San Luis, whence by means of pack animals they might be transported to Monterey, a distance of about three hundred leagues. The promoters of this project overlooked the fact that the transportation of goods and provisions eight hundred leagues overland and two hundred leagues across the Gulf of California would consume the whole annual allowance of the misionaries, and would require two years' time without any security that such supplies would reach their destination. Fr. Serra was graciously received by the viceroy and at once stated the object of his visit. Bucareli urged him to present his complaints and recommendations in writing. Fr. Serra promised to comply, but implored His Excellency to send supplies from San Blas to Monterey without delay. The viceroy granted the request, but directed the petitioner to state in writing why the port of San Blas should be maintained. Fr. Serra then drew up his famous "Representación," [25] in which, under thirty-two heads, he exposed the situation in California, offered recommendations and closed with complaints about the soldiers and their commander. The document is too long to be reproduced here and too important to be passed by. We therefore give the substance by paragraphs .

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[24] Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. iii, capp. xxxvi-xxxvii, 34-36; *Vida,* cap. xxxiv, 147-151. *Libro de Confirmacion,* Mission San Carlos.

The *Representación* or Memorial of the Rev. Fr. Presidente of the California Missions is dated March 13, 1773. It covers sixteen closely written folio pages and in substance is as follows: [26]

1—Another pilot and a second pilot should be sent from Vera Cruz to take charge of the *San Carlos* plying between San Blas and Monterey, because there is no other pilot at San Blas than Juan Pérez. His assistant, Jose Cañizares, is too young to be given command of the ship.

2—Another vessel should be provided, inasmuch as the *San Carlos* and the *San Antonio* are insufficient for the needs of the missions and presidios.

3—The Fr. Presidente has not received the stipend for the last year. Even though he were not in actual charge of a mission, but only a supernumerary, he should be provided with the regular allowance for the reason that he must make lengthy visitations through all the missions.

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[25] Palóu, *Vida,* cap. xxxv, 151-152. In order that Fr. Serra might have the merit of religious obedience in drawing up the paper to be presented to Viceroy Bucareli, Fr. Guardian Rafael Vergér of the College, under date of March 9, 1773, formally commanded him to prepare a full and truthful statement. See Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. iii, cap. xxxvii, 36-37.

[26] Fr. Serra "produced a document which exhibited a remarkable degree of ability as a man of business." Hittell *History of California,* vol. i, 356.

4—Various persons have promised donations of corn and other supplies for the missionaries. The Fr. Presidente petitions that the government commissary at San Blas admit them to the packetboat under whatever head he likes, but that he should expressly state that they belong to the missions and are therefore not to be re-examined by the commander of the presidios in Upper California. He asks the same privilege for the goods detained at Loreto (Lower California), composed of books, pictures, crucifixes, and other articles, which were assigned for the personal use of the religious. If these goods, which Governor Barri of Lower California declares were stolen from the missions, cannot be forwarded by land, the governor should be directed to have them placed on board the ships with the expression in the manifest that they are the private property of the missions.[27]

5—It would be advisable to allow the comandante of the presidio of Tubac, Sonora, to find a road from there to Monterey and from Santa Fe, New Mexico, to Monterey in order to open communication between these points.

6—It seems to me urgently necessary to retire Don Pedro Fages from the command of the presidio of Monterey in order to stop the desertion of the soldiers and of other men who charge him with cruelty, violent temper, imposing excessive labor, and with not providing sufficient food. Of this I am witness, Fr. Serra says, not to speak of the damage his conduct has done to the missions.

7—The new commander should not be taken from the ordinary troops, because they are unacquainted with the duties of the Leather Jacket Soldiers. Sergeant José Francisco Ortega, a man of merit, judgment, experience, and prudence, would be suitable for the position of commander.

8—The new commander should be instructed, at the first request of a missionary, to remove a soldier who has given bad example, especially with regard to chastity, and to replace him with another who was not noted for unchaste and scandalous habits. A missionary should not be obliged to specify the crime or cause of complaint.

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[27] See vol. i, 536, 538.

9—*The commander and soldiers should be made to understand that the control, management, punishment, and education of the baptized Indians, and of those under instruction for Baptism, pertain exclusively to the missionaries, except in matters requiring capital punishment, and, therefore, no punishment or ill-treatment should be inflicted upon any of said neophytes, neither by the commander nor by the soldiers, without the consent of the missionary in charge, for such is the custom from time immemorial in the Spanish dominions.*

10—In my opinion the following number of soldiers is needed for the protection of the missions: San Carlos, San Antonio, San Luis Obispo, and San Gabriel each ten soldiers; San Diego thirteen or fourteen; San Buenaventura, when founded, twenty; and Santa Clara, when established, fifteen.

11—There should be a general store at Monterey for the soldiers of Upper California with a fixed price list independent of the Loreto warehouse.

12—Each mission should be provided with four or six laborers to help cultivate the land. Among them should be carpenters, muleteers, and cattle herders. They might come up from San Blas as sailors, and the presidio commander should not be permitted to interfere with them.

13—When the cattle are driven up from Lower California some Indian families, if they volunteer, should be permitted to come along and should be distributed two or three for each mission to set an example at labor, and to prove that there is marriage among the Christians; for now they wonder much to see so many men without women.

14—According to ancient custom the missionary should be free to choose one of the soldiers to act as mayordomo and to supervise the manual work. In that case he should be exempt from sentinel duty and from guarding the horses; nor should the commander be permitted to remove him except for grave cause, which for the sake of courtesy he should indicate to the missionary. Thus far the reverse obtains; for as soon as a soldier applies himself to assist the missionary, he is changed without notice.

15—The goods assigned to the missionaries should be shipped apart from those directed to the commander or to the guards;

much annoyance has been experienced through Commander Fages, who detained them.

16—As Mission San Diego has a forge, it ought to have a blacksmith to keep the farm implements in repair.

17—A forge is asked for Mission San Carlos, and a blacksmith, who might also attend to the needs of San Antonio and San Luis Obispo where he could teach his trade to the neophytes.

18—A considerable quantity of iron is asked for the missions of San Carlos and San Diego lest they be without the necessary material.

19—Two carpenters are needed, one for the mission near Monterey and one with headquarters at San Gabriel; they should be furnished with the necessary tools.

20—According to custom the king donates two bells, a large one and a small one, for each mission. San Gabriel needs the two; Santa Clara and San Francisco, when established, will each need two bells.

21—It was the custom of the kings to provide the missions with the necessary vestments, sacred vessels, and other church goods. Frequently these articles arrived in an unserviceable condition, doubtless through the carelessness of the commissioners who had been charged with the duty of collecting them from the churches of the expatriated Jesuits. In a subjoined memorial Fr. Serra petitions for the following articles: A full set of vestments, that is to say, one each of white, red, violet, green, and black colors for Mission San Luis Obispo; five frontales or antependia to correspond in color with the chasubles; three copes: white, violet, and black; one palio[28] and one surplice. For San Gabriel the same articles were required. For San Antonio three chasubles: white, red, and black, three corresponding antependia, one palio and one surplice were wanted. Santa Clara would need three silver oilstocks and a vase for the salt at baptism, besides a Roman Ritual with the Toledo Appendix, and two surplices.

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[28] A short cloak or cape of white or gold cloth used while giving holy Communion. This Spanish vestment is now discarded.

22—The military commander should be forbidden to interfere with the correspondence carried on between the College and the missionaries. He should be strictly commanded not to open nor to delay such letters, and to notify the Fathers when the mail is to leave. The letters of the missionaries to the College should go free, since the missions have no funds. "If the law," Fr. Serra asks, "dispenses military officers and soldiers, who are more soldiers than we who are always in the campaign and as near to the arrows as any soldier?"[29]

23—The grain measures at San Blas should be regulated in such a manner that a fanega amount to twelve almudes, as is usual, so that we do not as now receive only nine and one-half or ten almudes to the fanega, and yet have to certify that we received so many fanegas.

24—These measures should be in sets and counted as fanega, cuartilla, almud, medio almud, and cuartillo. They should be sealed with a special design for each mission in token of their legality.

25—The commissary at San Blas should be commanded to practise more care in the shipment of supplies. Much of the wheat, corn, flour, etc., arrives unfit for use, and the meat is often decayed.

26—The missions are in urgent need of pack animals. For want of them the remote establishments cannot obtain supplies. It would be wise to send up horses and mules for breeding purposes.

27—The cows intended for the missions of Santa Clara and San Francisco should be delivered to the Fr. Presidente along with their young, in order to receive better care than is accorded them at the presidio, and in order that the missionaries may be able to provide the neophytes with more milk. It is now the only food that can be given them.

28—A physician should be sent to Monterey to replace the late Dr. Pedro Prat, who lost his reason and died at Guadalajara.

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[29] "Si á los señores militares y soldados se les dispensa de esta ley, que más militares que nosotros que estamos siempre en campaña y tan cerca de las flechas como cualquiera soldado?"

29—License to retire is asked for eight soldiers from whose wives they have been long separated; also for one who is in doubt whether he is a widower, and for another who is entirely disabled.[30]

30—It would be advisable to offer a bounty to soldiers and other men who married Indian girls or women; for instance, a mule at once, if the groom have none; after a year of married life a pair of cattle and a mule or anything else, and later a piece of land for private cultivation.[31]

31—The new commander should publish a pardon to all deserters who may be scattered among the savages. In this way a source of disquietude among the pagans would be removed and the erring ones saved from perdition.

32—Finally Fr. Serra asks for a duplicate of the regulations which the viceroy might be pleased to issue in consequence of these petitions in order that the missionaries in California might be able to comply with them faithfully; and then closes with the petition for assistance to pay the expenses of the journey.[32]

Fr. Serra presented his Memorial to Viceroy Bucareli on March 15th, and at the same time made the following simple address: "Your Excellency,—I place this document into your hands. From it Your Excellency will see that what I state is the plain truth, and that what I set forth, as it seemed to me, I had to say in conscience, because I consider it very important and necessary in order that the object which His Majesty has in view by going to such great expense may be accomplished. This object is the conversion of so many souls, who for want of the knowledge of our holy Catholic Faith groan in the slavery of the enemy. By means of these regulations, it seems to me, they will attain that knowledge. I hope that Your Excellency will read it, and that you will determine what you may judge to be right and expedient without delay, as I am obliged to return and wish to do so as soon as possible. May what I ask be granted, in which case I shall return very contented; if it is not granted, I shall go somewhat saddened, but always entirely conformed to the will of God."[33]

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[30] From this it appears that the poor men dared not expose their needs to Capt. Fages whose duty it was to relieve them. No wonder they deserted.

[31] The reader will please bear this proposition in mind, for the missionaries were later accused of frowning on marriage and colonization.

[32] *Santa Barbara Archives,* ad annum; Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. iii, cap. xxxvii-xxxviii, 37-76; *Vida,* cap. xxxv, 154-155.

The viceroy on March 16th referred the Memorial to the royal fiscal, Don Antonio de Areche, who reported favorably. Meanwhile the Fr. Presidente, in obedience to the viceroy's command, prepared his arguments in favor of retaining the Port of San Blas as a base of supplies. In this document, which fills five closely written folio pages, Fr. Serra argued, 1. that to transport provisions eight hundred leagues by land and over such roads, and two hundred leagues by sea, was not only difficult, but morally impossible; 2. that, even if it were possible, the cost would be far greater than now by way of San Blas, not to speak of the time required; 3. that through this scheme, the abandonment of San Blas, the chief object, the spiritual conquest of the country, would be lost, inasmuch as the Indians along the road, because of the immorality of the men generally in charge of the pack-trains, and because of the propensity of the savages to steal and rob, would become brutalized and hardened so that they could not be gained for the Gospel.[34]

The viceroy was so pleased with the Fr. Presidente's views on the subject,[35] that he forwarded a copy of the document to the king, and gave orders that the Port of San Blas for the present should be maintained. The king eventually gave his approval and commanded that the port should remain open for the benefit of California. Thus Fr. Serra gained the first two points of his petition before the viceregal council, to whom Bucareli had referred it, assembled.

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[33] Palóu, *Vida,* cap. xxxv, 154; *Noticias,* tom. iii, cap. xxxvii.

[34] *Santa Barbara Archives,* ad annum.

[35] "These arguments proved unanswerable," says Bancroft, vol. 1, 209.

CHAPTER VIII.

Decision of the Viceroyal Council.—Fr. Serra Successful.—Authority of the Missionaries Defined.—Report on the Missions Demanded.—The New Reglamento.—The Military.—The Pious Fund.—Proposed Route from Sonora to Monterey.—Captain Rivera Appointed Military Commander.—Fr. Serra Departs from Mexico.—The Franciscans Withdraw from Lower California.—Their Poverty.—Fr. Palóu Appointed Acting Presidente.—His Reception.—Dearth of Food.—Fr. Serra Returns.—Distribution of the Fathers.—Rivera Arrives at Monterey.

VICEROY BUCARELI on May 6, 1773, submitted Fr. Serra's Memorial and the fiscal's report thereon to the Board of War and Royal Exchequer. This body out of the thirty-two prayed for in the Memorial granted the following numbers: 1-4, 8, 9, 12, 15-25, 27, 28, and part of 32. The part in which Fr. Serra asked to have his traveling expenses to Mexico paid, was disallowed. Thus twenty-one of the original points were disposed of in favor of the venerable petitioner. "By this decision," to use Bancroft's summary, "the commandant in California was required to transfer from the mission guard to the presidio, at the missionary's request, any soldier of irregular conduct and bad example, and this without the Padre being obliged to name or prove the soldier's offense; the missionaries were to have the *right to manage the mission Indians as a father would manage his family,* and the military commandant should be instructed to preserve perfect harmony with the Padres; property and letters for the friars or missions were to be forwarded separately instead of being enclosed to the presidio commander; and the friars' correspondence was not to be meddled with, passing free of mail charges like that of the soldiers. By the terms of the decision on the other points Serra was to receive his regular pay as a missionary, during his whole absence from California. Contributions of food from the Tepic region were to be forwarded expressly for the missions, and Governor Barri was not to hinder the removal of the Church property at Velicatá.[1] Sailors might be enlisted at San Blas and employed as laborers at the missions, receiving rations for one year as if on board vessels, but they could not be forced to remain after the year had passed, and the regular crews of the transports must not be interfered with. Two blacksmiths, two carpenters, with some tools and material were to be sent from Guadalajara for the exclusive use of the missions. Seven additional bells were to be furnished, four of them having already been sent to Monterey. Additional vestments were to be sent to take the place of soiled, worn, and 'indecent' articles [2] contained in some of the cases from Baja California. San Blas measures were to be adjusted on a proper basis and a full set of standards sent to each mission. Greater care was to be taken in packing food for California, where it often arrived in bad condition. Cattle for the proposed missions were to be under the temporary care of the missionaries, who might use their milk. A new surgeon was to be sent in the place of Prat, deceased, and finally a copy of the junta's decision was to be given to Serra, that the missionaries might hereafter act understandingly." [3]

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[1] See vol. i, section iii, chapter xvi.

Of the remaining eleven articles, number 5 was executed by the king; 6 and 7, which concerned the removal of Fages and the appointment of Ortega, were left to the judgment of the viceroy, who agreed to Fr. Serra's recommendation in the following year as far as relieving the obnoxious commander. Numbers 10, 11, 13, and 14 were postponed until further information could be obtained, since the whole military was to be reorganized. Numbers 26, 29, and 30 were to be dealt with in forthcoming regulations or disposed or by the viceroy; and number 31 was granted later.[4]

Thus it will be seen that Fr. Serra's journey had proved eminently successful. Fr. Palóu observes that the Fr. Presidente obtained much more than he had asked,[5] and failed to succeed in only three minor propositions, namely, that the expense of his journey be paid, instead of which, however, his stipend was continued as though he were at his post; that some of the Indian families, who might volunteer, be permitted to remove from Lower California to the missions in Upper California; and that Sergeant Ortega be appointed to replace Fages; but Ortega was, nevertheless, promoted and made first military commander of the presidio of San Diego. Moreover, in Viceroy Bucareli the Fr. Presidente had gained a warm protector for the missions.

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[2] Instead of procuring new church goods, which would have been one proof that Religion was the chief object of the conquest, Gálvez had ransacked the poor missions of Lower California in order to secure second-hand vestments for the missions of Upper California, all for the purpose of "saving expenses to the royal treasury." See vol. i, 384-388.

[3] Bancroft, *History of California,* vol. i, 209-211.

[4] Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. iii, cap. xxxviii, 77-83.

[5] "Votaron todos á favor de la Conquista concediendo mucho más de lo que pedía el V. Padre." Palóu, *Vida,* cap. xxxv, 154.

The most important and far-reaching decision pronounced by the viceroyal council with the approval of Bucareli was the authoritative declaration that with regard to their neophytes the missionaries stood *in loco parentis,* that is to say, in the position of a father towards his children, and consequently possessed all the rights and duties which the term implied. *"Concerning number nine, that the government, control, and education of the baptized Indians should belong exclusively to the missionaries, it was declared that it should be so carried out in all economical affairs pertaining to the father of a family regarding the care of his household, and the education and correction of his children; and the governor shall be instructed to preserve harmony and to cooperate with the said missionary Fathers."*[6]

This official definition of the authority of the missionaries over their converts, and of their rights to manage their missions, fully compensated the venerable Fr. Presidente for all the hardships suffered on the journey to and from Mexico.

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[6] "En cuanto al noveno, sobre que el govierno, mando, y crianza de los Indios bautizados toca privativamente á los Padres misioneros, se declaró así deberlo ejecutar en todo lo económico á que un padre de familia se maneja con el cuidado de su casa, educacíon y corrección de sus hijos, y que se prevenga al gobernador de la California guarde armonia y correspondencia con dichos Padres misioneros." Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. iii, cap. xxxviii, 78-79. Hence, to describe the relations of the neophytes with the patriarchal guides as slavery, mild or otherwise, only argues bias and malevolence. The missionaries officially and in reality held the position of parents towards their converts; the latter in very truth, as history proves, received the treatment accorded sons and daughters under age. To call them slaves, as Hittell and his unreasoning copyists love to do, is to violate the truth.

Bancroft can hardly conceal his chagrin at the happy outcome. It is amusing to see him squirm and wriggle to find some comfort for himself and his client Fages in the plain decision of the viceroyal council;[7] but, besides recognizing the authority of the missionaries, and by implication forbidding the interference of the military, the viceroy and his counselors, as though to emphasize their action add the warning, "that the governor shall be instructed to preserve harmony and to co-operate with the said missionaries," and thus put the blame for the disagreements where it belonged.

The council, furthermore, decreed "that the comandante of the new presidio shall publish a general pardon to all deserters;[8] that Fr. Junípero Serra shall be furnished with the information asked for in his last point about all that has been resolved in this junta; and likewise that a copy of the new regulation, as soon as it is compiled, shall be sent after him to his destination, whither he is asked and charged to proceed as soon as possible for the spiritual conquest of those souls. Nothing is allowed him for his traveling expenses, because we think him compensated by the annual stipend granted him, although he is not at his mission."

The council finally resolved that the Fr. Presidente "should be asked and directed to draw up, with the same possible brevity, a minute report on the number of souls at each of the missions and on the condition in which he left these missions when he set out for the capital, and on all subsequent information which he might have on the subject. All expenses incurred in the execution of these decrees shall be paid *from the Pious Fund* of those missions and from the allowance granted to that peninsula by the royal treasury." This was signed on May 6, 1773, by Viceroy Bucareli and the following members of the Council of War and Royal Treasury: Domingo

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[7] Bancroft, vol. i, 210, note 24. The historian tries to shield Fages because he dislikes Fr. Serra. We shall find him defending Neve for the same reason. To him Fr. Serra is a "wily friar" (p. 213), "some of whose charges were doubtless unfounded, or at least exaggerated" (p. 191), who wanted his "goods invoiced separtely merely to gratify his pride" (p. 219). It is evident that Bancroft takes Fage's defeat to heart very much.

[8] This was another blow for Fages, who had blamed the missionaries.

Valcarcel, José del Toro, José de Areche, Crisóstomo Barrueta, Santiago Abad, Pedro Toral, Juan Herrera, Fernando Mangino, Antonio de Arce, and the secretary, José Gorráez.[9]

The viceroyal council had postponed action upon some points in Fr. Serra's Memorial, because they touched the military and financial system of California which the viceroy intended to reorganize. The whole subject was referred to an expert with directions to formulate a plan for the government of both Californias. The expert selected was Don Juan José Echeveste, who had superintended the forwarding of supplies from San Blas. Escheveste on May 19, 1773, proposed a "Reglamento" which was adopted on July 8, 1773, and confirmed by Viceroy Bucareli on the 23d of the same month. It was to go into effect on the first of January, 1774. Thereafter, in accordance with the decree of the King of Spain issued September 10, 1772, the military and naval departments of both Californias were to be composed as follows:

PRESIDIO OF MONTEREY.

A captain, who was to be in command of all the troops in Upper California, with residence at Monterey, but subordinate to the governor of both Californias who resided at Loreto.

The salary was fixed at $3,000 a year...............	$ 3,000
A sergeant at $450 a year..........................	450
Two corporals at $400 a year each..................	800
Twenty-two soldiers at $365 a year each............	8,030
Two carpenters to serve presidio and missions at $300 each	600
Two blacksmiths for the presidio and missions at $300	600
Four muleteers at $150 a year each.................	600
A storekeeper who kept account of the goods received and distributed them subject to the approval of the captain at $1,000............................	1,000
	$15,080

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[9] Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. iii, cap. xxxviii, 66-84. The manuscript copies of the several documents in the handwriting of Fr. Serra or Fr. Palóu, i. e., Serra's Representación, March 13, 1773; Petition against the Closing of San Blas Port, April 22, 1773; Decision of the Council, May 6th; Report on the Missions, May 21, 1773, are in the *Santa Barbara Mission Archives.*

PRESIDIO OF SAN DIEGO.

A lieutenant commanding the presidio at $700 a year..	$ 700
A sergeant at $450 a year	450
Two corporals at $400 a year each	800
Twenty-two soldiers at $365 each	8,030
Two carpenters to serve at presidio and missions at $300 each	600
Two blacksmiths for the same purpose at $300 each..	600
A storekeeper as at Monterey at $1,000 a year	1,000
	$12,780

GUARDS FOR THE FIVE MISSIONS

Five corporals at a salary of $400 each a year	$ 2,000
Twenty-five soldiers at $365 each a year	9,125
	$11,125

DEPARTMENT OF SAN BLAS.

The cost of maintaining the dock-yard department and the employes, including a commissary at $3,000 a year, soldiers, a chaplain and a sacristan, amounted to $29,869.

MARINE DEPARTMENT.

One frigate, salaries of the officers, including the captain's at seventy dollars a month, the wages of the men, etc.	$14,842
One packet boat, salaries of the officers, including the captain's at seventy dollars a month, wages of the men, etc.	19,196
	$34,038

DEPARTMENT OF LOWER CALIFORNIA.

A governor in command of both Californias at a salary of $4,000 a year	$ 4,000
A lieutenant at $500 a year	500
A sergeant at $400 a year	400
Three corporals at $350 a year each	1,050
Thirty soldiers at $300 a year each	9,000
A commissary at $1,500 a year	1,500
	$16,450

The total cost of maintaining the military in Upper California thus amounted to $38,385, but as payment was made in goods which were delivered at Monterey and San Diego at a discount of one hundred and fifty per cent., the expense to the royal treasury was only $15,904.

The salaries for Lower California amounted to $16,450. The discount there, except to the governor and commissary, who received their pay in full, was one hundred per cent., which left only $10,705 to be paid out of the royal treasury. Thus the total expenditure for maintaining the military in both Californias, and continuing the Port of San Blas and the two transports for the benefit of California, reached the sum of $118,518, or, after deducting the percentage charged by the government, to only about $92,470. This cost was to be covered from the following sources[10]: $33,000 promised by the king on September 10, 1772; the estimated yield of the salt-works near San Blas amounting to $25,000; and *the probable surplus revenue of the Pious Fund property*[11] supposed to be about $10,000, to be used but this once. The rest was to be furnished by the royal treasury at Guadalajara.[12]

At the suggestion of the fiscal, J. de Areche, the director of the Pious Fund Property, Don Fernando Mangino, was called upon to report on the state of the Fund[13] with a view to ascertain whether or not it was capable of furnishing the sum of $10,000. Don F. Mangino on July 19, 1773, replied that the annual revenue at this time amounted to $20,687; that from this sum $14,879 went to pay the annual allowance of the missionaries in both Lower and Upper California; and that therefore only $5,808 would be available. Thereupon it was decided that the Pious Fund should be required to pay the $10,000 for the first year only.[14]

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[10] "This part of the reglamento is omitted in Palóu's printed copy," says Bancroft in vol. i, 211. It is there, though scattered over pages 131-132. See also manuscript copy in the *Archives of Santa Barbara,* July 8, 1773.

[11] The royal officials were not over scrupulous, it appears. This surplus should have gone to the missions for decent vestments and many other necessary articles.

[12] Palóu's *Noticias,* tom. iii, capp. xxxix-xl, 84-138; Revilla Gigedo, *Informe,* nos. 16-18; 22-24.

[13] See vol. i, 162-163; 497-498.

Echeveste also made additional recommendations which were adopted. The two missionaries of a mission instead of three hundred and fifty dollars a year were to receive four hundred dollars each. Moreover the missionaries of the five establisments already existing and the three supernumeraries, who were awaiting the founding of their missions, were granted double rations for five years. These rations, amounting to seven hundred and seventy-nine dollars aditional, or three reales [15] a day, *should be paid from the Pious Fund, "in order that this alms along with the sínodos or stipends might aid the Fathers to maintain and clothe the Indians during the first five years."* [16] The missions already founded and those projected were allowed six servants each, and their wages were to be paid from the royal treasury for a period of five years. Their duty was to serve the missionaries and to hedp cultivate the land so that through their example the neophytes might be induced to adopt civilized manners and apply themselves to manual labor.[17]

As Viceroy Bucareli had asked Fr. Serra for his opinion with regard to its feasibility, the Fr. Presidente recommended the opening of a road from Sonora to Monterey by way of the Río Colorado so that supplies might eventually be brought overland. This would prevent the repetition of the distress suffered in the missions through the long delay in the arrival of the supply ships. He also favored opening communication between New Mexico and Monterey. The viceroy accordingly directed Captain Juan Bautista Anza, commander of the presidio at Tubac, Sonora, to conduct an expedition to Monterey. The order was successfully executed, as we shall see later.[18]

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[14] Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. iii, cap. xl, 138-143.

[15] A real is equal to twelve and one-half cents.

[16] "para que êsta limosna junta con los sínodos, ayudasen á mantener y vestir á los Indios en los cinco primeros años." Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. iii, cap. xli. Neve refused this help.

[17] Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. iii, cap. xxxix, 98; 100; cap. xli, 144; 146-147; *Vida,* cap. xxxv, 155.

[18] *Representación,* no. 5, in Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. iii, cap. xxxvii, 41-42; *Vida,* cap. xxxv, 155.

One of the important points in Serra's petition still remained to be settled. This was the appointment of a commander to replace Don Pedro Fages, who had proved himself an obstacle to both the temporal and spiritual progress of the missions. He had also aroused much dissatisfaction among the soldiers by his haughty and irascible manner. Fr. Serra had proposed José Francisco Ortega; but inasmuch as this officer only held the post of sergeant among the troops, the viceroy thought it unwise to name him. Captain Fernando Rivera y Moncada, who had for more than twenty-one years served in Lower California, and had conducted the first land expedition to Upper California, was then appointed military commander for Monterey, whilst Ortega was promoted to the rank of lieutenant and placed in command of the presidio at San Diego.[19]

Finally the solicitous Fr. Presidente, knowing what would gain the good will of the Indians, petitioned for various articles which the missionaries might utilize as presents. The viceroy graciously acceded to the Fr. Presidente's wishes with the result that the donations represented a value of more than twelve thousands dollars.[20] In obedience to the request of the viceroyal council of May 6th, Fr. Serra on May 21st presented a full report on the California missions. He gave the history of each from its foundation and its condition in September, 1772, the date of his departure for Mexico. The information will be embodied in the local history of each mission.[21]

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[19] Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. iii, cap. xli, 143-144.

[20] Palóu, 144-147; *Vida,* cap. xxv, 155. Goods collected were 3 cases of vestments for the missions of San Gabriel, San Luis Obispo, and San Antonio, respectively; 107 blankets; 29 pieces of coarse cloth; 488 yards of coarse striped cloth; 389 yds. of blue flannel; 10 lbs. of blue maguey cloth for little girls; 4 reams of writing paper; 4 cases of glass beads with 498 rolls of strings or ribbons; 9 bottles of table oil; 10 cases of hams; 6 cases of chocolate; 5 tercios of chile; 4 barrels of Castilian wine; 3 barrels of brandy para prueba aceite; 24,000 lbs. of flour; 900 fanegas of corn; 250 fanegas of beans; 2500 lbs of jerked meat; 16 cases of brown sugar; 3 barrels of lard; 9 tercios of garbanzos; 9 tercios of lentils; 6 tercios of rice; 5 sets of cedar measures; one blacksmith's forge of 34 pieces; 575 lbs of iron.

[21] *Santa Barbara Archives,* ad annum. Compare Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. iii, 227-252.

Notwithstanding his eagerness to depart for California, business affairs detained Fr. Serra until about the middle of September, 1773. When at last he saw that he had accomplished the object of his visit, and that in addition he was well provided with supplies, clothing, and presents for the Indians, the happy old man hastened to bid farewell to his brethren. The Fr. Guardian considerately gave him a companion in the person of Fr. Pablo Mugártegui, whom Fr. Serra accepted with delight. The whole community of the College of San Fernando then assembled in the refectory. By permission of the Fr. Guardian the venerable man then kissed the feet of every friar to the amazement and edification of all. He moreover begged pardon of every one for the bad example which he might have given, and then, once more asking the Fr. Guardian's blessing, he set out for San Blas accompanied by Fr. Pablo Mugártegui and the Indian youth whom he had brought from California. After traveling two hundred leagues by land they reached Tepic, but were compelled to wait for an opportunity to embark until January 24, 1774. On that day they boarded the new *Santiago,* formerly *Nueva Galicia.* Their fellow passengers were the commissary or storekeeper of Monterey, the new physician and his family, three blacksmiths with their families, and three carpenters whom Fr. Serra had obtained from the viceroy to teach their trades to the various missions without charge to the missionaries, as the wages were paid by the king. The packetboat *San Antonio* at the same time sailed for the Port of San Diego with the goods assigned to the missions of San Diego and San Gabriel, whereas the *Santiago* carried the goods intended for San Carlos, San Antonio, and San Luis Obispo. The *Santiago* with Fr. Serra aboard was to sail directly for Monterey to relieve the distressed missions; but an accident caused her to run into the bay of San Diego on March 13th, where the Fr. Presidente and his companions received the heartiest welcome.[22]

While Fr. Serra exerted himself in Mexico, Fr. Francisco Palóu one by one delivered the missions of Lower California to the Dominican Fathers,[23] and then withdrew to San Diego where he arrived on August 30, 1773. He was accompanied by Fathers Gregorio Amurrio, Fermín Francisco de Lasuén, Juan Prestamero, Vicente Fuster, and José Antonio Murguía. Only Fr. Pedro Benito Cambón and Fr. Miguel Campa y Cos remained behind to wind up the temporal affairs of the Franciscans on the peninsula. The following extract from a letter of Fr. Lasuén to Fr. Pángua in Mexico will show how little they profited from their five years' administration of the Lower California missions: "In the letter of this day I also beg the Fr. Guardian to do me the charity of sending a whole outfit of clothing; for, inasmuch as I have not received a single stipend during the five years of my administration of Mission San Francisco de Borja, I came from that wretched peninsula altogether denuded of underwear and without sandals. I know the reason was that the College found it impossible to send them. Perhaps the deep love of the Indians for me resulted from this want of clothing. If similarity be a cause for love, I indeed resemble them very much in so little clothing." [24]

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[22] Palóu, *Vida,* cap. xxxvi, 157-159; *Noticias,* tom. iii, cap. xlii, 147-148.

In the meantime a letter from Fr. Serra had arrived which instructed Fr. Palóu to assume control of the missions in Upper California. Fr. Paterna, who as vice-presidente had acted as superior, immediately turned the office over to Fr. Palóu. The Fathers stationed at San Diego were Luis Jaime and Tomás de la Peña. The latter wishing to be removed, Fr. Vicente Fuster took his place, and Fr. Amurrio remained as supernumerary. With the rest of his companions and some guards Fr. Palóu on September 26th started out for Mission San Gabriel. At the rancheria of Rincón, or Nuestra Señora del Pilar, about two leagues north of San Diego, "the fifteen Indians," Fr. Palóu writes, "whom Fr. Murguía and I had baptized on the 8th, came out to greet us. They saluted by kneeling in the road and singing the *Alabado*.[25] This caused so much emotion in all of us that we could not keep back the tears of joy at the thought that those, who but a few days before had been barbarian gentiles, now as children of the holy Church thankfully praised the Lord. We rewarded them with a sack of pinole[26] and some Rosary beads, and then continued on our way. We arrived at San Gabriel on October 2nd.[27]

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[23] See vol. i, sect. iii, cap, xv-xvi, 520; 533-534; Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. iv, 25.

[24] Fr. Lasúen to Fr. Pángua, San Gabriel, April 23, 1774. *Museo Nacional,* tom. ii.

[25] The words are: "Alabado sea el Santísimo Sacramento del Altar, y Bendita sea la Inmaculada Concepcion de la Beatisima Virgen María." See vol. i, 169; *San Gabriel Mission,* 27.

As FF. Antonio Paterna and Cruzado had received permission to retire to the mother college on account of ill-health, Fr. Palóu left there Fr. Lasuén and Fr. Figuer. The feast of St. Francis was celebrated with all possible splendor, and on October 11th Fr. Palóu with Fathers Murguía, Peña, and Prestamero and some Lower California Indians with their families started out for San Luis Obispo, where they arrived on October 25th. Fr. Caballer and Fr. Juncosa were the friars in charge. The supernumerary had gone to San Antonio on account of continual violent headaches. Recalled from there he begged to be transferred from San Luis Obispo to San Antonio where he felt well. His request was granted. Fr. Juncosa, on the other hand, desired permission to return to Mexico. Fr. Murguía was accordingly stationed there with Fr. Caballer, and the Fathers Prestamero and Peña were added as supernumeraries until the arrival of Fr. Serra. On November 2nd Captain Pedro Fages came down from Monterey to welcome and escort the temporary Presidente to San Carlos. After a High Mass on November 4th in honor of the patron of the principal mission, who was likewise the patron of the King of Spain, the little troop began the march for Mission San Antonio, which place they reached in the evening of the 6th, welcomed by Fathers Miguel Pieras and Buenaventura Sitjar. On the next day Fr. Palóu set out with Captain Fages for the last mission.

"On the 13th," Fr. Palóu writes, "at nine in the morning, about one league before we reached the presidio of Monterey, I saw Fr. Juan Crespi, who had come out from Mission San Carlos to welcome us. Great was the joy I had of meeting him, for since we were boys we had grown up and studied together, almost from the first letters, until we both finished theology. More than five years had passed by since we had seen each other. After giving vent to our old friendship, we continued on our way and at about ten o'clock we arrived at the presidio. There we were welcomed amid salvos of the whole artillery and the ringing of bells." On the following day Fr. Palóu sang a High Mass, and made an appropriate address to the soldiers of the garrison.

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[26] Corn meal.

[27] Palóu, *Noticias*, tom. i, 265-266. Palóu to Fr. Guardian Rafael Verger, San Carlos, Nov. 27, 1773. *Museo Nacional*, Mexico, tom. ii.

In the afternoon Fr. Palóu accompanied by Fathers Crespi and Juncosa, Captain Fages, twelve soldiers and some of the Catalonian Volunteers, went out to Mission San Carlos. Here Fr. Francisco Dumetz surrounded by the Indians received the temporary presidente. "I did not conceal my satisfaction," he writes, " to see myself in Monterey at last, for, not only since these missions were undertaken, but since the year 1750, when I read about the voyage of Sebastián Vizcaino in Torquemada,[28] the desire for the conversion of the Indians of Monterey seized me so firmly that I would have come to these regions with more pleasure than I felt when, in the same year, obedience sent me to the missions among the Pame Indians in the Sierra Gorda.[29] After so long at time, however, it has pleased God to bestow this special blessing, which I acknowledge as a great one, for which I owe Him many thanks and give them, though they are of little value, and I ask His love and grace to let me labor in this vineyard during the days He grants me life. I offer myself from now on to His holy service and for the good and the conversion of these poor souls redeemed with the most precious Blood. I gladly offer mine own, if it should be necessary, for the conversion and subjection of a single one. I hope to His Most Holy Majesty that for the sake of His infinite mercy He will save my soul, and grant it a reward in the eternal glory through the intercession for me, unworthy sinner, of those that I shall succeed in sending into heaven."[30]

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[28] *Monarqúia Indiana,* tom. i, lib. v. capp. xlv-lv.

[29] The region to the north of the States Querétaro and Guanajuato, where Fathers Serra, Crespi, Palóu, and Lasuén had labored among the Indians before coming to Lower California.

Very soon provisions ran low in California, especially at Monterey. Viceroy Bucareli, at the urgent request of Fr. Serra, had in April or May, 1773, despatched the transport *San Carlos* with supplies to Monterey, but stormy weather had prevented Captain Juan Pérez from gaining the ocean. The ship was tossed about the gulf until a broken rudder compelled the captain to run the disabled vessel into the harbor of Loreto. "The provisions were landed, but as there were no means to forward them overland," Fr. Palóu writes, "the worst famine reigned that was ever suffered in those regions of Monterey. During eight months milk was the manna for all from the comandante and the Fathers down to the least individual, and I shared it with the rest; but thanks be to God all are in health."[31] "At this Mission of San Carlos," Fr. Palóu explains further elsewhere, "for thirty-seven days we were without as much as a crumb of bread or a tortilla. The meals consisted of a gruel made of chick-peas or beans ground to flour with which milk was mixed. In the morning a little coffee took the place of chocolate."[32] "When Captain J. B. Anza arrived with his Sonora troops, we had not even a cake of chocolate to set before him for breakfast. The whole food was reduced to milk and herbs without bread or anything else."[33] The neophytes meanwhile received permission to provide for themselves as well as they could on the Monterey beach. The arrival on May 9, 1774, of the *Santiago* relieved the distress at Monterey, and the Indians rejoined Mission San Carlos.[34]

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[30] Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. i, cap. xl, 269-270; Fr. Palóu to Fr. Vergér, November 26, 1773. *Museo Nacional,* tom. ii.

[31] Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. iv, 25; *Vida,* cap. xxxv, 153. Fr. Palóu had come up from Lower California with all the provisions he could collect, and begged Governor Barri to forward the cargo of the *San Carlos.* Barri instead embargoed the goods out of spite to Fr. Palóu. See vol. i, 535, 539, 543-547.

[32] Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. iii, cap. xlii, 149; Fr. Palóu to Fr. Vergér, November 26, 1773. *Museo Nacional,* tom. ii.

[33] Palóu, *Vida,* cap. xxxvi, 159.

[34] Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. iii, cap. xlii, 149.

Whilst Fr. Amurrio was directed to accompany the *Santiago* to Monterey as chaplain, Fr. Presidente Serra determined to make his way north by land in order to visit all the missions on the road. Leaving Fr. Mugártegui, who was suffering from fever, at the mission, he departed from San Diego on April 6th, the same day that the *Santiago* put to sea. The Fathers everywhere received their superior with most affectionate delight. From San Antonio he was accompanied by Fr. Murgúia, and finally reached Monterey on May 11th, only two days after the arrival of the *Santiago*. At his own Mission of San Carlos Fr. Serra was welcomed with every mark of affection and joy by the missionaries and neophytes. He had been absent nearly two years.[35]

The *San Antonio,* in command of José Cañizares, missed the Port of San Diego and entered Monterey harbor on June 8th. The goods assigned to the presidio and the missions of San Carlos, San Antonio, and San Luis Obispo were landed, and then the vessel prepared to leave on July 7th for San Diego. In obedience to the viceroy's instructions one-half of the Catalonian volunteers embarked in her for Mexico. With them went Fr. Domingo Juncosa and Fr. Ramón Usón, who both retired to the College on account of ill-health. Fr. Usón suffered from incessant headaches and sore eyes. At San Diego Fr. Prestamero also boarded the ship when she put to sea on August 4th. He had received permission from Fr. Serra the year before because of obstinate stomach troubles. The number of missionaries in Upper California was therefore reduced to seventeen, not counting the two who were still on the peninsula. [36]

As already stated, Captain Fernando Rivera y Moncada was commissioned to take the place of Pedro Fages as military commander in Upper California. His appointment was dated August 14, 1773, and he was to enjoy a salary of $3000 from January 1, 1774, when the new Reglamento of Echeveste went into force. On the same day Juan Soler, for the presidio of Monterey, and Rafael Pedro Gil for the Presidio of San

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[35] Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. iii, cap. xlii, 148-149; *Vida,* cap. xxxvi.

[36] Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. iii, cap. xliv, 152-153.

Diego were appointed storekeepers at a salary of $1000 each.[37] Rivera was at Guadalajara, but went to Mexico to receive his instructions from Viceroy Bucareli. They comprise forty-two articles, and with other regulations for many years constituted the law of California.

From the very beginning the Captain is warned to preserve harmony with the missionaries, so that both commander and friars may devote themselves exclusively to their respective duties. The first object is the conversion of the natives; but the next in importance is gathering them into mission towns for the purpose of civilization. The commander is authorized to assign lands to communities, and also to such individuals as are disposed to work; but all must dwell in the pueblo or mission, and all grants must be made with due regard to the formalities of law. Missions may be converted into pueblos when sufficiently advanced, but the name of the patron saint should be retained. New missions may be founded in accord with the Fr. Presidente. The captain is authorized to recruit as many soldiers as are required; but married recruits must take their families along, and unmarried men must have the documents that prove they are single. Strict discipline must be enforced, and incorrigible persons sent back to San Blas. The commander will be subordinate to the governor at Loreto only to the extent of reporting to him. Good faith must be kept with the Indians; but the *control, education, and correction of neophytes are left exclusively to the missionaries, who act in the capacity of fathers toward their children.* No vessels are to be admitted to California ports except the San Blas transports and the Philippine ships, and no trade with either foreign or Spanish vessels is to be permitted. San Francisco should be explored as soon as practicable, and the mission of San Diego may be removed if it is deemed best, etc.[38]

When he had received these instructions Captain Rivera hastened to Sinaloa in order to enlist the required number of married soldiers with their families, for the Fr. Presidente had urged the recruiting of married men only. The captain succeeded in engaging a band of soldiers who with their families formed a party of fifty-five persons. With these he crossed the Gulf of California in the *Concepción* and arrived at Loreto in March, 1774. From there he notified Francisco José de Ortega that he was promoted to the post of lieutenant of the presidio at San Diego, and directed him to proceed to Mission San Fernando de Velicatá, in order to conduct the enlisted men to Upper California. The captain then proceeded on his way to his destination and reached Monterey early Saturday morning of May 23rd, just as a High Mass was about to be celebrated on board the *Santiago* in thanksgiving for her safe voyage. He joined the worshipers, and on the following day presented his appointment to Don Pedro Fages. The latter at once relinquished his command, and when the prescribed inventories had been prepared he traveled overland to San Diego, where on July 19th he sailed away in the *Santiago*.[39]

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[37] *Archivo General,* Mexico, *Misiones,* tom, xiii.

[38] Bucareli to Rivera, August 17, 1773. *Bancroft Collection.*

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[39] Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. iii, cap. xliii, 150-151. Bucareli to Fr. Palóu. May 25, 1774. *Santa Barbara Archives.*

CHAPTER IX.

Fr. Francisco Garcés.—Overland from Sonora to Monterey.—Captain J. B. Anza's Expedition.—Fr. Palóu's Report on the Missions.—Viceroy Bucareli in Reply.—Captain Rivera and Fr. Palóu Go to Survey the Bay of San Francisco.—Planting the Cross at San Francisquito Creek.—Planting the Cross on Point Lobos.—Sites for Missions.—Return.—Expedition to the Northwest by Sea.—Fathers Crespi and Peña Accompany Captain Pérez.—Piety of the Men.—Holy Mass and Sermons at Sea.—The Indians.—Discoveries.—Return of the *Santiago*.—Diaries.

FROM the earliest days of the mission period the missionaries desired to have a road opened from Sonora to Lower California in order to avoid the dangers of the gulf which caused such a heavy drain on the meager resources of the missions. The last attempt to round the head of the Gulf of California was made by the Jesuit Fathers Eusebio Kino and Juan María Salvatierra in 1701. It failed for want of provisions.[1] Since then the plan was abandoned as impracticable; but when in 1769 Don José de Galvez sent out the expeditions in search of the Port of Monterey, Captain Juan Bautista de Anza, commander of the presidio of Tubac on the Sonora frontier, offered to conduct an expedition at his own expense from Sonora to Monterey to meet the sea expedition at that port. Gálvez, not deeming such an undertaking profitable at the time, declined the offer. When, however, the Franciscan Fr. Francisco Hermenegildo Garcés, of Mission San Francisco del Bac, Arizona, in 1771 had all alone made his daring missionary and exploring tour through savage tribes and dreary deserts to the Río Colorado and far beyond, and had reported the result to Viceroy Bucareli,[2] Captain Anza in 1773 again proposed the plan to open communications between Sonora and Monterey. Viceroy Bucareli in reply gave some hopes, but consulted Fr. Junípero Serra. When Fr. Serra declared the road practicable and advantageous,[3] Bucareli, in accord with his council and with the permission of the king, authorized

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[1] Compare vol. i, 120, 576-577.

[2] *The Franciscans in Arizona,* cap. iv.

[3] See preceding chapter.

Captain Anza to lead the expedition to Monterey on condition that he took along Fr. Francisco Garcés and another friar. In a personal letter to Fr. Garcés the viceroy writes, "My consent that the expedition should be undertaken has been gained principally through the reports which Your Reverence communicated upon the results of your three successive journeys to the Colorado and Gila rivers.[4] I hope that on this tour Your Reverence will continue, as I ask and charge you, to give proof of your apostolic spirit, and that your labors may prove useful and agreeable to God and the King."[5]

Fr. Garcés and Fr. Juan Díaz, who both belonged to the Apostolic College of Santa Cruz de Querétaro, accordingly joined Captain Anza at the presidio of Tubac. The expedition, composed of the captain, the two religious, twenty soldiers, muleteers, and a large number of horses, pack-mules, and cattle, which latter were driven along for slaughter, started out on January 8, 1774, guided by Sebastián Tarabal, an Indian of Mission Santa Gabriel, California. Tarabal was a native of Mission Santa Gertrudis, Lower California, who with his wife had accompandied the land expedition to Monterey and had affiliated with Mission San Gabriel. Homesickness, probably, had driven him to desertion, and he had fled with his wife and another neophyte to the desert intending to make his way to his former home. His wife and companion had perished for want of food and water, but Tarabal had succeeded in reaching the Colorado River, whence he had been brought to Tubac. His account of the hradships sent consternation into the ranks of the troops, but Sebastián showed that, if he contrived to cross the desert without provisions, a number of soldiers well provided with everything need have no fear. He was therefore chosen to act as guide.

After a month of privation the whole company reached the Colorado River, and forded it near the junction with the Gila.

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[4] The previous journeys or *Entradas* were made in 1768, 1770, 1771. See Arricivita, *Cronica Seráfica; The Franciscans in Arizona;* and Coues, *On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer,* 2 volumes, which work in a excellent way deals with the exploring tours of Fr. Garcés.

[5] Arricivita, *Cronica Seráfica,* 450-451; *The Franciscans in Arizona,* 78.

They found several large rancherias of Yuma Indians who raised good crops of corn, wheat, beans, squashes and melons on both sides of the stream. The natives, with whom Fr. Garcés had become acquainted on his former journeys, manifested such a friendly spirit that the captain decided to leave among them, but in charge of three soldiers, and three muleteers, a drove of cattle and such horses and pack animals as were too fatigued for further travel. The march was resumed on March 2nd. Along the route some rancherias of Cajuenches Indians were discovered who remembered Fr. Garcés from his visit in 1771. The explorers continued along the sierras and through sandy wastes to the "Puerto of San Carlos" and over the San Jacinto Pass,[6] where the country of the Cajuenches terminated. They now entered the region of savages whom for want of a better name Fr. Garcés on a former trip had called Danzarines or dancers, because of the violent motion of their hands and feet when speaking. The weary party crossed the Río Santa Ana by means of a bridge constructed of boughs, and on March 22nd entered Mission San Gabriel. Since leaving Caborca, Sonora, the expedition had traveled two hundred and fourteen leagues.

The Spaniards had exhausted their supply of food and they found similar destitution at San Gabriel. The resident missionaries, nevertheless, welcomed the explorers with a holy Mass, sermon, and Te Deum, and entertained them until the 10th of April as well as they could. Four of Anza's ment went to San Diego and after ten days returned with some of the provisions which the *Santiago* had brought from Mexico. On March 24th Captain Anza stood sponsor for a child which Fr. Juan Díaz baptized.[7] From here Fr. Garcés, at the request of Capt. Anza, accompanied the greater part of the troops back to the Colorado River. They arrived there in twelve days after traveling eighty-six leagues; in coming they had used twenty days and covered one hundred and nine leagues. The men who had been left at the river in charge of the cattle had run away to Caborca in consequence of a rumor that Anza, the two priests, and the soldiers had been murdered by savages. Captain Anza accompanied by Fr. Díaz, six of his own men, and two of the San Gabriel guards resumed the march on April 10, and arrived at Monterey on the 21st of the same month. He found much distress there[8] by reason of the delay in the arrival of the supply boats. After resting three days he started out on the return march with Fr. Díaz and his guards. Captain Fages ordered six of the Monterey soldiers to escort the guests as far as the Río Colorado in order that they might familiarize themselves with the route. The whole company arrived at San Gabriel on May 1st and on the 3d set out for the Colorado which they reached after eight days. As the stream has begun to rise, Anza and his followers crossed it on rafts. On the fifteenth of May they left the river for Tubac, arrived there on the 26th of May, 1774, and thus showed that the overland road was practicable. The six soldiers, who had escorted Anza, reported to Capt. Fages that, according to Anza, the distance from San Gabriel to the Colorado was eighty leagues; that from this river to the presidio of Altar the distance was about ninety leagues; and that Anza had gone to Mexico to report to the viceroy in person.[9]

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[6] See Appendix E.

[7] *Baptismal Register,* Mission San Gabriel.

In the meantime, and in obedience to the order of the viceroy that a report on the state of the missions in spiritual as well as in temporal matters, should be sent to Mexico annually,[10] Fr. Francisco Palóu as acting superior on December 10, 1773, forwarded a lengthy account of each mission to the Fr. Guardian for transmission to the viceroy. From this statement we learn that during the first three years of their administration the Fathers of the five existing missions had baptized four hundred and ninety-one Indians, blessed sixty-two marriages, and

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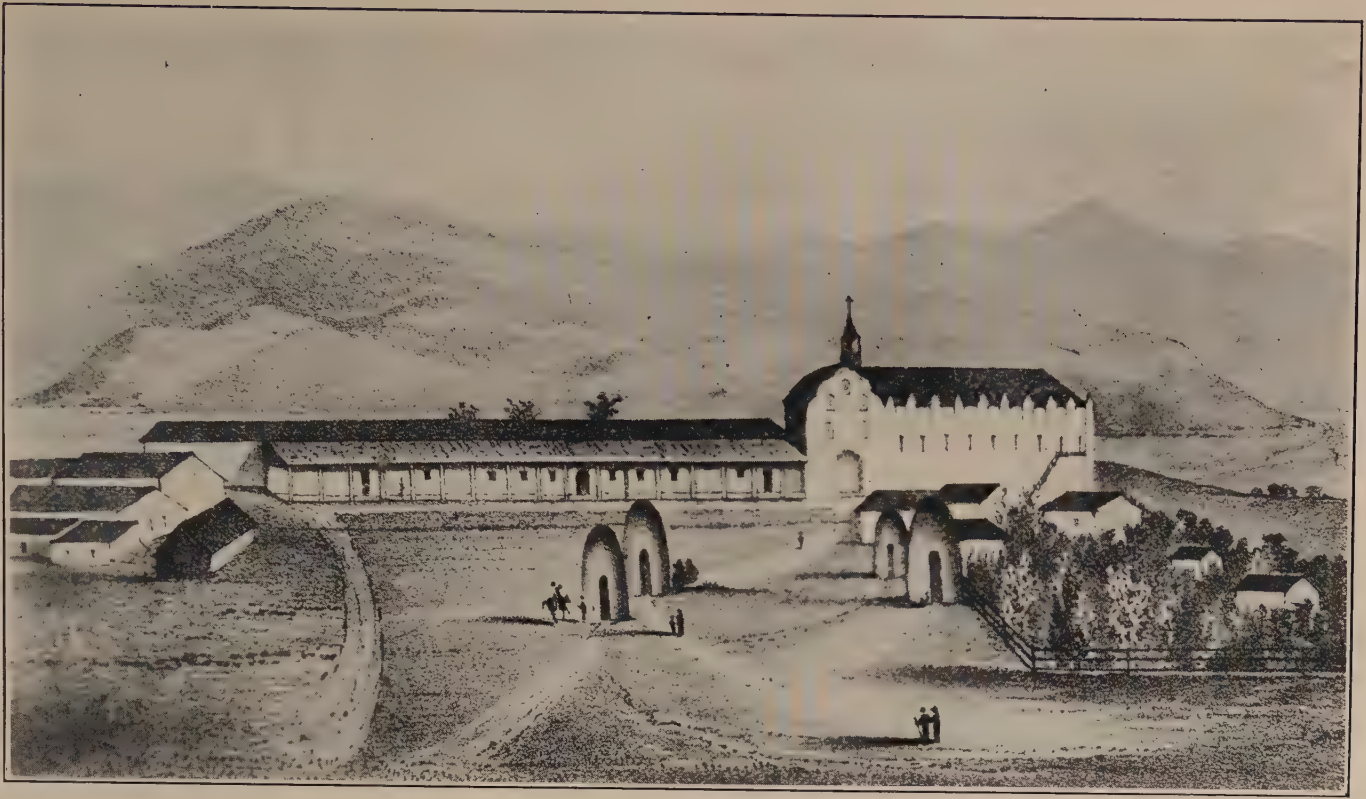
[8] See preceding chapter.

[9] Arricivita, *Cronica Seráfica,* 450-451; Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. iii, cap. xlv, 154-160; Palóu to Fr. Guardian, April 22, 1774; *Museo Nacional,* Mexico, tom. iii; *Franciscans in Arizona,* 77-83; Revilla Gigedo, *Informe,* no. 34. Fr. Lasuén in letter to the Querétaro Friars from San Gabriel, May 2, 1774, speaks highly of Anza. "Es afectísimo hermano de el Colegio de Santa Cruz, insigne bienhechor y todo el consuelo de los misioneros de la Pimería"; *Museo Nacional,* ii.

[10] See vol. i, 462; 582-585.



IV. MISSION SAN GABRIEL, FOUNDED SEPTEMBER 8, 1771

buried twenty-nine dead. On the date mentioned they had under their care four hundred and sixty-two Indian neophytes of all ages, who made their home with the missionaries and were maintained by them. The missions possessed two hundred and five head of cattle, ninety-four sheep, sixty-seven horses, and seventy-seven mules.[11]

Viceroy Bucareli on May 25, 1774, acknowledged the receipt of the report and in reply sent the letter which is reproduced here for the better understanding of what precedes and follows. It not only shows the character of the man, but is evidence of the harmony of interests that existed between him and the missionaries, and their position before the government.

"Through the Rev. Fr. Rafael Vergér,"[12] he writes, "I have received the report and description which Your Reverence prepared with such method and detail about the new establishments and missions. This information gratifies me exceedingly by reason of the thorough knowledge which it affords of the fertility and suitability of the land for erecting other missions, by reason of the well-founded hopes which we may foster of the spiritual and temporal progress of the conquest owing to the docile, sincere, and good character of the natives, and by reason of other things which Your Reverence explains in detail in your letter of December 10, 1773. With a full knowledge of all this the Rev. Fr. Junípero Serra goes away charged to exert all his energies for the benefit of the missions, the erection of others, not counting those projected, and to spare no pains to attract the immense number of pagans, who inhabit those regions, to the knowledge of our true Religion, and to the benign subjection to our August Sovereign. I am satisfied that, inasmuch as Your Reverence possesses the whole spirit of his royal intention and of an apostolic religious, the object of your Order and of my instructions will be accomplished, so that in a short time the happiness of the country and its inhabitants may become universal. For this important end I doubt not that the holy zeal of Your Reverence will join that of the other missionary Fathers.

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[11] *Santa Barbara Archives.* This paper contains the whole report. See also Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. iii, 227-254; Palóu to Fr. Vergér, November 21, 1773. *Museo Nacional,* tom. ii.

[12] The Fr. Guardian or Superior of San Fernando College.

"I suppose that when Your Reverence has received this you will have had the pleasure of seeing the establishments relieved somewhat by means of the frigate with which Fr. Junípero Serra has sailed, and by means of the packet-boat *El Príncipe (San Antonio)* which followed her with what supplies I was able to furnish her in consequence of my orders. The *San Carlos,* which I have equipped for the same purpose, will not tarry to sail out from San Blas, by reason of the attention which those recent discoveries and their protection deserve from me.

"I do not believe that the pleasure of Your Reverence has been lessened in seeing communication opened between yonder coast and the province of Sonora. I trust Captain Juan Bautista de Anza has returned with his expedition; for under date of the 9th of February, from the place called San Dionisio,[13] he sends me the news of the success with which he had passed the rivers Colorado and Gila, and with which he also traveled among the unknown Indian tribes, of the friendliness, mildness, and character, and of the good treatment he received among the Yuma tribe and from their chief Palma, to whom thanks are due for this service and the success.

"The new commander of the presidios, Don Fernando de Rivera y Moncada, also wrote me from Loreto under date of March 20th, that he had resolved to make the journey by land with fifty-one persons whom he had brought from Sinaloa, and would direct them to march straight for San Diego. Computing the dates, it may be concluded with reason that these two officials have met on the road, or that they succeeded in meeting at that establishment or at Monterey.[14] In whatever manner it may have occurred, I hope that, through the union of said two expeditions there will be gained a number of men capable of attending to anything; that the vicinity and the locality where the Port of San Francisco is situated will be better surveyed, and that with more certainty than was obtained so far the founding of the missions intended there will be planned, *for the purpose of holding that region securely, and of extending conquest.* Of these results I wish to be advised, and to this end I hope that Your Reverence, while continuing your laudable labors, will inform me about everything minutely, as I ask and charge you. God keep Y. R. many years. Mexico, May 25, 1774. Antonio María Bucareli y Ursúa."[15]

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[13] Indian Rancheria on the north side of the Gila River and at its mouth. See map in Kino's *Memoirs* published by Dr. H. E. Bolton.

[14] They met at neither place *face to face.*

Fr. Palóu turned this important document over to Fr. Serra, who had arrived about two months before and was awaiting an opportunity of broaching the subject of the proposed San Francisco Mission to Captain Rivera. On the following day the Fr. Presidente read the viceroy's letter to that officer, but learned that he was short of soldiers. The men recruited in Sinaloa had not yet arrived so that an expedition to San Francisco Bay appeared impossible at that time. However, Rivera had the cattle intended for the missions of San Francisco and Santa Clara put in charge of Mission San Carlos, as Fr. Serra had in vain demanded long before, with the remark that, as His Excellency wished that Mission San Francisco should be soon established, he would release the herds belonging to both missions.[16]

As early as August 17, 1773, Viceroy Bucareli had ordered Rivera to make a more minute survey of San Francisco Bay, and in accord with Fr. Junípero Serra to found a mission there.[17] In obedience to this command which was repeated in the letter to Fr. Palóu, the captain set to work as soon as the Sinaloa recruits and their families reached Monterey in the beginning of November, 1774. The expedition consisted of the commander, sixteen soldiers and a muleteer in charge of the mules laden with provisions for a journey of forty days.

By order of Fr. Serra Fr. Francisco Palóu joined the expedition as chaplain with instructions to keep a diary, and to record everything of note so that a full report could be sent to the viceroy. Fr. Palóu with a young Indian servant and a boy to serve holy Mass left San Carlos at eleven o'clock in the morning of November 23, 1774, and reached the presidio before twelve.[18] The whole party set out from Monterey at half past two in the afternoon and camped on the Río Santa Delfina[19] for the night. On the journey holy Mass was celebrated on Sundays and holydays only, but the Rosary was recited in common every evening. Next morning the march was resumed and continued very much along the route traced by Fages and Fr. Crespi in 1772. One soldier of the former expedition went along. On Monday, November 28th, about noon Rivera pitched camp on the arroyo[20] where the expedition of Portolá had rested from the 7th to the 11th of November, 1769, and from where Fages and Fr. Crespi in the latter part of March, 1772, turned to the east to go around the bay in search of Point Reyes.

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[15] *Santa Barbara Archives,* ad annum; Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. iii, 254-257. The italics in the text are ours. See pages 162-163.

[16] "que como veía que S. E. intentaba que de pronto se fundase la misión de N. P. San Francisco, remitía el ganado de ambas." Palóu to Bucareli, August 28, 1774, in *Noticias,* tom. iii, cap. 257-260.

[17] Bancroft, *History of California,* vol. i, 217; 231.

The place was about one day's journey from the southern end of the oft-mentioned arm of the sea, now famed the world over as San Francisco Bay, and lay in thirty-seven degrees and forty-six minutes north latitude. "At two o'clock in the afternoon," says Fr. Palóu, "six unarmed gentiles visited the camp and stayed till evening. They behaved themselves very gently, had good faces, and most of them wore beards. I made the Sign of the Cross upon them all. They paid good attention to the ceremony which they did not understand, nor its purpose. I said a few things to them in the language of the Monterey Indians about God and about heaven, but I was not satisfied that they understood me, though when I spoke to them of other things they seemed to understand me; and when they spoke I understood many terms, though I noticed that they differed greatly. . . . Inasmuch as this place is very near the estuary which runs into the arm of the sea, and that it possesses everything necessary for a mission, it appeared good to the commander and to me to mark it with the Standard of the holy Cross. We constructed it of strong timber, and planted it on the banks of the arroyo near the ford where we camped. We added our good wishes that on the same spot a church might be erected in honor of my Seraphic Father St. Francis,[21] whom I named as my intercessor, in order that His Divine Majesty might grant me to see it in my day, and to see all the numerous pagans that inhabit the surrounding country subject to our holy Faith."

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[18] Whence it seems clear that Fr. Palóu this time traveled on horseback.

[19] Salinas River.

[20] They camped on San Francisquito Creek.

Wednesday, November 30, 1774, the feast of St. Andrew, the Apostle, Fr. Palóu celebrated holy Mass before daybreak. The explorers then went up a valley which they named for the saint of the day, Cañada de San Andrés, a name which it still retains. They started out at seven in the morning, "though," as Fr. Palóu remarks, "the thick fog did not permit me to see the sun to ascertain the hour."[22] After traveling two hours and a half the company ascended some high hills within which they found a lagoon which was fed by a short arroyo. Here Captain Rivera determined to halt. Towards the north there was a lofty hill. Fr. Palóu climbed this elevation with the captain, and from the summit they could see the bay, but owing to another hill they could not obtain a view of the outlet to the sea. Palóu judged the arm of the sea to be twelve to fifteen leagues in length. Whilst he remained in camp on the 1st of December, Rivera and four soldiers ascended the second hill. They returned on the 2nd and reported that they had seen the mouth, and that it could be reached by way of the ocean shore. Cold and rainy weather confined the men to their camp on the 3d. On the 4th, a Sunday, Fr. Palóu found himself unable to celebrate holy Mass, as the wind was blowing so fiercely that he could not keep a candle burning on the altar. Later in the day the expedition moved towards the north, crossed the hills and three arroyos of running water. At eleven o'clock the Spaniards went into camp on the side of a hill at the foot of which ran a stream which formed a lake that extended to the ocean beach, and was later known as Lake Merced.

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[21] It is quite probable, as Bancroft thinks, that from this circumstance the arroyo or creek received the name San Francisquito.

[22] Which would seem to prove that Fr. Palóu carried no watch.

An hour later Captain Rivera, Fr. Palóu, and four soldiers went towards the northwest over hills and dales, and with difficulty waded through sand dunes down to the beach. Thence they went northward until in sight of the famous Seal Rocks they were stopped by a steep hill.[23] They ascended and after a while found themselves on the summit of Point Lobos, and in full view of the renowned Golden Gate,[24] or channel, to the harbor of San Francisco. Observing that the steep declivity was at the entrance of the channel, and that no Spaniard or Christian had ever set foot on its summit, Rivera and Fr. Palóu resolved to plant the Standard of the Cross there, It was therefore constructed of strong round timber, and raised on a spot which could be seen from the shore. Thereupon the little party returned to camp. As the rainy season had set in, Rivera decided to postpone further explorations. Taking the road by the shore along which Portolá had come in 1769, the expedition turned back and arrived at Monterey on the morning of December 13th. Accompanied by one soldier, Fr. Palóu went out to San Carlos and was a little before noon welcomed by Fr. Serra and the other Fathers, who condoled with him for not having been able to examine the bay, nor the great river which had been discovered in 1772. Fr. Palóu, however, reported that he had found six places which appeared especially suitable for as many mission sites. The first was in the valley of San Pascual Bailon near the entrance to the Cañada de San Benito (near Hollister); the second, in the plain near the lower end of San Francisco Bay where they had set up the first cross (San Francisquito Creek); the third, in the plains of San Pedro Regalado on the second large arroyo going from Monterey to the mouth of the estuary; the fourth, in the Cañada de San Pedro Alcántara; the fifth, on the Río San Lorenzo near the arroyo of Santa Cruz; and the sixth on the Río de Santa Ana or Pájaro River (in the vicinity of Watsonville).[25] "May it please God," Fr. Palóu closes his journal, "that in my day I may see them occupied by missions, and all the Gentiles that inhabit the surrounding country collected in them, and that none of them die without holy Baptism, in order that with them the number of the children of God and His holy Church and of the subjects of our Catholic monarch may be increased. This I ask of His Divine Majesty at this mission of Monterey on the 14th of December, 1774."[26]

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[23] Sutro Heights.

[24] The name "Golden Gate," as applied to the entrance of San Francisco Bay, first appeared on John C. Fremont's map of Oregon and California, published at Washington in 1848. See Hittell, *History of California,* vol. i, 390-391.

[25] Unlike Fr. Crespi good Fr. Palóu does not give the distances traveled, and therefore it is impossible to locate the several places which he mentions in his diary.

Viceroy Bucareli, doubtless at the request of the king, had made preparations to occupy the whole northwest coast as far as the sixtieth degree even before Fr. Serra appeared in Mexico. Captain Juan Pérez, now in command of the frigate *Santiago,* in which vessel the Fr. Presidente of the California missions returned to San Diego, was chosen to carry out the viceroy's project. Bucareli, as well as the king, desired the spread of Christianity wherever the Spanish flag waved, though the baneful influence of French infidelity had begun to make itself felt among the ministers and courtiers at both Madrid and Mexico.[27] He, therefore, requested Fr. Guardian Rafael

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[26] Palóu, *Diario* in his *Noticias,* tom. iii, 260-315. Fr. Serra sent Fr. Palóu's journal to the viceroy by way of Lower California on January 14, 1775; a copy was also forwarded to the Fr. Guardian of the College of San Fernando. Palóu, *Noticias,* tomo. iii, 315. The viceroy on May 24, 1775, in a letter to Fr. Serra acknowledged the receipt of Fr. Palóu's diary. He added that on the same day he was directing Comandante Rivera not to delay the erection of the other missions. *Santa Barb. Arch.*

[27] Fr. Guardian Pángua warned Fr. Serra against relying upon the apparent piety of the viceroyal court. "Acording to what we know here," he writes November 8, 1774, "these gentlemen direct their projects not so much to conquer souls as territory. Your Reverence will endeavor to preserve harmony with the captain, for there is no doubt that he has secret orders." *Según lo que acá sabemos, estos Señores dirigen sus proyectos, no tanto á conquistar almas, como terreno.* Procurará V. R. guardar con el capitan buena harmonia, pues no hay duda que el tiene ordenes reservadas." *Sta. Barb. Arch.* Bancroft here comments, "Serra's weakness" (for quarreling) "was not unknown to his Superiors" (vol. i, 216). The warning was natural under the circumstances, and supposed no such weakness as Bancroft maliciously imputes. Fr. Serra had a weakness. Singleminded himself, he could not believe that government officials would be guilty of duplicity, and therefore trusted them too much. The result was much pain and disappointment. It was against trusting politicians that the Fr. Guardian warned the guileless Father.

Verger to send a Franciscan friar along with the expedition as chaplain. This religious, Fr. Juan Crespi, in his diary writes, "was charged with the duty of taking observations for determining the latitude, and of making the demarcation of the coast of the countries which should be visited. He had also to take note of the character of such pagans as might be found and of other matters that lead to a full knowledge of those unknown lands. Of all he had to keep a diary." Fr. Pablo Mugártegui was appointed for the position, which the friars generally regarded with dislike, but which the Fr. Guardian could not always refuse to fill. Fr. Mugártegui, however, fell sick at San Diego, whereupon Fr. Serra named Fr. Juan Crespi. "Notwithstanding my great fatigue after so many expeditions by land," Fr. Crespi writes, "I sacrificed myself in order to take part in this enterprise in conformity with my vow of obedience, hoping from God every happiness during the voyage; but I had the consolation that, by dint of entreaty, the said Fr. Presidente obtained from His Excellency the favor that Fr. Tomás de la Peña should go with me as a companion.[28]

"On Monday evening, June 6, 1774, we arrived (from San Carlos) at the royal presidio. After taking leave of the captains and of Fathers Murguía and Palóu, who were hearing the confessions of the crew [29] that was to make the voyage, we went to the beach. We took leave of the Rev. Fr. Presidente, received his blessing, and then went aboard the ship." Unfavorable winds delayed the departure, so that the *San Antonio,* which arrived with supplies on the 8th, found the frigate still in the harbor. "Seeing that we could not sail," Fr. Crespi writes, "we two Fathers went ashore and to the fort. This afternoon, Thursday 9th, Don Juan Pérez requested that on the next day a holy Mass should be sung on the shore in honor of Our Lady for the success of the voyage. On Friday 10th the altar was erected under a shelter of boughs on the very site where the holy Mass was celebrated on the 17th of December,

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[28] This shows how little independent the religious were in Spanish dominions. The Superiors could not send a companion on a perilous journey or voyage, or an assistant to a mission, without royal or vice-royal permission!

[29] It is evident that Faith with them was still alive.

1602, during the expedition of General Sebastián Vizcaino,[30] and on the 3d of June, 1770, when a settlement was founded at this port, and the first High Mass was sung by the Rev. Fr. Presidente.[31] He likewise sang the holy Mass to-day. Fathers José Murguía, Francisco Dumetz, and we two who were going with this new expedition formed the choir.[32] We all dined together near the old oak which Sebastian Vizcaino saw. After dinner we went aboard the ship. We found that the condition of the boatswain, who had been taken sick a few days before, was worse. He made his confession to my companion, and I administered Extreme Unction to him. Shortly before five o'clock he passed away, and the captain sent the corpse to the presidio that it might be given ecclesiastical burial."

The *Santiago* finally sailed out of the harbor on Saturday June 11th. On the next day, Sunday, both Fathers celebrated holy Mass, and did so every Sunday but two throughout the voyage. Fr. Peña during his Mass preached the sermons. Holy Mass was also offered up by both Fathers on the principal feast days whenever the sea was sufficiently calm. Every evening the whole crew and their officers would recite the Rosary of the Blessed Virgin and other prayers together with the Fathers. The devotions usually closed with the singing of the oft-mentioned *Alabado*. As further evidence of the piety of the commander and his men it may be noted that holy Communion was received several times. Thus the captain, the boatswain, and two sailors, on June 24th celebrated the feast of their patron, St. John the Baptist, by receiving holy Communion. The surgeon did likewise on the feast of Saints Peter and Paul. Esteban Martínez, the second navigating officer, with two sailors communicated on July 3d; and the surgeon with two sailors again on the feast of Spain's patron, St. James, July 25th. On this particular day, Sunday 12th of June, the eve of the feast of St. Anthony of Padua, a novena was begun in honor of that saint for a happy voyage. The winds, however, continued so contrary, and the fogs so dense on most days, that on June 28th the vessel was still in the latitude of Monterey, though about two hundred leagues off the coast.

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[30] See vol. i, 27, 65. The *Sutro Collection* has December 27th. Torquemada gives no date.

[31] See chapter v.

[32] Fr. Peña in his *Diario* states that Capt. Rivera, Pedro Fages, Captain José Cañizares, and all the people of the presidio and the ships were present.

On Sunday, July 10th, both Fathers as usual celebrated holy Mass and Fr. Peña preached. When the vessel was in forty-five degrees and thirty-five minutes latitude, the weather began to grow cold, but nothing extraordinary happened, except that one sailor, who suffered from malignant fever, received the last Sacraments. On the 15th of July the captain, in consequence of a council held on that day with his officers, steered for land, of which on account of the fogs nothing as yet had been seen. On Saturday 16th, when in fifty-one degrees and forty-two minutes, Fr. Crespi relates, "the carpenters constructed a wooden cross about five varas[33] in height. The inscription on the upper part was *I. N. R. I.*[34]; along the body of the cross between the arms and the foot, *Carolus Tertius, Rex Hispaniarum;*[35] and on the arms, *Año de 1774.* The intention was to plant it when we should land in a country where as yet we have made no discoveries.

Land was first sighted on Monday, July 18th, when the ship was about sixteen leagues from the shore and beyond the fifty-third degree. At noon on the 19th the captain declared they had reached fifty-three degrees and fifty-eight minutes. Next day, Fr. Crespi says, "we saw many camp fires, and the land was densely covered with trees, apparently pines. From a break in the land resembling the mouth of a river a canoe was seen coming toward the ship. While it was still distant we heard the people in it singing, and from the melody we knew they were pagans, for it was the same which was sung at the dances of the pagans from San Diego to Monterey." Two other canoes came out later, but none of the occupants would come on board, though they accepted everything that was thrown to them. A point of land, which appeared to be an island,[36] was named Santa Margarita for the saint of the day. The next day, Thursday 21st, the captain tried to round the point and to land but the current forced the vessel southward. North of the point, about sixteen leagues beyond, the Spaniards descried a very high cape covered with trees. The captain named it Santa Maria Magdalena for the saint commemorated that day.

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[33] A vara is equal to about 33 inches.

[34] Jesus Nazarenus, Rex Judaeorum; Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews.

[35] Charles Third, King of Spain.

"Beyond this cape," Fr. Crespi writes, "the coast consists of very high land covered with timber and trending east and west as far as we could distinguish it. On this coast, and bearing northwest a quarter west, we made out an island which was called Santa Christina; [37] but we were uncertain whether it is an island or not, because there may be some low land connecting it with the mainland. As it was too far away we could not solve this doubtful question. Cape Santa María Magdalena lies to the northwest of Point Santa Margarita. Between the cape and said point towards the east is a very great roadstead, gulf, or bight, or strait, whence came the violent current which carried us to the south, so that we could not examine whether it is a bay or strait.[38] Fr. Crespi relates that while the ship was becalmed for twelve hours one league from the land facing the Point of Santa Margarita, as many as twenty-one canoes shot out from the shore towards the vessel. Two of them measured no less than twelve varas along the keel; in one of these were twenty men, and in the other nineteen. Other canoes contained ten or twelve, and the smallest had six or seven men. One of the canoes held twelve women, who paddled and managed it as well as the men. All these Indians "drew close to the ship, surrounding it on all sides. Their occupants manifested not the least distrust. They sang and played upon instruments of wood fashioned like drums or timbrels, and some made movements as though they would dance. They drew close to the frigate, and presently there began between them and our men a traffic. We soon found that they had come for the purpose of bartering their effects for ours. The sailors gave them ribbons, old clothing, and beads; and they in turn offered the skins of the otter and other unknown animals very well tanned and dressed. They had coverlets of otter skins sewn together so well that the best tailor could not sew them better. Other coverlets, or blankets, were of fine wool,[39] or of the hair of animals that seemed to be wool, finely woven and ornamented with the same hair of various colors, principally white, black, and yellow. The weaving was so close that it appeared as though done on a loom.

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[36] Cape North on the west side of Queen Charlotte's Island, according to Robert Greenhow, *Oregon and California,* 115.

[37] The Doyle edition of Palóu has Santa Catarina, which must be an error. On the 24th day of July Santa Christina is commenorated.

[38] This is Dixon's Channel, according to Greenhow, 115.

They also gave us some little mats, apparently made of fine palm leaves in different colors; hats made of reeds, some coarse and others of better quality, most of them painted. The shape was conical with a narrow rim, and they were supplied with a string which passed under the chin to keep the hat from being carried away by the winds. We also obtained from them some small wooden platters, well made and ornamented, the figures of men, animals, and birds being executed in relief or cut into the wood; also some wooden spoons carved on the outside and smooth within the bowl. We secured two boxes made of pine, each about one vara square, well wrought. Instead of being fastened together with nails, they were sewed with thread at all the corners. They are roughly fashioned within, but outside they are well made and smooth. The front is carved with figures and branches and inlaid with shells in a manner so admirable that we could not discover how the adjustment was made. We saw these boxes in all the canoes. The Indians use them for keeping their little belongings and as seats when paddling. They have a great liking for all articles of iron and copper. They did not seem to care much for beads, but they accepted biscuits and ate them without the least examination.

"These Indians are well made and stout; their faces are good, their hair is long. Some of them had beards. All appeared with the body completely covered, some with the skin of the otter or other animals, others with cloaks of hair which looked like fine wool, and a garment like a cape which covered them to the waist. The rest of the body was clothed in dressed skins or woven cloths of different colors. Some of the garments have sleeves. Most of the men wore hats of rushes, the crown of which ran up to a point. The women were dressed in the same manner, but from their lower lip, which is pierced, they wore pendant a disk painted in colors. This disfigures them very much, and at a distance they appear to have the tongue hanging from the mouth. With a movement of the lip they easily raise it so that it covers the mouth and nose. We saw some of the men painted with red ochre of a fine tint. It astonished us to find that the women wore rings on their fingers and bracelets of iron and copper. We saw these metals, though not very much, in their possession. The captain, who had spent a great deal of time in China and the Philippines, tells me that these Indians greatly resemble the Sangaleyes[40] of the Philippine Islands. It is certain that the texture of their fine little mats resembles that of those that come from China. Some of the sailors that had bought cloaks passed a bad night; for when they had put them on they found themselves obliged to take to scratching by reason of the bites they suffered from the little creatures which those pagans breed in their clothing."

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[39] The Indians had no woolen stuffs. Some of Fr. Crespi's statements in the narrative are due to missionary enthusiasm for everything Indian. The account in the text is much abridged.

When the *Santiago* lay off the southwest point of Santa Margarita Cape, the captain took the latitude and found it to be fifty-five degrees. It was the highest point reached on this voyage. "Inasmuch as the weather was unfavorable for us to go ashore and make a survey of the land," Fr. Crespi writes on July 23d, "we determined on a novena to San Juan Nepomuceno that he might obtain suitable weather for us from the Lord. It was begun this evening on concluding the daily recital of the Chaplet of Our Lady, Mary most holy." On Sunday, July 24th, the captain named a lofty range of mountains between fifty-four degrees and forty-four minutes and fifty-three degrees eight minutes for San Cristóbal. On the 25th, the feast of Spain's patron, Santiago, both Fathers celebrated holy Mass. During Fr. Peña's Mass holy Viaticum was given to Salvador Antonio, the sailor who had been anointed a fortnight before. Shortly after seven o'clock in the evening he died. On the next day, the 26th, the Requiem Mass was offered up for the deceased, whereupon the body was committed to the deep with the usual ceremonies. He was a native of the town of Guainamota.

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[40] Chinese traders in the Philippines.

On Sunday, July 31st, owing to a rough sea, it was not possible to celebrate holy Mass. In the afternoon the novena to St. John Nepomuceño terminated. On the 4th of August a novena for the same purpose was begun in honor of St. Clare in preparation for her feast. On Monday, August 8th, the ship found itself in forty-nine degrees and five minutes. The soundings, two leagues from the shore, showed from twenty-two to twenty-four fathoms. Indians approached the vessel in canoes when she anchored in twenty-five fathoms of water. "The wind died away to a calm," Fr. Crespi writes. "We therefore put off landing until to-morrow, when we shall raise the standard of the Cross and take possession of the land in the name of our Catholic monarch. We made out the land very well from the roadstead where we were. This roadstead has the shape of a C. The captain named it for San Lorenzo.[41] The land is low and heavily covered with timber. There are two points. That to the southeast was christened San Esteban,[42] out of regard for the second navigating officer. At this point the low land begins. It is thickly overgrown with timber, and stretches away to the northwest for a distance of four or five leagues to the other point, where it becomes hilly. This point was named Santa Clara,[43] to which saint we are now making a novena. At dawn on Tuesday, August 9th, the crew began to let the longboat into the water, in order to go ashore to plant the Cross, but a strong wind arose which almost capsized the boat. It was therefore again drawn aboard, when the ship sailed to the south-southwest. On Wednesday 10th, the feast of St. Lawrence, both Fathers celebrated holy Mass while the vessel lay becalmed. On Thursday a high snow-capped mountain in about forty-eight degrees and nine minutes latitude was christened Santa Rosalía.[44] It was not found possible to celebrate holy Mass on the feast of St. Clare, August 12th, when the novena closed, nor on the following Sunday, August 14th. Owing to heavy fogs and rough sea little land was seen, and few observations could be made on the return course.

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[41] King George's or Nootka Sound, Greenhow thinks, 116.

[42] Point Breakers, Greenhow, 116.

[43] Woody Point, ibidem.

"At dawn on Sunday, August 21st," Fr. Crespi writes, "the same fog continued. The moisture from it was like a shower, and it was very cold. From this and previous drenchings and cold it resulted that most of the men were rendered unfit for duty by reason of the scurvy. Almost all are affected by it, some quite seriously. I myself have a sore mouth so that I have been unable to celebrate holy Mass, but my companion celebrated holy Mass and preached a sermon. The captain told us that we were in latitude thirty-nine degrees and thirty minutes. On Monday 22nd we saw a point of land looming out of the fog about ten leagues to the northward. It was a high cape. In the opinion of the captain this is Cape Mendocino." [45] On August 23d another novena was begun in honor of Our Lady of Talpa for the numerous sick on board, for a calm had set in. From the consequent delay the worst was feared for the sufferers. The same evening a light wind arose and revived the drooping spirits. On Friday 26th the *Santiago* passed the Farallones off the Port of San Francisco and within about eighteen leagues of Point Reyes. Finally on Saturday, August 27, 1774, the ship reentered the harbor of Monterey and dropped her anchor at about four o'clock in the afternoon. "Thanks be to God and to His most pure Mother Mary!" Fr. Crespi exclaims, "who has permitted us to arrive safely at this port, though we suffered the disappointment of not having gained our chief end, which was to go as far as sixty degrees of latitude, there to go ashore and to raise the standard of the holy Cross."

Fr. Crespi prepared a clean copy of his diary and signed it at San Carlos Mission on October 5, 1774. It was sent on the *Santiago* to Viceroy Bucareli with a short letter from Fr. Serra dated October 7, 1774. Fr. Peña's diary, which is substantially the same with Fr. Crespi's, was signed at San Carlos on August 28th, and forwarded to the viceroy overland by way of Lower California with a lengthy letter of Fr. Serra dated September 9, 1774. Copies of both diaries were also transmitted to the College of San Fernando by the *Santiago,* which reached San Blas on November 3rd.[46]

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[44] Probably Mount Olympus, ibidem.

[45] Greenhow, page 116, says that Captain Juan Perez was the first to determine the true latitude of Cape Mendocino.

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[46] Reprints of the two journals and Fr. Serra's two letters may be seen in volume ii, part first, of the *Sutro Collection* published by the Historical Society of Southern California, Los Angeles, 1891. A copy of Fr. Crespi's diary is given by Palóu in *Noticias,* tom. iii, 160-223. See also Palóu, *Vida,* cap. xxxvii, 160-162, and Revilla Gigedo, *Informe,* Nos. 36-38.

CHAPTER X.

Voyages to the Northwest Coast.—Discovery of Trinity Bay.—Planting the Cross.—The Indians.—Bucareli Roadstead.—Indian Treachery.—Discovery of the Mouth of the Columbia.—Return of the *Santiago*.—The *Sonora* Continues to Fifty-eight Degrees.—Discoveries.—More Explorations.—Bucareli's Letter to Fr. Serra.—*San Carlos* the First Ship in San Francisco Bay.—Surveys.—Land Expedition.—Death of Juan Pérez.—Franciscans Unwilling Ship Chaplains.—Founding of San Juan Capistrano Mission.—Revolt at San Diego Mission.—Fr. Luis Jaime Massacred.—Anza's Sonora Expedition.

NOT satisfied with the results of the expedition under Juan Pérez,[1] Viceroy Bucareli equipped the frigate *Santiago* and the schooner *Sonora* for a year's voyage of exploration. Captain Bruno de Ezeta (Heceta), lieutenant in the royal navy, was placed in command of the *Santiago*, and Juan Pérez was ordered along as sailing master. The *Sonora* or *La Felicidad*, was put in charge of Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Cuadra. Both commanders were instructed to survey the northwest coast as far north as the sixty-fifth degree, and in the name of the king to take possession of the land discovered. As no secular priests could be secured, the College of San Fernando was requested to furnish the chaplains. The Fr. Guardian appointed Fr. Miguel de la Campa and Fr. Benito Sierra to the disagreeable position which all the Fathers held to be foreign to their calling. The demand of the viceroy, however, could not be disregarded. Besides the rations for one year, the frigate carried supplies for the presidio of Monterey and the three northern missions.

Both vessels put to sea at San Blas on March 16, 1775. By reason of contrary winds the vessels made slow progress; but on June 9th they cast anchor in a roadstead to procure fresh water and wood in latitude forty-one degrees and eighteen minutes.[2] Four canoes containing twenty-four savages approached, but departed after receiving some presents. On the next day some of the men landed and encountered crowds of Indians armed with bows and arrows. At the word of a chief the savages dropped their weapons, but they would accept no gifts from the white men. Near by was a rancheria the few huts of which were made of rough boards. While the crew brought wood and water aboard, the commander of the frigate determined to take possession of the land on the 11th, which was the feast of the Most Holy Trinity. Early in the morning a few armed men went ashore, constructed a cross, and on the top of a hill erected a shelter of boughs for the holy Sacrifice of the Mass. The captain, officers, part of the crew, and the two Fathers in double file marched to the hilltop, where they planted and venerated the Cross. The captain took formal possession, and Fr. Miguel de la Campa sang a High Mass during which many of the men received holy Communion. Fr. Campa also preached. He exhorted all to give thanks to God, and courageously to continue the exploration until the desired object had been accomplished. The ceremonies concluded with the singing of the *Te Deum Laudamus*. For the holy mystery celebrated on that day, the harbor was called Puerto de la Santísima Trinidad.[3] From the elevation on which this solemn scene took place a river was discovered which the explorers called El Principio,[4] because it was here that they had set foot on land for the first time.

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[1] Ezeta had instructions to reach degree sixty-five, if possible, but to avoid taking possession of regions occupied by other nations. Pérez, he says, had reached degree 55 and 42 minutes. All were exhorted to treat with utmost respect the missionaries who went as chaplains. Bucareli to Arriaga, December 27, 1774. *Arch. General*, No. 98, f. 128. The *Sonora* throughout the reports is called *Goleta*.

While descending to the beach the captain of the *Goleta* induced the Indian to shout *Viva Carlos III!* On hearing this the sailors cheered and discharged their muskets, and the cannon on the ships boomed in reply. The unwonted noise created consternation among the savages, but they were reassured and given to understand that they must show great respect to the Cross on the hill.[5] Next day the officers of both ships and the two friars took dinner on shore. While seated, the natives, men, women, and children of the rancheria situated on the Río Principio gathered around the strangers. One of the Indians, a stoutly built man, unceremoniously placed himself at the side of Fr. Campa, and conducted himself with the utmost familiarity, as though he had always lived with the white men. He laughed, and ate, and sometimes embraced the Father. On the 14th of June some of the sailors visited a rancheria, and found the natives lamenting in a structure which was partly under ground, and in the center of which a fire was kept burning. Those that came out would straightway plunge into a stream close by. The Indians by means of signs told the men that a death had occurred and that they were burning the body and bewailing the dead. The stench that came forth from the opening proved as much, for it was more than the Spaniards could bear.

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[2] Greenhow, 118, has 41 degr. and ten min. "The true latitude is about 41 degrees and four min.," says Bancroft, i, 242.

[3] Port of the Most Holy Trinity, a name it still bears.

[4] Now Little River.

[5] According to Greenhow, loco citato, the natives remembered the lesson, for Vancouver in 1793 found the cross untouched.

In the afternoon the officers and missionaries paid a visit to the rancheria and distributed presents. Fr. Campa by means of signs explained that the Fathers intended to come every year, and eventually would stay with them. This caused much satisfaction, and one of the savages even embraced Fr. Campa. Another savage by means of signs demanded to know whether the strangers were men like themselves.[6] Doubtless, the chronicler says, it was because the natives observed on our part no appreciation for the women. In this matter the whole crew adhered strictly to the orders of Commander Ezeta. During the night, however, two sailors deserted. One of them by reason of hunger returned two days later, but blamed the Indians. When he was brought to the shore for examination, the Indians denied any complicity. For his duplicity and desertion he was then flogged in their presence until the savages themselves pleaded for mercy. This port, Fr. Palóu says, is surrounded by pine-covered land. The natives are of somewhat lighter color, modestly dressed in skins, and armed with bows and arrows. When the sailors had repaired the ships and supplied them with fresh water and wood, Ezeta and Bodega sailed from Port Trinidad on June 19th. In the evening of July 13th they anchored in a roadstead which, in honor of the viceroy, they called Rada de Bucareli.

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[6] Otro preguntó por señas muy expresivas si eran hombres como ellos? Sin duda nació la pregunta de haber observado en los nuestros ninguna inclinación ni expresión con sus mujeres, observando puntualmente toda la tripulación la apretada orden que dió el Señor Comandante Ezeta antes que saltasen á tierra." Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. iv, cap. iii, 81-82.

Early in the morning of the next day Captain Bruno Ezeta, Fr. Benito Sierra, Surgeon Dávalos, Cristóbal the second pilot, and a few sailors landed and raised a cross on the shore. They were the first Europeans who set foot on this northwest coast in latitude forty-seven degrees and twenty minutes.[7] Before seven o'clock all returned to the frigate. In the meantime the *Sonora,* which had anchored in an unsafe place about one league farther up the coast, was in imminent danger from the treachery of the natives. Some of the savages had come out to the schooner, received presents, and in turn had given the Spaniards dried fish. Believing their signs of friendship, Captain Bodega sent seven men in the only longboat he possessed to procure fresh water. A large number of savages had concealed themselves in a thicket close by. No sooner had the sailors begun to fetch water than the Indians fell upon them, and killed all except two who had jumped into the sea. Those in the schooner could offer no assistance for want of a boat, and thus the two men perished by drowning. The savages then broke the launch into pieces in order to secure the iron and the nails. Later nine canoes manned by Indians drew out from the shore and approached while making signs of friendship. Most of the Spaniards concealed themselves. When one of the boats arrived within shooting range, a pedrero[8] and three muskets were fired at the inmates and killed seven of them. The other Indians then hastily withdrew. The discharge of the firearms brought up the frigate, but after a consultation it was deemed advisable not to pursue the murderers. In commemoration of this disaster the point of land where it had taken place was called Punta de Mártires.[9]

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[7] Greenhow, 119.

[8] Small cannon.

[9] Martyr's Point, the Grenville's Point of the English maps, according to Greenhow. A small island, a few miles farther north, was called Isla de Dolores, Isle of Sorrows. Twelve years later an English captain for a similar massacre named it Destruction Island.

The *Santiago* and the *Sonora* proceeded together until July 30th, when through design or accident [10] the schooner became separated from the frigate, and was not again seen until she arrived at Monterey on October 7th. On July 31st, in forty-six degrees and forty-two minutes, Ezeta held a council with his officers. Many of the sailors had taken sick, and the winds were constantly unfavorable. It was the unanimous opinion of the officers that the commander should return to Monterey, but Ezeta insisted on forcing his way north till August 11th. Here in forty-nine degrees the officers approached him and once more represented the futility of further efforts, as scarcely six men remained well to do the work required. The commander persisted, however, till the 13th, when in forty-nine degrees five minutes he saw that further efforts were vain. He then turned the ship and in sight of the coast made the survey southward which resulted in producing a very good chart from the fiftieth degree down to the harbor of Monterey. On August 15th, the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the *Santiago* arrived opposite an opening on the coast in latitude forty-six degrees and seventeen minutes.[11] The current was so strong that the vessel could not enter the opening. For the day on which it was discovered Ezeta named it Ensenada de Asunción, or Assumption Bay.[12] The point of land to the north was called Cabo San Roque for the saint of the 16th. The point on the south was remembered as Cabo Frondoso or Leafy Cape. On August 18th a high sierra in forty-five degrees and forty-one minutes was named Santa Clara de Montefalco.[13] On August 29th the *Santiago* at last sailed into Monterey Harbor. Two days after the goods belonging to the presidio and the missions of San Carlos, San Antonio, and San Luis Obispo were landed.[14]

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[10] "Hasta la presente no se ha sabido si fuê ó no volntaria la separación." Fr. Palóu in *Noticias,* tom. iv, 104.

[11] According to Greenhow: Palóu has eleven minutes.

[12] "It is undoubtedly the mouth of the greatest river on the western side of America; the same which was in 1792 first entered by the ship *Columbia* from Boston under command of Robert Gray, and has ever since been called the Columbia. The evidence of its first discovery by Heceta on the 15th of August, 1775, is unquestionable," says Greenhow, 120.

[13] Cape Lookout, according to Greenhow.

The *Sonora* meanwhile endeavored to make the sixty-fifth degree. She advanced until she had passed the fifty-sixth degree, when unexpectedly, on August 16th, land was discovered at a great distance to the north, but much nearer to the east. Bodega steered towards the east, and discovered a lofty mountain which for the saint of the day, St. Hyacinth, he named San Jacinto.[15] The projecting point of land was called Cabo Engaño, or False Cape. In the angles between this supposed peninsula and the mainland were two bays or sounds. The one to the north was called Puerto de Nuestra Señora de los Remedios,[16] the other was named Puerto de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe.[17]. Bodega landed on the shore of Point Remedios, took possession in the name of the Spanish King, and planted the Cross. From the Indians fresh water and salmon were obtained in return for some trinkets. When the vessel, on August 20th, sailed away, the Indians were seen to lift the Cross out of the ground and place it near their huts.

Proceeding on the voyage the schooner reached latitude fifty-eight degrees. Beyond this point it was found impossible to go by reason of contrary winds and sickness which had laid low all but six men. On August 22nd, therefore, Bodega changed his course to the southward. In latitude fifty-five degrees the explorers discovered an opening between two points about two leagues apart, and in the midst of this inlet they saw an island which they christened San Carlos. They landed at one of the points, raised the cross, and took formal possession. The body of water was then named Paso de Bucareli for the viceroy.[18] On October 3rd the schooner ran into a small bay which for the captain of the vessel was called Bodega Bay. Next day, the feast of St. Francis, the ship for the fifth time during this voyage found itself in imminent danger. The sea grew so rough that the canoe was dashed to pieces; surveying after this was out of the question. Bodega hastened to gain the open sea and then sailed directly south. On the evening of October 7th the *Sonora* dropped her anchor in Monterey harbor. The crew and officers eight days later went to Mission San Carlos in accordance with a vow made on the voyage to Our Lady of Belén,[19] an image of whom was venerated in that church. In thanksgiving for their deliverance, a High Mass was sung, during which all received holy Communion.[20]

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[14] Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. iv, capp. iii-iv, 75-99.

[15] Mount Edgecombe, as Greenhow says.

[16] Bay of Islands. (Ibid.)

[17] Norfolk Sound. (Ibid.)

[18] On the west side of the Prince of Wales's Archipelago, according to Greenhow.

"Thus, without reference to the voyage of Pérez (in 1774), it is conclusively proved that the Spaniards, in 1775, examined with minuteness the whole western shore of the American continent, from Monterey, near the 37th degree of latitude, northward, to and beyond the 48th degree, and determined the general direction of the west coast of the westernmost islands, bordering the continent between the 48th parallel and the 58th." . . . "The results of this expedition were considered, by the Spanish government, as highly important; and orders were sent to the viceroy of Mexico to have the discovery of the west coasts of America completed without delay. With this view the viceroy, Bucareli, ordered a large ship to be built at San Blas, and another was, at the same time, constructed at Guayaquil, Ecuador. In these preparations nearly three years were consumed, so that the vessels were not ready for the expedition until the beginning of 1779. They then quitted San Blas, under Captain Ignacio Arteaga, who sailed in the larger ship, the *Princesa,* the other, called the *Favorita,* being commanded by Bodega with Maurelle as second officer."[21] The account of these expeditions will appear in its place.

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[19] The image had been donated by Archbishop Lorenzana of Mexico and sent to Don José de Gálvez, who had it forwarded to Mission San Carlos, according to Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. iv, 109.

[20] Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. iv, cap. vii, 104-109; *Vida,* cap. xxxvii, 162-165; Revilla Gigedo, *Informe,* Nos. 39-43.

[21] Greenhow, *Oregon and California,* 117-125.

When the *Santiago* and the *Sonora* on March 16, 1775, sailed from San Blas to make the surveys of the northwest coast described on the preceding pages, the two packet-boats *San Carlos* and *San Antonio* also set sail for the California ports. The *San Antonio,* now in command of Fernando Quirós, lieutenant of the royal navy, was laden with supplies for San Diego and San Gabriel. Her chaplain was Fr. Ramón Usón from the College of San Fernando. She arrived at San Diego in good time, and was back at San Blas early in June.[22] The *San Carlos,* in charge of Lieutenant Juan Bautista de Ayala, accompanied by Fr. Vicente de Santa María of the same College, had on board the supplies for Monterey. She reached her destination on June 27th. Ayala brought a personal and highly interesting letter from the viceroy for Fr. Serra which is reproduced here. "In consequence of what Your Reverence has represented to me in your last letters," Bucareli writes on December 15, 1774, "with regard to the motives of utility which the commander of those establishments, Don Fernando de Rivera y Moncada, has given, and in consideration that, if occupied, the Port of San Francisco might serve as a basis for subsequent projects, I have resolved that the founding should take place by assigning twenty-eight men with their lieutenant and a sergeant. As soon as they are in possession of the territory they will be a certain proof of the king's dominion.

"For this purpose Captain Juan Bautista de Anza will take a second expedition overland to Monterey from Sonora, where he must recruit the said troops. He will see that they take their wives and children along in order that they become attached to their domicile. He will also carry along sufficient supplies of seeds and flour besides cattle to carry out his commission thoroughly.

"On my part I am disposed that for one year, and for the number of persons who shall compose the colony, as many as one hundred, a few more or less, the packet-boat destined to provide for those establishments should transport what is needed for subsistence. The commissary of San Blas, Don

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[22] Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. iv, cap. ii, 71-73.

Francisco Hixosa, will have to furnish this in virtue of my instructions.

"When the territory has been examined and the presidio is established, it will be necessary to erect the proposed missions in its immediate neighborhood, *as well for the purpose of securing its continuance, as for propagating our holy Faith among the Gentiles who inhabit the country.* To this end I ask and charge Your Reverence that, while continuing the fervent zeal which on all occasions you manifest in performing this service for God and the king, you devote yourself to bring this important work to a happy issue by choosing the religious whom you may instruct to discharge this commission and ministry. Doubt not that the commander, Don Fernando de Rivera y Moncada, will contribute supplies and necessary assistance as far as possible, for to that effect I on this very date send him instructions; nor that as far as lies in me I shall certainly co-operate cheerfully with my means to the same end, because of the attention which those new settlements deserve from me. I likewise promise myself that Your Reverence, who is so well versed in establishing missions, will give such directions in economy as are needed for the management of the supplies lest the case arise that they fail before your own harvests may permit a little more liberality. Above all your Reverence will communicate to me whatever information you may consider opportune." Mexico, December 15, 1774.

A postscript to the letter reads as follows: *"The first object of the expedition is to conduct troops for the protection of the missions,* which it is decided to establish at the Port of San Francisco. Nothing is of such interest as the accomplishment of this for subsequent plans. When the efforts by sea have been successful, we shall learn of the vast field in which the apostolic zeal of the missionaries can labor, so that the pious intentions of the king may be realized, and that those establishments aid one another, for which purpose I shall give every encouragement in my power. This Your Reverence will point out to me as is necessary in accord with Comandante Moncada. I know that the harvest this year has been abundant. Its encouragement is the duty of Your Reverence, in order that the abundance of the provisions may facilitate the conversion of the pagans. Between the two missions and not far from the coast a fort will have to be erected for the defense of the troops in order that they may go to the assistance of the one and the other, whenever the guard of six men assigned to each (mission) might not be sufficient."[23]

In a letter of January 2, 1775, Bucareli again informed the Fr. Presidente that the expedition had been decided upon by the viceroyal council, and then continues: "I now repeat the same, and more particularly, what is contained in the postscript" (to the preceding), "and add that according to the resolution of said council the Pious Funds destined for the maintenance of the Department of San Blas must contribute the sum of two thousand dollars, one thousand for each one of the two missions, which will have to be turned over from this treasury by the royal officials to the Síndico of the Apostolic College of San Fernando at this Capital, as I this day notify and charge its R. Fr. Guardian; but when the distribution of this sum is made in establishing those two missions, I must be given a formal account of it, according to the disposition of the Council. I therefore ask and charge Your Reverence to draw up a very circumstantial account of all the expenses demanded, and to send it to me at an opportune time. Mexico, January 2, 1775. Bucareli."[24]

As Captain Ayala had orders to survey the Port of San Francisco, in conjunction with a land expedition, he ordered his carpenters to construct a launch or dugout from a large redwood tree on the Río Carmelo to facilitate his task. Rivera meanwhile made preparations for the reception of Anza's colonists, and awaited the return of his men from San Fernando de Velicatá, whither they had gone to escort Fr. Dumetz and the mission property from there to Monterey.[25]

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[23] *Santa Barbara Archives* ad annum. See chapter IX.

[24] *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[25] Palóu, *Vida,* cap. xliv, 202; *Noticias,* tom. iv. cap. ii, 72-73; Letters of Bucareli to Fr. Serra, Dec. 15, 1774; Jan. 2; May 24, 1775; Jan. 20, 1776. *Santa Barbara Archives.*

The *San Carlos,* accompanied by Fr. Vicente de Santa María, set sail at Monterey on July 27th,[26] and at the same time a novena began in honor of St. Francis. In the evening of the ninth day the vessel arrived opposite the entrance of the bay, or arm of the sea as it had been called. The launch built at Carmelo was sent in ahead to examine the narrow passage now famed the world over as the Golden Gate. Soon after, though it had grown dark, the frigate followed. It was, therefore, the first large ship that ever passed through the strait into San Francisco Bay. The vessel probably anchored near what is North Beach. Next morning, August 5th, or 2nd according to Bancroft, ship and launch united and moved over to the island which the explorers named Nuestra Señora de los Ángeles, or Angel Island, where they found an abundance of wood and fresh water. The captain with José Cañizares, the first pilot, went up in the launch to examine the bay towards the north, and then proceeded to survey the round bay, now San Pablo Bay. They continued upward until they reached sweet water and saw several streams which united and formed the Rio San Francisco, now called San Joaquin.[27] On their voyage the Spaniards came in contact with many Indians who were all very friendly.

On their return to the *San Carlos,* Juan Bautista Aguirre, the second pilot, was directed to examine the bay to the southeast. He saw only three Indians at one of the smaller bays. As they were lamenting for some reasons or other, Aguirre named the cove La Ensenada de los Llorones. The frigate anchored in the bay forty days waiting for the land expedition. Meanwhile Ayala made minute surveys, and Fr. Santa María conferred with the Indians, especially with those inhabiting the region toward Point Reyes. Finding it useless to wait longer, the captain resolved to return. Before sailing from the port, Fr. Santa María buried two letters at the foot of the cross erected on Point Lobos the year before. They were to inform the land expedition of the success and departure of the *San Carlos*. On September 22nd the frigate again dropped her anchor in Monterey Bay.[28]

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[26] Bancroft thinks this a misprint in Doyle's edition of Palóu. The date should be the 24th, because it would be likely that Ayala named Angel Island from the feast of the day when he landed, August 2. Unfortunately Palóu in both *Noticias* and *Vida* describes the two expeditions to San Francisco less minutely than usual.

[27] See chapter vi, this volume.

In the meantime Captain Bruno Ezeta with the *Santiago* arrived at Monterey on July 31st. By reason of the fogs he had been unable to find the entrance to the Port of San Francisco Bay, and therefore resolved to reach it by land in order to make additional surveys. As a number of soldiers had gone to Mission San Antonio to quell a rumored Indian revolt, no guards were available until September 14th. On this day Ezeta set out with three sailors, a carpenter, nine soldiers, and a mule bearing a small canoe. Fr. Palóu and Fr. Campa joined the expedition by order of Fr. Serra, to act as chaplains and to select a site for the future mission of San Francisco.

"We followed the same road which we had traveled on the expedition of the previous year," Fr. Palóu writes, "and on the 22nd of said month we reached the shore of the Bay of the Farallones,[29] on whose beach we found the dugout, which had been built on the Río Carmelo. It was filled with sand and water, and not far apart from it lay the paddles. We followed the beach to the high hill at the mouth of the entrance, ascended it, and at the foot of the cross we found two letters of Fr. Vicente de Santa María. In the first he informed us of the successful arrival and of the anchorage at the port; and in the second he told us that the survey had been made, and that in case we arrived we should go into the port about one league and make a fire on the beach, and that from the island, which they called Our Lady of the Angels, where they lay at anchor, we should be seen. This we did; but when we saw neither ship nor sign we returned to the camp which we had left on the banks of a large laguna that discharges its water into the bay of the Farallones, and which was called Nuestra Señora de la Merced."[30] In the afternoon of September 24th they began the return march, and arrived at Monterey on October 1st. Ten days later the *San Carlos* set sail for San Blas; but the *Santiago* and the *Sonora* were not ready to leave until the end of the month.

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[28] Palóu, *Vida*, cap. xliv, 203, Bancroft, *History of California*, vol. i, 247.

[29] The roadstead from Point San Pedro to Point Reyes.

[30] Our Lady of Ransom. The feast is on September 24th.

A few days before their departure, Juan Pérez, the first pilot, fell sick; but the surgeon thought it better for the patient to make the voyage in order to procure medical care at San Blas. On the ocean his condition became worse, and he died on the second day, in sight of Mission Carmelo. This fact was not learned until the packet-boat returned in the following year. A solemn Requiem Mass was then celebrated at Mission San Carlos for the repose of his soul. Juan Pérez had been in command of the *San Antonio,* the first ship that came up to San Diego and Monterey. He had brought the supplies ever since, and had made two voyages to the northwest coast, as described on the preceding pages. He was a Mallorcan like Fathers Serra and Palóu, and a friend of the missionaries.[31]

When the ships arrived at San Blas the Fathers, who had acted as chaplains, appealed to the Fr. Guardian for relief from a charge so foreign to their apostolic institute. The Fr. Guardian for the reason mentioned petitioned the viceroy to procure other chaplains; but Bucareli insisted that the College should provide the chaplains until secular priests could be enlisted, inasmuch as these voyages, too, were in the interest of the Indian missions and for the welfare of souls. The Fr. Guardian and the discretos then gave Fr. Campa permission to retire to the College on account of his advanced age, and directed Fr. Benito Sierra once more to join the crew of one of the transports, and to take the place of any of the missionaries that might desire to withdraw under the regulations. Fr. Santa María thereupon asked that he be given a companion on the long voyage in the other ship. To this the viceroy consented. Fr. Nocedal, a Mexican by birth, but a member of the College, was therefore sent to Tepic at the expense of the royal treasury in order to join Fr. Santa María.[32]

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[31] Palóu, *Vida,* cap. xiii, 62; cap. xvi, 76.

[32] Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. iv, cap. ii, 73; cap. vi, 101-104; cap. viii, 110-113, Doyle Edition.

While the explorations described in the preceding chapter were carried on by land and sea, large numbers of savages, won by the kindness of the missionaries, applied for Baptism at the various missions. The converts were instructed by means of interpreters until the Fathers had learned the language sufficiently. At the same time these Indians were taught to accustom themselves to habits of industry and modesty. Several friars, who as yet had no permanent occupation, assisted the others as supernumeraries. In order to give them the employment for which they had come and to extend the work of conversion, Fr. Serra endeavored to start missions in localities which had a numerous Indian population. Although the viceroyal council had decreed that no new missions should be established until more troops were available for their protection, it had added the saving clause, "unless it be judged possible to found one or two missions by decreasing the guards of the missions nearest the presidios, together with some whose absence would cause no serious drawback at the presidio." [33]

This clause, Fr. Serra thought, pointed out the way in which his ardent desire to locate a mission between San Diego and San Gabriel might be realized, if the military would co-operate; but when he proposed the plan to Captain Rivera, that officer declared he had no soldiers to spare. The Fr. Presidente reported the situation to the Fr. Guardian, and urged him to move the viceroy to send twenty more soldiers, so that the supernumeraries could exercise their zeal among the natives. No sooner had the Fr. Guardian received the appeal than he petitioned Viceroy Bucareli to allow the supernumeraries to retire to the College. In reply Bucareli declared that four of those friars would have to remain in California, inasmuch as two missions were soon to be founded near the Port of San Francisco; but that the others might withdraw; but next day, after receiving dispatches from Spain, he directed the Fr.

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[33] "Salvo que se juzgase poderse fundar una ó dos misiones, minorando las escoltas de las misiones mas inmediatas á los presidios junto con algunos que no hiciesen notable falta en el presidio." Palóu *Noticias,* tom. iv, cap. ix, 113; *Vida,* cap. xxxix, 174.

Guardian to leave the religious in California, as they would all be needed.[34] He also instructed Captain Rivera to do what was possible in accord with the Fr. Presidente, and to found one or two more missions in suitable localities with soldiers taken from the presidios and the neighborhood missions.[35] In a letter to Fr. Serra the viceroy wrote, "I doubt not that Captain Rivera will agree to it, and that one or two missions will be founded." [36]. These letters reached Monterey on August 10, 1775. In the same afternoon Rivera went out to Mission Carmelo to consult with the Fr. Presidente. The result was that on the 12th both decided to establish a mission between San Diego and San Gabriel on or near a spot called San Juan Capistrano, and to form a guard by taking two soldiers from the presidios of San Diego and Monterey, and one each from the missions of San Carlos and San Diego. Fr. Fermín Francisco de Lasuén, who then attended the presidio of Monterey, and Fr. Gregorio Amurrio, a supernumerary at San Luis Obispo, were appointed the missionaries for the new station.

Towards the end of October Fr. Lasuén set out from San Diego with Lieutenant José Francisco de Ortega, one sergeant, and the necessary soldiers. When they had arrived at the spot selected, a large cross was erected, blessed, and venerated, and then on October 30th, the octave of the patron saint, San Juan Capistrano, Fr. Lasuén celebrated holy Mass in a shelter made of boughs. A great many Indians witnessed this beginning of the mission, and they manifested their satisfaction by helping to cut and bring in the timber required for the construction of the chapel and temporary dwellings. The work had proceeded for eight days, and Fr. Amurrio had just arrived from San Gabriel with the cattle and supplies, when a courier brought the amazing news that the Indians about Mission San Diego had revolted, killed one of the missionaries, and set fire to the buildings. Lieutenant Ortega with the sergeant and a part of the soldiers hastened to the scene of the disaster, Fr. Lasuén gave orders to bury the two bells, and then the two religious with the guards and goods retired to the San Diego presidio. [37]

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[34] "El día inmediato á esta resolución llamó S. E. al Rev. P. Guardian y le dijo que ya no escribiese el permiso para retirarse al colegio los supernumerarios; que todos serían menester." Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. iv. cap. ix, 114.

[35] "Escribía al Capitán Rivera para que de acuerdo con su Reverencia hiciese lo posible para fundar una ó dos misiones más en los parajes, que se juzgasen más á propósito con algunos de los soldados de los presidios, agregándoles otros de las misiones más inmediatas." Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. iv, cap. ix, 115.

[36] "No dudo que el Capitán Rivera convendrá á ello y se fundará una ó dos misiones." (Ibid.)

Mission San Diego in August, 1774, had been removed from its original site near the mouth of the river of the same name to a place about six miles up the stream. The Fathers had been fairly successful in their efforts to win the savages from paganism, and this may have provoked the sorcerers and other chief men to conspire against the lives of the missionaries. During the night preceding the 5th of November, 1775, about one thousand armed pagans surrounded the mission, looted the sacristy and storehouse, and then set fire to the buildings. Fr. Luis Jayme and José Romero, the blacksmith, were killed, Urselino, the carpenter, was mortally wounded, and two soldiers were disabled.[38]

The information about the disaster was brought by a courier to Captain Rivera at Monterey on the evening of December 13th, and though late the commander immediately hastened out to notify Fr. Serra at San Carlos. When the latter heard what had occurred, he exclaimed: "Thanks be to God! that land is now watered; now the conversion of the Diegueños will be effected." [39] Next morning the Office of the Dead was chanted and a Requiem High Mass was celebrated for the repose of the soul of the murdered friar. Six Fathers, including Fr. Palóu, took part in the ceremonies. Though in the opinion of all, the religious life and the zeal of Fr. Luis Jayme, coupled with his martyrdom, made praying for his soul unnecessary, yet every missionary in California, according to a previous agreement,[40] offered up twenty holy Masses for the murdered friar.

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[37] Palóu, *Noticias*, tom. iv, cap. ix, 113-117; *Vida*, cap. xxxix, 173-176.

[38] Palóu, *Noticias*, tom. iv, cap. x, 118-127; *Vida*, cap. xl, 176-184. The particulars about this revolt will be found in our volume on San Diego Mission.

[39] "Gracias á Dios ya sé regó aquella tierra; ahora sí se consequirá la reducción de los Diegueños." Palóu, *Vida*, 184.

Under date of December 15th the Fr. Presidente reported the sad occurrence to the Fr. Guardian and to the viceroy. To the latter he wrote that the missionaries were by no means disheartened at what had happened; but that they rather envied their fortunate companion, Fr. Luis, the happy death which he had merited.[41] They only feared that severe punishment might be meted out to the Indians who had taken part in the uprising, and that in consequence the restoration of the mission and the founding of San Juan Capistrano might be delayed. It was hoped from the well-known clemency and Catholic zeal of the viceroy that he would extend mercy to the guilty savages, who had doubtless been stirred up by the enemy of souls, and scarcely realized the gravity of the deed. The Fr. Presidente confidently expected that the rebuilding of the mission would be undertaken with energy, and the founding of the Capistrano Mission concluded, lest the enemy of souls come out victorious. He suggested that similar calamities could be prevented by increasing the number of guards.[42]

Though Fr. Serra's letter had been sent off together with Rivera's dispatch, it reached the viceroy eight days later. Bucareli, suspecting the truth, on March 26th addressed a note of consolation to him, and anticipated the recommendation in that he informed the Fr. Presidente that he had directed the new governor of the peninsula, Don Felipe de Neve, to enlist twenty-five additional soldiers for Upper California.[43] When he had received Fr. Serra's official report of December 15, 1775, Bucareli sent him another most encouraging letter which will be reproduced later. Had the viceroy's letters reached the Fr. Presidente earlier, Fr. Palóu writes, he would have been spared much cruel anxiety; as it was, the unavoidable delay owing to the great distance from the capital caused him a prolonged, though unbloody, martyrdom.[44]

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[40] See vol. i, 343, 524.

[41] "Que no por lo sucedido descaecían de ánimo los misioneros; antes bien los animaba envidiando la dichosa muerte que había logrado el dichoso V. Hermano y Compañero, el P. Fr. Luis Jayme." Palóu, *Vida*, 185.

[42] Palóu, *Noticias*, tom. iv, cap. xi, 129-130; *Vida*, cap. xli, 185-186.

[43] *Santa Barb. Arch.* Palóu, *Vida*, cap. xli, 187-189.

Captain Rivera with thirteen soldiers had meanwhile, December 16th, left Monterey for San Diego. He was accompanied as far as San Antonio by Fr. Dumetz, who remained there as companion to Fr. Sitjar in order to allow the infirm Fathers Cambón and Pieras to recuperate at San Carlos. Rivera stationed an additional soldier at San Antonio and two at San Luis Obispo, and arrived at San Gabriel on January 3, 1776. Next day Lieutenant-Colonel J. B. de Anza, with thirty soldiers and their families under Lieutenant José Joaquin Moraga, appeared at the mission on his way from Sonora to the Port of San Francisco. He had ten other soldiers who were to escort him back to Sonora. Fr. Pedro Font, of the Franciscan College of Santa Cruz, Querétaro, accompanied the troops as chaplain and chronicler. Anza offered to help the captain quell the revolt, and on January 7th joined Rivera with Fr. Font and eighteen [45] soldiers on the march to the scene of trouble, while Moraga with the main body stayed at San Gabriel.

When on January 11th the two commanders arrived, the situation was examined by Rivera, who then informed Colonel Anza that he would ask the viceroy for twenty-five soldiers, and expressed his wish that the colonel delay his departure. Anza agreed to wait two months, but when after twenty days he noticed that the captain had no use for him nor even consulted him, he notified Rivera that he intended to proceed to the port of San Francisco to execute the viceroy's orders. The captain made some objections but yielded when Anza consented to leave twelve of the Sonora troops at San Diego temporarily as a guard against a possible Indian assault. The colonel then departed for San Gabriel whence he had received information that provisions were running low.[46]

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[44] *S. B. Archives;* Palóu, *Vida,* cap. xli, 189-190.

[45] Bancroft, vol. i, 265, says Anza reported having taken seventeen men.

[46] Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. iv, cap. xi, 130-133; *Vida,* cap. xli, 186-190. Fr. Pedro Font, *Diario.*

CHAPTER XI.

Anza's Expedition to the Port of San Francisco.—Object.—The Members and Outfit.—Order Observed.—On the Colorado.—In San Jacinto Pass.—At San Gabriel.—Anza and Fr. Font at San Diego.—Return.—At San Luis Obispo and San Antonio.—Arrival at San Carlos.—Captain Rivera.—Anza Continues to the North.—Naming Dolores.—East of San Francisco Bay.—On the Rio San Francisco.—Back at San Carlos.—Fr. Font's Experience at Monterey.—Departure for Sonora.—Rivera's Strange Conduct.—Quarrel with Anza.—Rivera Excommunicated.—The Cause.—Anza Returns to Mexico.—Fr. Font's Diario.

WE have now to account for Captain Anza's second appearance in California. In 1774[1] he had demonstrated that communication between Sonora and Monterey overland by way of the Río Colorado was practicable. Viceroy Bucareli, therefore, decided to send another expedition in order to establish a presidio, a colony, and two missions at the Port of San Francisco. He also requested Fr. Serra to have the two friars, who were waiting at San Carlos, ready to join the expedition and to found the missions at the said port. Anza was again placed in command, and directed to enlist twenty soldiers and as many settlers as would volunteer. From the presidios in Sonora he was also directed to make a lieutenant, a sergeant and eight veterans for permanent service in California. In compliance with Fr. Serra's petition all the soldiers were to be married men and to bring their families along. Anza was furthermore instructed to draw upon the royal treasury for whatever he thought necessary,[2] and in reward for the successful management of the previous expedition he was raised to the rank of lieutenant-colonel. He accordingly went to Sinaloa to obtain and equip the recruits and colonists required. The soldiers received their pay for two years in advance, and all were allowed rations for five years. The pay began with the day of enlistment; the expense to the royal treasury for each family amounted to eight hundred dollars.

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[1] See chapter ix.

[2] Para los gastos que se ofreciesen abrió liberalmente Su Excelencia el real erario, mandando dar al Señor Comandante Anza cuanto pidiese." Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. iv, cap. xii, 134. No such order was ever issued in behalf of the missions. Yet the Spanish Government insisted that the chief object of the conquest was the spread of Religion!

At the request of the viceroy, Fr. Romualdo Cartagena, guardian of the College of Santa Cruz, Querétaro, directed Fr. Pedro Font to turn his Indian mission of San José de los Pimas, Sonora, over to Father Joaquín Belarde, and to accompany the expedition as chaplain. To Fr. Francisco Garcés Bucareli himself wrote that he should join the troops as far as the Río Colorado in order to ascertain the sentiments of the Yumas regarding the project of placing a presidio and one or two missions in their territory. Fr. Diego Ximénez, the new superior of Santa Cruz College, on February 17, 1775, gave Fr. Garcés the necessary permission, and ordered Fr. Tomás Eizarch to accompany him.[3]

When, on September 29th, all had assembled at the headquarters, San Miguel de Horcasitas, Sonora, a High Mass was celebrated in honor of the patron saints of the undertaking, Our Lady of Guadalupe, St. Michael, and St. Francis of Assisi, for the success of the expedition. The march began on the same day, and the route taken ran by way of Santa Magdalena, Mission San Ignacio, and Ímuris to the presidio of Tubac, where Fathers Garcés and Eizarch on October 21st joined the company. On the 22nd a High Mas was sung, sermon preached by Fr. Pedro Font, and next day the march to the west began. The whole body consisted of Lieutenant-Colonel Juan Bautista Anza, Fathers Font, Garcés, and Eizarch, Purveyor Mariano Vidal, Lieutenant José Joaquin Moraga, Sergeant Juan Pablo Grijalva, eight veteran soldiers, twenty recruits, the wives and children of the sergeant and twenty-eight soldiers, ten veteran soldiers who were to return with Anza, four families of settlers,[4] twenty muleteers, three cattle herders, four Indian servants of the Fathers, three Indian interpreters, in all two hundred and forty persons.[5] The train was composed of five hundred and thirty horses, about three hundred and fifty head of cattle, and one hundred and sixty-five pack mules. The cattle were driven along for subsistence on the road and for starting a herd in the new colonies and missions near the Bay of San Francisco. On the journey holy Mass was offered up every morning, and there would be a sermon on Sundays and feastdays. Just as the expedition set out in the morning Fr. Font would intone the *Alabado* which all the people sang with him. All traveled on horseback. At night the Rosary was recited by each family, the devotions then closed with the *Alabado* or the *Salve* sung in common.

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[3] Fr. Font, *Diario,* Fr. Garcés, *Diario,* Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. iv, cap. i, 69-71; cap. xii, 133-135; *Vida,* cap. xliv, 202-204; Arricivita, *Crónica Seráfica,* lib. iv, cap. iii, 461-462; Elliot Coues, *On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer,* 47-49; *The Franciscans in Arizona,* 90.

[4] Fr. Palóu says there were twelve families.

[5] Palóu, tomo. iv, cap. xii, p. 135, has 200 persons, but counts only those that were to stay in California.

From Tubac the expedition proceeded to Mission San Xavier del Bac, Fr. Garcés's mission, thence to Tuquison (Tucson), from where the route turned northwest to the Rio Gila. It passed within three leagues of the famous Casa Grande of which Fr. Font gives a lengthy description. All Souls Day was celebrated at a place called San Juan Capistrano de Uturituc. Each of the three Fathers availed himself of the Mexican privilege and offered up three holy Masses for the Poor Souls. Other stops were San Simón y San Judas de Uparsoytac, Aroitac, Agua Caliente, Cerro de Santa Cecilia, Laguna Salobre, and after crossing the Gila three times the travelers reached the Río Colorado near the mouth of the Gila. Here they were welcomed by Palma, chief of the Yuma Indians. The Colorado was forded on November 30th with much difficulty.

Next day Colonel Anza, in the name of the viceroy, bestowed upon Chief Palma a uniform and a baton with a silver point as a mark of distinction, and in recognition of services rendered to the Spaniards. The same honor was conferred upon Chief Pablo, whose rancheria lay to the southwest. Leaving the Colorado at the ford on Sunday, December 3rd, Anza led his people one league west-southwest to the camp of Chief Palma which stood opposite the mouth of the Gila. Here, two days before, the Indians had commenced to erect a jacal[6] for the two Fathers Garcés and Eizarch, who were to remain among the Yumas. The expedition on December

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[6] A low structure of brushwood or thatch usually closed on three sides, and sometimes covered with earth.

5th moved to Chief Pablo's rancheria five leagues west-southwest.[7]

The route from there ran northwest and west. The principal camping places were Cojat, Laguna de Santa Eulália (Olalla), Pozo de Carrizal, Pozo de Santa Rosa, San Sebastián, San Gregorio, Arroyo de Santa Catarina, until on Sunday, December 24th, or Christmas eve, the expedition reached Arroyo Seco, the dry bed of a stream not far from a small spring. Here in the following night the wife of a soldier gave birth to a child. On Christmas morning Fr. Font celebrated the three Holy Masses, preached and then baptized the infant, which was given the names Salvador Ignacio. For the sake of the woman the expedition rested on Christmas day. Next morning the march was resumed at a little before nine o'clock. At two o'clock in the afternoon the camp was pitched in front of the declivities which form the gateway to the Puerto de San Carlos, so named by Anza the year before. Fr. Font called the place Bajío.[8] It lay three large leagues to the north-northwest of Arroyo Seco.[9]

On December 27th the expedition made its way up the pass for about six leagues, and then camped at the beginning of a cañada which in the year before had been christened Cañada de San Patricio. A spring or the source of the arroyo was near by. Here all rested on the 28th on account of the ailing mother mentioned on the 25th. Fr. Font took the latitude and found it to be thirty-three degrees and thirty-seven minutes. As usual he celebrated holy Mass while the troops made themselves ready to march. The weather was very cold all the way up from the foot of the pass. The high range of mountains to the right was covered with snow, and it snowed frequently during the time the expedition tarried in the cañada. On December 29th the march was resumed, and after covering seven long leagues, as Fr. Font remarks, the camp was pitched on an arroyo which the former expedition named Arroyo de San Joseph. Here the cañada through which the travelers had come terminated. The cañada following it was called Valle de San Joseph; another valley from which the arroyo came was remembered as Cañada del Paraiso. Next day the expedition moved five leagues to the Pie de Loma, and on Sunday, the last day of the year, they proceeded eight leagues to the Río Santa Ana. On New Year's Day Fr. Font during his holy Mass took occasion to extend his felicitations, and gave an appropriate exhortation in connection with the feast of the day. The camp was then transferred to the other bank of the river. Here a courier arrived from Mission San Gabriel welcoming the wanderers. He also informed them of the revolt at San Diego, which had cost the life of a missionary. The next stop was made in the afternoon of the 2nd of January at the Arroyo de Alisos, after marching six leagues. Six leagues beyond, on the 3rd, they found themselves on the Río de San Gabriel. Finally on January 4, 1776, after moving two leagues, the expedition was heartily and solemnly received by Fathers Cruzado and Sánchez of Mission San Gabriel, where the weary travel ended for the present. On January 6th, the feast of the Epiphany, a High Mass of thanksgiving was sung, and on the next day Fr. Font accompanied Colonel Anza and Captain Rivera, with a number of troops, to San Diego, as already stated at the close of the preceding chapter.[10]

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[7] Fr. Font's leagues are short leagues, little more than two miles.

[8] Low land.

[9] For the description of the route see Appendix E.

When Anza and Fr. Front returned, the expedition on February 21st again set out for its destination. The second of March found the Spaniards at Mission San Luis Obispo where Fathers Cavaller, Mugártegui, and Figuer received them at the church door, and conducted them to the altar whilst the bells sounded their welcome and all sang the *Te Deum Laudamus.* Next day, Sunday, March 3d, Fr. Front celebrated the late holy Mass and preached on the Gospel of the day which speaks of the Transfiguration on Mount Tabor, and which he applied to the beautiful surroundings of the mission and the labors and rewards of the missionaries. After holy Mass he baptized an Indian boy seven years of age for whom the colonel stood sponsor. From here on Monday Anza took a route different from the one heretofore traveled. Proceeding one league northeast, four to the north, one to the north-northwest, two towards the northwest, and two west-northwest, he ordered a halt on the Río de Monterey or Salinas beyond the Río de Santa Margarita at a place which was called Asumpción. At the Mission of San Antonio the travelers were joyfully received by Fathers Dumetz and Sitjar in the afternoon of March 6th. Sunday, March 10th, after Fr. Font had celebrated holy Mass, as he did every day, the expedition followed the Río de Monterey, or Salinas, downward four leagues to a place called Buenavista. From there the Spaniards left the river to their right and wended their way over low hills and many dales for six leagues, when at half past five in the afternoon they arrived at the presidio of Monterey. The colonel and Fr. Font at once notified the Fr. Presidente, and invited him and other Fathers to assist at a High Mass of thanksgiving on the next day. Early in the morning Fathers Serra, Palóu, Murguía, Cambón and Peña came over from San Carlos, joyfully embraced Fr. Front and cordially welcomed Anza and his people. Fr. Font sang the High Mass and preached a fervent sermon, in which he dwelt at length on the difficulties of the road which under the patronage of their patron saints they had overcome without the loss of a single member, though many cattle had succumbed to the hardships of the journey which had lasted one hundred and sixty-five days.

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[10] Besides descriptions of the route, country, climate, and people, Fr. Font relates many incidents which will be used in the local history. His description of the mission routine will be found later in the present volume.

In the afternoon [11] Anza, Fr. Font, Purveyor Vidál, and the ten Sonora veterans, complying with Fr. Serra's invitation, went out to Mission San Carlos, where at five o'clock the Fr. Presidente with six [12] Fathers solemnly received their guests amid the ringing of bells and the singing of the *Te Deum Laudamus*. Here the colonel and his little party took up their quarters, while the main body of the expedition remained at the presidio. On the second day, March 13th, Anza was seized with such excrutiating pains in the groin that he had to take to his bed, and was not able to rise for a week. In the meantime Lieutenant Moraga informed him that a letter had arrived at the presidio, in which Captain Rivera commanded the immigrants to erect houses for themselves and to stay at Monterey until the presidio could be established at the Port of San Francisco. This strange order created consternation among the immigrants and disgust among the four missionaries who had been waiting two years to see the command of the viceroy, which directed that two missions should be founded near the port, executed. Colonel Anza communicated the feelings of the immigrants and of the Fathers to Rivera. The latter, he wrote, resolved to return to their College unless the missions were founded soon. As for himself he would proceed to the port, because it was the will of the viceroy that the presidio should be erected forthwith. Anza furthermore told the captain that if he could not, as His Excellency desired, join in the work at present, he might well trust Lieutenant Moraga; and if he did not wish to do that, he (Anza) would cheerfully postpone his return to Sonora until the viceroy's instructions had been carried out. Finally the colonel expressed the hope that on his return from the Port of San Francisco a note from the captain would be waiting for him at Monterey. This letter was, March 17th, entrusted to a squad of soldiers whom Rivera called to San Diego.[13]

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[11] According to Fr. Font; Fr. Palóu says it was on the 12th, the next day. Fr. Font is doubtless right, as there was no room at the presidio.

[12] The two additional Fathers were Crespi and Pieras. The latter, who was ill, belonged to San Antonio.

Colonel Anza, Fr. Font, Lieutenant Moraga, eight Sonora regulars, two presidio soldiers, who had made the journey with Fages, servants and muleteers, in all twenty persons set out from Mission San Carlos on March 22nd. Passing Monterey, they went over very much the same road traveled by Captain Rivera and Fr. Palóu in the latter part of 1774.[14] On the 26th they reached the Arroyo de San Francisco, and found the cross still standing which Fr. Palóu had planted on its banks. Next day after a brisk march the expedition reached Point Lobos where Fr. Palóu had raised a cross on December 4, 1774. Only a part of it remained. Here the Spaniards gazed with admiration on the prodigies of nature which Fr. Font declares it is difficut to describe.[15] They went over the hills along the strait until they came to a rocky point,[16] where the inlet was narrowest. Back of it they discovered a mesa or level land about half a league wide and somewhat longer. This spot was considered the most suitable for the presidio and colony. At the extremity of the point[17] Anza determined to plant the cross. Fr. Font blessed it after holy Mass on March the 28th. From their camp, which stood near a lake,[18] the colonel with his party moved southeast until they arrived at a cove which Aguirre the year before had named La Ensenada de los Llorones,[19] and which was afterwards known as Mission Bay. Some Indians were found in the vicinity who, like all those along the route, behaved themselves in a very friendly manner. Next morning, March 29th, Anza sent half of his men back on the way they had come with orders to await him at the Arroyo de San Mateo, which was so named on the 27th. With Fr. Font and the remainder of the men he went one league east, one league east-southeast, and one league southeast, passing over wooded hills and by two lagunas, and arrived at a fine arroyo, which for the feast of the day, Our Lady of Sorrows, was there and then called Arroyo de los Dolores.[20] Near it Lieutenant Moraga planted a little corn and garbanzos to see whether the soil, which appeared good to the explorers, was productive. Fr. Font thought this place was the best for one of the two proposed missions, and that the other might be founded on the Arroyo de San Mateo. Having attained his object, Anza hastened to join the troops on San Mateo creek.

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[13] Font, *Diario.*

[14] See chapter ix.

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[15] He sketches them most faithfully, nevertheless, and illustrates his explanation with drawings representing the Farallones and various cliffs.

[16] "Á la orilla del cantil blanco que forma el remate de la boca del puerto." Font, *Diario,* p. 185. The cantil is Fort Point.

[17] "En el extremo del cantil blanco de la punta interior de la boca del puerto, en altura competente que podía divisarse de toda la entrada del puerto." Font, *Diario,* p. 190.

[18] Mountain Lake, according to Bancroft.

[19] Bay of the Weepers.

[20] This was Friday before Palm Sunday, March 29th. Easter Sunday in 1776 fell on April 7th. Good Friday was therefore on the 5th. "Día 29 de Marzo, Viernes, llegamos á un hermoso arroyo, que por ser Viernes de Dolores le llamamos el Arroyo de los Dolores," Fr. Font reports.

Next morning, March 30th, the whole party started out after holy Mass, and at about four o'clock in the afternoon, after having covered twelve leagues, the camp was pitched on the banks of a stream which discharged its waters into the extremity of the "arm of the sea." The little river was called Río de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, and near its banks, about one league from the outlet, eighteen leagues from the site of the proposed presidio, a spot was chosen for another mission.[21] From there the expedition passed around the arm of the sea, that is to say, San Francisco Bay, over the route traced by Fr. Crespi in 1772. Fr. Font gives in outline a drawing of the shore about Alameda and Oakland, and describes fully the country, bays, estuaries, and hills as far as the Río San Francisco,[22] and somewhat beyond. The whole region farther on was overflowed so that there seemed to be no rivers, but only a great expanse of water filled with tules.[23] On April 4th, therefore, Anza began the return march, and arrived at Monterey Easter Monday morning, April 8th. After a meal the colonel with Fr. Font and soldiers went out to San Carlos for a few days of rest. When by the 12th no reply had arrived from Captain Rivera, Anza determined to leave for Sonora. He notified the captain to that effect, and despatched a letter through Sergeant Góngora and two soldiers. On the 13th the colonel, Fr. Font, and the escort bid farewell to Mission San Carlos and passed over to the presidio. There in the absence of Rivera Anza turned the Sonora recruits and immigrants, one hundred and ninety-three souls,[24] over to Lieutenant Moraga who was to conduct them to the Port of San Francisco and to have command of that post. Next day Fr. Serra and the other Fathers came over from the mission and bid Godspeed to Fr. Font and the retiring visitors. Fr. Pieras, who had recovered, went along as far as Mission San Antonio. The whole company consisted of the colonel, the two friars, Purveyor Vidal, Carlos Gallegos and wife, ten soldiers from Tubac, eleven muleteers and servants, three vaqueros, and one boy who was to stay at San Gabriel. The train comprised nineteen mules with their cargoes, three of which belonged to San Antonio. In a hamper a mule carried four cats destined for San Gabriel and San Diego which missions were much annoyed by the abundance of rats.

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[21] "Paramos al otro lado (southside) del río, que llamamos el Río de Guadalupe, el cual desagua en el extremo del puerto, y como una legua antes de desaguar está muy profundo." Fr. Font on March 30th. Mission Santa Clara was first founded here.

[22] The San Joaquin River.

[23] "Vimos una confusión de agua y tulares." Fr. Font on April 3rd.

On the morning of the day on which the troops departed, Fr. Font met with an experience which aroused his just indignation. As the incident shows better than many words what the California Fathers had to suffer, even thus early, from the military *whose chief aim Gálvez and the viceroy claimed was to aid in the spread of Religion,* we herewith reproduce Fr. Font's statement literally. "Sunday, April 14th, I celebrated holy Mass for the people of the presidio; but before I went to the altar, I myself discovered and experienced how little or not at all the presidio people appreciated holy Mass and the Fathers, and what annoyances these Fathers suffer. I had heard them complain that when they went to celebrate holy Mass at the presidio[25] neither shelter nor food was given them. Well, it happened that I asked for water to wash my hands before holy Mass. In reply the storekeeper told me that if my servants did not bring the water to me he did not know what could be done, because in the presidio there was no one to fetch me any water. With that he turned and went away. Thus it was that a servant of Colonel Anza had to bring me the water for which I asked. All this comes from the animosity which Captain Rivera entertains for the Fathers and the rabble[26] follows the example of the head. They take no notice of the bell, nor do they, as I myself have observed, come to holy Mass, though the precept of the Church commands it. The Fathers can apply no remedy, because they are not allowed to reprove the troops for anything whatsoever."

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[24] Fr. Font gives a full list with the names of every man, woman and child.

[25] It must be remembered that Monterey was a station of San Carlos which is situated about five miles from the presidio. The Fathers had to come fasting. Despite this outrageous treatment we shall later find the commanders and soldiers accusing the Fathers of not attending to this "duty."

Elsewhere in his Diario Fr. Font, who made it a point to study the situation in the missions, explains the cause of Rivera's disaffection for the friars, and especially for the Fr. Presidente. Bancroft shows that Rivera had already become disgruntled by reason of Portolá's preferment to the military command of California. The appointment of Fages, a mere lieutenant, stung the captain to the quick. What maddened him, however, according to Fr. Font, who gives Fr. Serra's version, was that the Fr. Presidente had suggested Sergeant Ortega for the place of the irascible Fages, when asked by the viceroy of Mexico. Though Bucareli gave the office of military commander to Captain Rivera and appointed Ortega lieutenant, Rivera from that day harbored unkindly feelings against both Fr. Serra and Ortega. He was plainly being consumed by ambition and unreasoning jealousy. This will explain what follows as well as the unworthy treatment which he inflicted upon the missionaries.

Colonel Anza and his company left Monterey in the afternoon of April 14th, and their first stop was made at Buenavista on the Río de Monterey, or Salinas, six leagues from the presidio. Here next morning Lieutenant Moraga bid farewell and returned to the presidio. "As I knew what would happen to him," Fr. Font remarks, "I said to him while parting, 'God grant you much consolation, and deliver you from the spite and aversion of Captain Rivera.'" The Father's words hardly sound charitable, but the sequel proves that his judgment about Rivera was well founded. Two leagues out from Buenavista Sergeant Góngora, whom Anza had despatched with letters to the captain, came up and delivered two letters from Rivera, whom he had met near Mission San Antonio. Góngora reported that the captain had not read Anza's despatches, but had ordered him to deliver this package to "Captain" Anza. The sergeant also confided to Anza that the captain was coming close behind, but so infuriated that he did not recognize him. Anza reassured the frightened man, and then the expedition continued on its way. On reading the letters he found them to be replies to his despatches of March 17th. Rivera expressed himself hurt at the proposal of going to found a presidio at the port in the north, and closed by refusing to permit it to be established. In the face of the viceroy's orders this action of Rivera was strange, indeed. After proceeding a league the captain himself appeared. Colonel Anza saluted him, and asked about his health. Rivera replied that his right thigh troubled him, heard Anza's expressions of regret, and then continued on his way with a simple *"á Dios Don Juan,"* as though it was only a casual meeting. "Your reply to my letter may be sent to Mexico or whithersoever you like"! the indignant Anza shouted back. Rivera merely answered, "It is well." The colonel immediately called on the two friars to certify in writing to what had occurred. The camp that night was in the Cañada de San Bernabé, eighteen short leagues from Buenavista. Next day April 16th, after traveling about five leagues San Antonio was reached. Here on the 17th Fr. Pieras took leave and Fr. Dumetz joined the company as far as San Luis Obispo. On the 18th the expedition crossed the three little streams San Antonio, Nacimiento, and Santa Margarita, and camped at a small watering-place, three leagues from the spot where they had crossed the Río de Monterey, about twenty-three short leagues, from San Antonio. Next day, after marching seven short leagues, the travelers were welcomed at Mission San Luis Obispo.

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[26] "Populacho." The indignant Fr. Font sees no reason to use a better term for people guilty of such conduct.

In the meantime Captain Rivera reached Monterey on the 15th, and immediately asked the Fr. Presidente to visit him at the presidio, because he could not go out to the mission on account of his sore leg. Fr. Serra accompanied by Fathers Murguía, Cambón, and Peña readily complied, but they never suspected what they were to hear from Rivera's lips. The captain first delivered two letters from the Fathers of San Diego. Fr. Serra found that the seals were broken but was told that this happened accidentally, that no part of the communications had been read, and that if necessary, Rivera said, he would take an oath to that effect. He then told the Fr. Presidente that Fr. Fuster of San Diego had excommunicated him for having forcibly and against the protest of the missionaries, taken from the church an Indian who was implicated in the late uprising, and who had sought refuge there. Rivera claimed to have first in writing asked Fr. Vicente Fuster to deliver up the culprit, but that the Father had refused. Besides, the captain declared, there was no church at San Diego; only a part of the warehouse was used for the celebration of holy Mass, and this was no church, as Fr. Lasuén had told him a few days before; he had therefore extracted and imprisoned the Indian in order to avoid what might possibly occur. The Fr. President replied that he would read the report of the Fathers and then communicate his decision. As this case has been misrepresented, we shall state the facts as related by Fr. Palóu and Fr. Font.

When the Fr. Presidente had returned to the mission, Fr. Palóu writes, he read to us the letter of Fr. Vicente Fuster, missionary in charge of Mission San Diego, and another of Fathers Fermín Lasuén and Gregorio Amúrrio from Mission San Juan Capistrano, who resided at San Diego temporarily. They reported what had occurred as follows: One of the new Christians, who had taken part in the revolt against the mission, returned seemingly repentant of his deed and took refuge in the church where the holy Sacrifice of the Mass was celebrated and the Sacraments administered. When Fr. Vicente discovered him there he went in person to the captain, told what had happened, and asked him to see what could be done in a quiet way. The captain replied that it was well, and that he would consider it. What he did was to send official notice to said Father, requesting him to deliver up the guilty Indian named Carlos, who had taken refuge in the church, but who for his crime could not claim the right of sanctuary, the more so as the room where holy Mass was celebrated was not a church, but a warehouse, and that therefore he should be given up within so many hours, and if this was not done he would be taken out by force and imprisoned in the guardhouse.[27]

With this paper before him, Fr. Vicente aided by the other Fathers drew up a reply to the effect that the Indian could not be delivered up; that if His Honor dared to extract him forcibly His Honor would stand excommunicated, and that this reply served as a formal warning. In the same paper Fr. Vicente, for the benefit of the captain, quoted the authors he had consulted on the subject. No sooner had Rivera received the document than he called together his troops, ordered them to surround the chapel, and with drawn sword in one hand and a lighted candle in the other he entered the chapel. He seized the poor neophyte, who had sought the refuge of the sanctuary, dragged him out, took him to the guardhouse and ordered him to be put into the stocks.

From the door of their quarters the Fathers with amazement beheld the scandalous proceeding which they could not prevent. Fr. Vicente, as the missionary in charge protested against the violation of the church, and in a loud voice declared that the captain and all the others who had concurred in dragging the Indian from the church were excommunicated, and that they must regard themselves as such.[28] To this the captain retorted, "Well, Father, Your Reverence may protest

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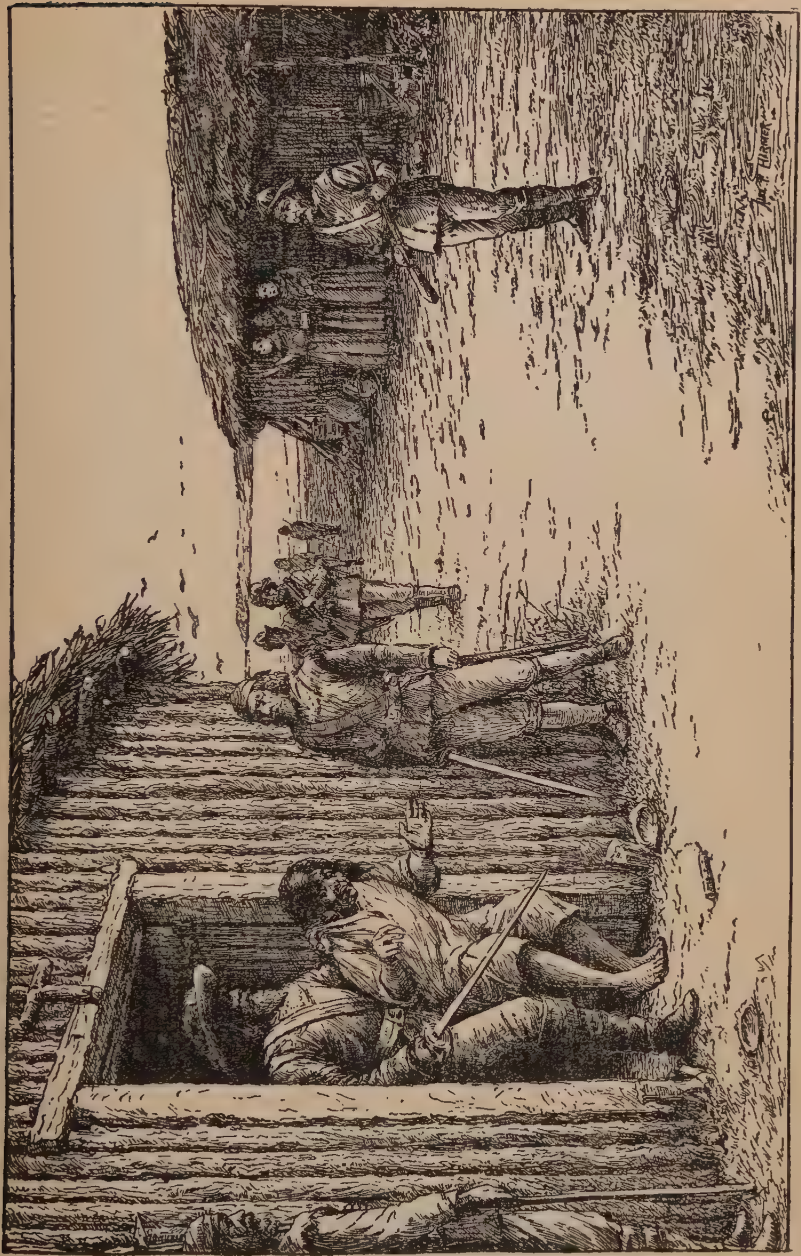
[27] Rivera must have known the law on the subject. It prescribed that he must give formal assurance that the culprit would be treated according to law, in a word, that he should have a fair trial. Nothing was more reasonable. The haughty officer disdained to show that much respect to mere friars and priests. If he was ignorant, Fr. Vicente's note soon enlightened him. The friars, as we shall have occasion to learn times without number, were more than a match for their aggressors and opponents when it came to lay down either civil or ecclesiastical laws.

[28] Fr. Fuster, therefore, did not excommunicate Rivera, but merely declared that by his sacrilegious act the captain had incurred excommunication, that is to say, had put himself outside the Church. Every human society enjoys the right to expel disobedient and disorderly members. Why cannot the Catholic Church exercise that right without being sneered at and accused of tyranny? Hittell and his kind ought to follow the rules of common sense, or at least state the truth.



CAPTAIN RIVERA VIOLATES CHURCH ASYLUM AND INCURS EXCOMMUNICATION all you please." Then pointing to the prisoner he said, "There goes your protest." Next day Fr. Vicente twice sent a formal notice to Rivera, requesting him to return the culprit to the sanctuary under pain of having the excommunication published; but the captain would not even read them.

Two days later, on the feast of the Sorrows of Our Lady, the Fathers went to the church to sing High Mass in honor of Our Lady. Before they began, and after all the people had assembled, Fr. Lasuén, who was the celebrant, turned to the people and addressed them as follows: "Señores, we are about to sing the Mass in honor of Our Lady of Sorrows in this church, and though it has been circulated that I have said this is no church, I declare that I have not said so. I have always said, and repeat it now from this spot, that it is the church of this presidio, and that all who have concurred in taking from it the Indian whom they hold imprisoned in the guardhouse are excommunicated and as such they cannot assist at holy Mass. If any of them are in the church they will leave; if they do not leave I cannot celebrate holy Mass." Thereupon those who had taken part in the proceedings departed, and then High Mass was sung. This was the report to which the three Fathers affixed their names.[29] "Such are," the outspoken Fr. Font concludes his own narrative, "the independent ways with which the officials are accustomed to rule in those remote regions where they recognize no superior who could restrain them and call them to order, and where recourse to higher authority is difficult. Such are the draughts of bitterness which are offered to the missionaries in those missions."

Fr. Serra consulted with the five Fathers at Mission San Carlos. All were of the opinion that Rivera without a doubt had incurred excommunication, and that Fr. Vicente had acted correctly in refusing to deliver up the Indian before the captain had given the prescribed promise under oath that the culprit should be dealt with according to the law on the subject. The Fr. Presidente then informed the captain that he approved of Fr. Fuster's action, and that nothing could be done until the Indian Carlos had been restored to the sanctuary whence he had been removed without the consent of the missionaries. The missionary of San Diego could then give absolution without the Fr. Presidente's interference.[30] Fr. Serra at once reported the matter to the Fr. Guardian in Mexico, and had Fr. Cambón overtake Col. Anza to deliver the letter to him. Fr. Cambón in the afternoon of the 18th set out with an escort granted by Rivera after a day's delay. The captain, moreover, asked the Father to be the bearer of a letter to Col. Anza. Next day Rivera himself set out for the south, but refused Fr. Serra's company under the pretext of great haste. Fr. Cambón reached Anza at San Luis Obispo in the afternoon of the 20th. He also brought a letter from Lieutenant Moraga, who volunteered the opinion that Rivera was insane. In the communication, which Fr. Cambón delivered to Anza, Rivera apologized for his past discourtesy and asked to see and confer with him; he would leave Monterey for that purpose on the 19th, and would esteem it a favor if he (Anza) would say where they could meet, at San Luis or at San Gabriel. On the 21st of April three of Rivera's guards appeared at Mission San Luis Obispo. They reported that the captain was resting about three leagues from the mission, and was very tired. When the missionaries heard this they importuned Col. Anza to reply to the captain's letter and to come to terms with him; but now Anza proved the haughtier. He would have nothing to do with Rivera. At last the entreaties of the Fathers caused the lieutenant-colonel to unbend to the extent of notifying Rivera that he would confer with him on the subject of his visit to San Francisco Bay, and then only in writing. Next day, the 22nd, Rivera arrived at the mission, accepted a cup of chocolate, and passed on to San Gabriel. On the 23rd Anza likewise set out for the same place, but took care to keep back far enough, lest he come up with the captain.

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[29] Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. iv, cap. xv, 146-151; Fr. Font, *Diario,* April 15th.

Rivera reached the mission on the 27th and took up quarters with the missionaries. Anza arrived near it on the 29th, was welcomed by the missionaries, but refused to enter the mission

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[30] See Appendix F for Church Asylum or Right of Sanctuary.

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in order to avoid meeting the captain. The lieutenant-colonel here sent Rivera the description and map showing the surveys made at the Port of San Francisco, and finally departed for the Colorado River on May 2nd, without having had an interview with the captain. He reached what is now Fort Yuma, but what was then called Portezuelo de la Concepción Purísima, on the 11th. Fr. Garcés had gone on a long exploring expedition. Fr. Eizarch with Chief Palma and three other Yumas, who desired to see the viceroy, from here accompanied Col. Anza. They arrived at San Miguel de Horcasitas on June 1, 1776. When Bucareli received the lieutenant-colonel's report, he reprimanded both Anza and Rivera for allowing a question of etiquette to injure the service.[31]

Fr. Font completed his most valuable journal and his map for the viceroy at Mission de Ures, Sonora, on June 23, 1776. He died at Mission Pitique, Sonora, on September 6, 1781, according to the Burial Register of the Missionary College of Santa Cruz, Querétaro.[32]

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[31] "Su Excelencia escribió á ambos oficiales diciéndoles que sintió que por etiquetas de oficiales se hubiese atrasado el servicio." *Noticias,* tom. iv, cap. xii-xv; *Vida,* cap. xliv; Fr. Font, *Diario.*

[32] For other references on the Anza-Rivera incident see Arricivita, *Cronica Seráfica,* 464-468; Coues, *On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer; The Franciscans in Arizona,* 89-98; Bancroft, *California* I, 257-273; Hittell, *California* I, 372-374; Bartlett, *Personal Narrative,* II, 183.

CHAPTER XII.

Fr. Garcés Explores the Interior of California.—His Banner.—His Zeal.—Down the Colorado to its Mouth.—Up the River to the Needles.—Westward.—Discovers the Mohave River.—Privations.—At San Gabriel.—Rivera's Refusal.—A Baptism.—Names the Sierra de San Marcos.—In the Teháchapi Range.—At Kern River.—Hospitality of the Indians.—On the White River.—Return to the Colorado.—Delight of the Indians.—The Moquis.—Return to Del Bac.—New Governor.—Arrival of the *San Antonio* and the *San Carlos*.—Spite of Rivera.—To the Port of San Francisco.—Fathers Palóu and Cambón.—Founding of Mission San Francisco.—Founding of the Presidio.—Expedition to the Río San Francisco.—Formal Opening of the Mission of San Francisco.—Trouble at San Luis Obispo.

WE have now to follow Fr. Francisco Garcés on his remarkable journey through regions of California which no white man had ever traveled, and most of which are dreaded by the lonely wanderer to this day. The friar was doubtless the greatest and most fearless explorer of the missionary period in the Great Southwest. Such a number of similar trips over such a wilderness was scarcely ever heard of elsewhere. Fr. Garcés was a member of the Franciscan missionary college of Santa Cruz, Querétaro. On June 30, 1768, he succeeded the Jesuit Fathers at San Francisco Xavier del Bac, three leagues south of Tucson, Arizona, and twenty leagues from the presidio of Tubac, Sonora. From that date to the years touched by this chapter Fr. Garcés made four *entradas* or missionary exploring tours into the country of the savages.[1] The fifth and longest journey was undertaken at the request of Viceroy Bucareli in company of Lieutenant-Colonel J. B. Anza as far as the Río Colorado, and thence alone into the interior of California.

After Col. Anza's expedition, which we described in the preceding chapter, had left the river for Monterey, Fr. Garcés with the Indian Sebastian Taraval[2] and two Indian interpreters departed from Chief Palma's camp on December 5, 1775, to visit the tribes along the Colorado down to the head of the Gulf of California; but, while he examined the country and studied its people, the zealous friar's main object was the eventual conversion of the natives to Christianity. On this topic he would address the Indians whithersoever he went. To illustrate his instructions Fr. Garcés carried along a canvas which on one side showed the Blessed Virgin with the Child Jesus in her arms, and on the reverse side a condemned soul in hell. This he would unfold and explain wherever he stopped. Moreover, before retiring at night he would recite the Rosary aloud and sing the *Alabado* with his companions. "This," he writes in his *Diario,* "I have practised at all rancherias, and it served to astonish all the tribes." At one place, where he stayed somewhat longer, he relates, "it happened to me that they themselves asked me, 'When dost thou pray? Behold, those people who are now present do not wish thee to leave till they see thee pray and sing.' I have observed that their shouting, dancing, and chaffing would then cease, and everything would be in profound silence." [3]

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[1] Coues *On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer*, Introduction; *The Franciscans in Arizona;* Arricivita, *Crónica Seráfica.*

[2] See beginning of chapter ix.

From Chief Palma's village the Father went five leagues west-southwest, and arrived at Chief Pablo's rancheria on the same day. The Yumas were highly pleased with the picture of the "beautiful Lady," but the sight of the "lost soul" they abhorred. They were not such fools, they declared, as not to know that the good people were above and the bad ones far down under the ground. The Indians appeared much pleased when they heard that the missionaries intended to live among them. After distributing some tobacco and glass beads Fr. Garcés departed, and on the 6th of December overtook Anza at the Laguna de Santa Olalla (Eulalia), which seems to have been in the flood plains of the Colorado in the course of the New River, or nearly so, and not far from the spot marked on our maps by the name Captain Juan's.[4] On the 9th the traveler and his companions turned to the southwest, and visited the rancherias down to the mouth of the Río Colorado where he arrived on the 21st. The Father was everywhere heartily welcomed, for he had been among these Indians in 1771. On the way he baptized a dying Indian. From the mouth of the Colorado Fr. Garcés retraced his steps and reappeared at Palma's rancheria on January 3, 1776.

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[3] Coues *On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer,* 275-276. This excellent work is a translation with notes of Fr. Garcés's *Diario.*

[4] Coues, p. 165.

Leaving Fr. Eizarch with the Yumas, and accompanied by Sebastian and one Jamajab or Mohave Indian, the fearless traveler on February 14th started out for the opposite direction. He passed the Sierra de San Pablo through a gap near Chimney Rock, and on February 28th came to a ranchería situated near the Colorado River in the vicinity of "The Needles." "I saw the rancherias of the Jamajabs on the opposite (Arizona) side of the river," he writes, "and without crossing called them Rancherias de la Pasión. Soon the Jamajabs came hither, because the chief who had accompanied me hastened to notify them of my arrival. As I am the first Spaniard who has been in the country,[5] they celebrated the event beyond bounds. I tarried here because there came successively many persons, and among them the head chief of the tribe, against whose will naught is determined. The female sex is the most comely on the river; the males are very healthy and robust. The women wear petticoats of the style and cut that the Yumas wear. The men go entirely naked. I left here the greater part of the baggage with the interpreter, and in company with the Indian Sebastián and the Jamajabs I departed on March 1st."

Going three leagues northwest, and passing some wheat fields,[6] our explorer came to the rancherias of the head of the Mohaves. It was situated in the vicinity of the present town of Needles. This he christened Santa Isabél, and then proceeded on his way. A place nearly opposite Fort Mojave he named San Pedro de los Jamajabs. Going west Fr. Garcés named two places respectively Pozos de San Casimiro and Sierra de Santa Coleta. At the latter place, near a spring,[7] the Father says, "I met four Indians who were coming from Santa Clara[8] after trading in shells. I was lost in wonder to see that they brought no provisions whatever on a route where there is naught to eat; nor did they carry bows and arrows for hunting. They replied to my amazement, 'the Jamajabs endure hunger and thirst for four days,' to give me to understand that they are valiant men indeed." From there the explorer made his way through a gap into a cañada which he called Cañada de Santo Tomás de Aquino for the saint of the day, March 7th. Next day he arrived at "abundant wells" which he named Pozos de San Juan de Dios.[9] On the 9th he reached a river of brackish water which runs through a gap in the sierra. He called it the Río de los Mártires, and thus became the discoverer of the Mohave River. Proceeding up this arroyo for six leagues west-southwest and one league east-southeast, Fr. Garcés arrived at a wretched Beñemé rancheria of twenty-five souls. As they had nothing to eat but tule roots, he gave them some of his own provisions. With his companions he traveled two leagues west-southwest, and stopped at a deserted rancheria on the banks of the Mohave. Rain, cold, and hunger far away from any settlement began to dishearten the wanderers. In this dilemma Fr. Garcés directed his companions to kill a horse "to relieve the necessity." "Not even the blood was wasted," he writes; "for indeed there was need to go on short rations in order to survive the days that we required to reach the next rancherias." As the cold grew more intense, one of the poor Indian guides, who wore only a breechcloth, turned back on the 12th of March. The compassionate Father gave his blanket to one of the two remaining Jamajabs and the other he covered with his own tunic or under-habit. "As there was still much to eat of the slaughtered horse," he remarks, "the Indians would not depart until the 15th."

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[5] "I see no reason," says Coues, p. 229, "to doubt Garcés's claim that he was the first Spaniard who was ever among the Mojaves—actually 'in their land' and on terms with them." Alarcón in 1540 (see vol. i, p. 25, this work) and Oñate in 1604-1605 (see *The Franciscans in Arizona*, pp. 21-22) may have reached the Needles, but that is extremely doubtful.

[6] "The Yumas," and the same may be said of the Mojaves, "planted wheat in the river and laguna bottoms in December and January, which ripened in May and June." F. W. Hodges in Coues, p. 174.

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[7] Cedar Springs in the Providence Mountains. Coues, 237.

[8] Santa Clara River Valley near Mission San Buenaventura.

[9] Possibly Marl Springs. (Coues.)

In crossing the river on the 17th, the pack mule was mired and wet everything he had been carrying. Further on five Jamajabs on their way from Mission San Gabriel to their homes on the Colorado greeted the travelers. They expressed their satisfaction at the treatment received from the missionaries by bleating like calves to indicate the food which had been given them. On the 18th Fr. Garcés found himself at a rancheria of forty Beñemé souls somewhere between Grapevine and Cottonwood.[10] On the 21st he entered a "cañada of much wood and grass,"[11] and then came to a valley which he called Valle de San José.[12] Going west-southwest for three leagues, he halted in the Arroyo de los Alisos on March 22nd.[13]. On the next day, after he had traveled half a league west-southwest, one league south, and one league west-southwest, the tireless explorer came up with the route which Don Anza had taken. Fr. Garcés followed this road until nightfall, walking eight leagues, and then camped at a place called El Monte. On the 24th he marched two leagues west-northwest, when he and his companions, Sebastián and two Jamajabs, were heartily welcomed at Mission San Gabriel, which he had visited two years before. "My principal intention since I departed from the Jamajab country," Fr. Garcés here remarks, "was to see if I could go directly to Mission San Luis Obispo, or farther upward so that thus communication might be facilitated as the most excellent viceroy desires between the provinces of Sonora, Moqui, and Monterey." The Jamajabs, however, refused to accompany him in that direction. He therefore determined to take the ordinary[14] road to San Luis Obispo, and from there to go east and explore the Tuláres.[15]

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[10] According to Coues.

[11] "This is the pass through which Garcés crossed the mountains between the San Gabriel and the San Bernardino ranges. He is tracing the Mojave River to its very source." (Coues, 246.)

[12] San Bernardino Valley.

[13] A tributary of the Río Santa Ana.

[14] *Camino Real.* Government road, public highway, pike, public road.

[15] "A tular was a marshy place in which grew tule, the common bulrush of California. Tulares became the name of the whole basin of which Tulare Lake is the sink." (Coues.)

Fr. Garcés applied to the corporal of the mission guards for an escort and provisions. Both were refused. He then wrote to Captain Rivera, who was at San Diego. That officer likewise declined to furnish an escort under the pretext that he had no orders from the viceroy. When Rivera himself arrived at San Gabriel, he declared that he wanted no communication between the mission Indians and the Colorado River tribes. He had even given orders to arrest the Jamajabs who came to barter for sea shells.[16] Fortunately they had departed before the written command arrived, otherwise this indignity might have aroused their kinsmen to resentment, and Anza on his return to the Colorado would scarcely have been kindly received. Rivera's discourtesy is the more strange, inasmuch as Fr. Garcés was traveling under orders from the viceroy. It lends color to the opinion of his associates that the California commander, upon whom then rested the ban of excommunication, might not be in his right mind. Rivera claimed that "communication and trade between the nations of the Colorado and those of the coast is pernicious; but," Fr. Garcés contends, "I say that this appears to me so far from being pernicious that rather do I consider it necssary to carry out with security the project of opening communication between the provinces and the missionary establishments. . . . Furthermore, the king, our lord, commands that all the pagan Indians, who arrive at the presidios, should be admitted with demonstrations of kindness and benevolence. How then can an order be given to arrest them? International law permits the commerce of nations with one another. How then can the legitimate and most ancient trading of the nations of the river (Colorado) with those of the sea be prevented? If we go to preach to the heathen a law that is love, how can anything be approved that sows discord?" [17]

What Rivera's animosity to the friars would not grant was supplied through the kindness of the mission Fathers. Fr. Garcés with Sebastián and his two Jamajabs took leave of them on April 9th, and traveled towards the northwest, always keeping the Sierra de San Gabriel to the right. He went up the San Fernando Valley, and on the 13th of April made his way over the sierra through a pass, now traversed by the Southern Pacific Railroad, into the Santa Clara River Valley. Here one of the faithful Indians fell sick, and caused the Father to camp there until the 23d. Meanwhile he visited the surrounding rancherias. Everywhere he "experienced particular gentleness and kindness." "In one place," he relates, "I baptized an infirm old man, the father of the chief of these rancherias, having instructed him by means of Sebastián, though with difficulty." Going north from there over the sierra Fr. Garcés on St. Mark's Day, April 25th, came to another sierra which runs off from the Sierra Nevada and extends northeastward.[18] The explorer named it Sierra de San Marcos. Next day he ascended this sierra and arrived at a rancheria which he called San Pascual. The good Father here describes the habitations of the Indians, their fear of the Spaniards on the coast, their food, etc., for all of which we must refer the reader to Coues.

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[16] A brisk trade was carried on in sea shells among the tribes.

[17] Here we have a sample dispute between the missionary and the military authorities. The former always defended the rights of the natives.

On the 27th Fr. Garcés set out accompanied by an old Indian chief and went a league and a half to the west-northwest, where he was entertained at an Indian rancheria in thirty-five degrees and nine minutes latitude.[19] Here Sebastián and the two Jamajabs refused to go any farther for fear of the Indians beyond, called Noches. "Seeing me aggrieved," he writes, "an old man of the Noche nation, who was married in this rancheria, promised to be my guide." Telling Sebastián and the two Jamajabs to wait for him, he went eight leagues eastward over some hills, and halted on an arroyo which he named Arroyo de Santa Catarina,[20] for the saint of the day,

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[18] Tehachapi Range. Fr. Garcés probably went through Tejon Pass. (Coues.)

[19] "This is about the latitude of Kern and Buenavista lakes. As Fr. Garcés mentions no such bodies of water, it is clear that he was east of them." (Coues.)

[20] "This is Walker River, which Garcés strikes two or three miles above its entrance into the Kern River, having crossed the line of the present railroad near Pampa station." (Coues.)

April 30th. Next day, "having gone one league northwest," he tells us, "I came upon a large river,[21] which made much noise, at the outlet of the Sierra de San Marcos; I named it Rio de San Felipe." The Indians treated him with extraordinary kindness. As he wished to cross, and could not swim, four of them took him over in the following manner. "Taking off my habit, and clad only in the under garments," he writes, "they conveyed me across between them by swimming, two taking me by the arms, and the other two by the body; whereupon I took advantage of the occasion to bathe at my pleasure in that water so limpid and beautiful. The mule crossed by swimming, with my habit and saddle in the baskets. The people of the rancheria had a great feast over my arrival. Having refreshed me well I gave them tobacco and glass beads, and congratulated myself to see the people so affable and affectionate.[22] The young men are fine fellows, and the women very comely and clean, as they bathe frequently. They take great care of their hair and do it up in a topknot. They wear petticoats of antelope skin and kind of fur cloaks, yet they are not very bashful. I rinsed my clothes, and in the evening came a chief of the rancheria on the west to invite me thither. I declined, with the statement that I was journeying northward; but as they did not wish me to leave, I produced the compass. When they saw that, no matter what way they moved it, the needle always pointed in the direction that I said, they left me, all alike lost in amazement."

"Disengaging myself from the Indians as well as I could, I set forth and went this afternoon three leagues northwest and partly north, when I reached a river which I called Rio de Santiago.[23] Here I stopped for the night in a rancheria where the people showed me every attention which I rewarded with trifling presents. My old man was now weary, and would go

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[21] "Kern River, which Fr. Garcés beyond calls Río de San Felipe. We thus have him safe and sure on Kern River, a little distance above Bakersfield." (Coues.)

[22] It is remarkable that, no matter whither he went, the good Father received gentle treatment, even when he passed from one warring tribe to another.

[23] Poca Creek, probably, according to Coues.

FR. FRANCISCO HERMENEGILDO GARCÉS

no farther." Accompanied by another Indian Fr. Garcés proceeded seven leagues north and on May 3rd came to a river which he christened Rio de la Santa Cruz,[24] for the feast of the day. Near it was a rancheria of hundred and fifty souls, who received the white traveler with delight. Here the Father baptized a dying boy. After visiting some rancherias to the east, and not possessing any more gifts, Fr. Garcés thought he had gone far enough. He therefore on the 5th of May started out to rejoin his companions. Taking a somewhat different route, he found himself on May 7th at an Indian village which he called San Miguel de Noches,[25] and on the 10th re-entered the rancheria of San Pascual where he was welcomed by Sebastián and the Jamajabs.

The indefatigable explorer now determined to find another road back to the country of the Mohaves. With Sebastián and the two companions, Luis and Ventura, he wended his way through the mountains and emerged in the vicinity of the railroad station Mohave. On the 19th he came to the Río de los Mártires, or Mohave River, near where the railroad strikes that stream. From there he continued on the same route on which he had come west until he arrived at San Juan de Dios, when he went east-northeast. On May 30th, the Jamajabs welcomed him at their rancherias with inexpressible delight. Instead of going to the Yuma country, assuming that Anza's expedition had departed for Tubac, he determined to complete his explorations by visiting the Moquis in northeastern Arizona. He set out from the Colorado on June 4th, and after many wanderings and much exertion reached Oraibe on July 2nd; but the Moquis would neither listen to him nor give him any food or shelter. It was the first time that he had been ill used by Indians. He held his ground in a nook of the village for three days, but seeing no prospects of overcoming the obstinacy of the natives,[26] he on the 4th of July departed for the Colorado, and returned to the Jamajabs on the 25th of the same month. "As soon as these people saw me," Fr. Garcés writes, "they ran to embrace me, leaped for joy, and knew not how to express their delight. They told me that their relatives had already mourned for me, inasmuch as it had been reported that I had been killed by the Moquis." On July 26th he started the journey down the Rio Colorado, and reached the Port of Concepción, or Fort Yuma, on August 27th, heartily welcomed by the Yumas, who had also mourned him as dead. From there the great traveler and missionary journeyed homeward. "Finally," he concludes his diary, "I arrived at my mission of San Xavier del Bac on the 17th of September of the year 1776. For this I gave and still do give infinite thanks to God and to all my celestial patrons by whose favor and intercession I succeeded in escaping from every ill." Fr. Garcés had been absent nearly eleven months, had traveled seven hundred leagues on foot, and had visited nine different tribes composed of 24,500 souls.[27]

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[24] White River. (Coues.)

[25] Site of the present city of Bakersfield. (Coues.)

[26] See *The Franciscans in Arizona,* 110-116.

As early as October 28th, 1774, some time before Col. Anza and Fr. Garcés made their memorable journeys through California, Viceroy Bucareli appointed a new governor for both Lower and Upper California in the person of Felipe de Neve, major of a cavalry regiment of Querétaro. After receiving his instructions,[28] Neve went to the peninsula, and arrived at Loreto on March 4th, 1775. Meanwhile Captain Rivera's strange conduct and his excommunication had become known at the capital. Bucareli immediately availed himself of a royal decree which directed that the governor of California should remove his headquarters to Monterey. The viceroy notified Neve to that effect, and at the same time ordered him to erect a presidio at the Port of San Francisco without delay for the protection of the two missions which were to be established in the vicinity of the bay. Don Fernando Rivera was commanded to take up his residence at Loreto as lieutenant-governor. Such were the news which the Fr. Guardian of San Fernando College communicated to Fr. Serra in reply to his letters which related what had occurred at San Diego. The Fr. Guardian also expressed his regret that the Fathers had found it necessary to have recourse to excommunication, and added that he with the discretos of the College had decided to take no further steps in view of Rivera's transfer to the peninsula.[29]

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[27] Fr. Garcés's *Diario* in Coues's *On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer;* Arricivita, *Crónica Seráfica,* 454-484; Fr. Font, *Diario;* Bancroft, vol. i, 273-278; *The Franciscans in Arizona.*

[28] For these instructions see vol. i, 556.

News traveled slowly in those days. Hence it was that Rivera knew nothing of the change decreed in Mexico when, after Anza's departure, he reached San Diego on May 7th, 1776. From there next day he directed Lieutenant José Joaquín Moraga, still waiting at Monterey with the immigrants, to proceed to the Port of San Francisco with twenty soldiers and to erect the presidio on the spot chosen by Col. Anza. He might have issued this order while Anza was in the territory and avoided an unseemly quarrel. Likewise he might have issued orders for the founding of the two missions, as the viceroy had commanded. Instead, knowing that this would keenly pain the Fr. President,[30] Rivera instructed Moraga to postpone the founding of the missions and to inform Fr. Serra to that effect. On the same day the captain ordered Sergeant Grijalva, whom Anza had left at San Gabriel with twelve Sonora soldiers and their families, to remove to Monterey.

In the meantime, May 21st, the *San Antonio,* in charge of Captain Diego Choquet and the pilots Francisco Castro and Juan Bautista Aguirre, and accompanied by the Franciscan Fr. Benito Sierra, dropped her anchor in the port. Grijalva with his command reported to Lieutenant Moraga at Monterey and delivered Rivera's despatches on May 28th. Moraga next day communicated Rivera's instructions to the Fr. Presidente in person, and informed him that he had resolved to start out for the northern port about the middle of June. Though Fr. Serra deeply regretted Captain Rivera's determination, and must have divined the motive, he directed Fathers Palóu and Cambón to accompany the lieutenant. While attending to the spiritual needs of the immigrants, he thought they might be on hand for the new mission whose founding could not be delayed much longer. This decision pleased Moraga, and he hastened to make his preparations. A few days later, June 3rd, the *San Carlos* arrived. She was in command of Captain Fernando Quirós and pilots José Cañizares and Cristóbal Revilla. Both ships had put to sea at San Blas on March 9th. To the delight of Fr. Serra the Franciscans Fr. Vicente de Santo María and Fr. José Nocedal also came up on the *San Carlos*. This vessel, under orders from the viceroy now took aboard all the property of the soldiers and colonists, the church goods, house furniture, and farm implements for the new presidio as well as for the proposed mission of San Francisco.[31] The gloom which had rested on the mind of the Fr. Presidente was already disappearing.

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[29] Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. iv, cap. xv, 157-158.

[30] "Rivera could not neglect the opportunity to annoy the priests by saying that the founding of the missions was for the present suspended." Bancroft, i, 286. Truly, those haughty hidalgos could descend to ignoble deeds. What surprises is that they dared to thwart the royal will.

The expedition, which on June 17th, 1776, moved out of Monterey to establish the presidio of San Francisco, consisted of Lieutenant José Joaquín Moraga, Sergeant Pablo Grijalva, two corporals, sixteen soldiers,[32] and seven colonists. Moraga had left his wife, who was ill, in Sonora; but the sergeant, all the soldiers and settlers brought their wives and children along. In addition there were five Indians in charge of the pack-mules and two hundred head of cattle. Those who went as founders of the mission were Fathers Francisco Palóu and Pedro Benito Cambón, two Indian servants, two Indian neophytes from Lower California, and one neophyte from San Carlos. The latter was taken along to see if he could act as interpreter with the bay Indians. A number of pack-mules and eighty-six head of cattle for the mission were in charge of the said Indians. The captain of the *San Carlos*, Fr. Vicente de Santa María and Fr. Nocedal accompanied their friends as far as the Río de Monterey,[33] camped there with them during the night, saw them cross the river next morning, and then returned to make preparations to follow by sea.[34]

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[31] Palóu, *Noticias*, tom. iv, capp. xv-xvii, 158-164; *Vida*, cap. xlv, 205-206.

[32] Palóu in *Noticias* has ten soldiers; in *Vida* he says one sergeant and sixteen soldiers. Hittel says the names of all appear in a report of Hermenegildo Sal of December 31, 1776. We follow Hittél.

[33] Salinas River, also called Rio de Santa Delfina, Rio de S. Elzeário.

[34] Palóu, *Noticias*, tom. iv, cap. xviii, 164; *Vida*, cap. xlv, 206; Hittel, vol. i, 398-399; Bancroft, i, 287.

The route taken by Moraga was about the same traveled by Rivera and Fr. Palóu in 1774. On account of the women and children the march was slow, and frequent stops had to be made. The savages were friendly, but manifested much surprise to see such a multitude of both sexes and of all ages. Heretofore they had beheld only a few soldiers. The sight of the cattle created amazement, as the Indians had never seen animals like these before. They would often visit the white people's camp, and in return for gifts of shellfish and seeds they received glass beads and eatables. They accepted everything except the milk. This they would not even taste.[35]

Four days' journey from their destination,[36] the soldiers encountered a herd of fifteen elk. They gave chase, but succeeded in killing only three of these animals, whose flesh was a welcome change from the ordinary rations. Fr. Palóu asserts that the horns of the largest buck measured sixteen *palmos*[37] from tip to tip, and that the body was so heavy that a pack mule could not carry it. Antelopes and deer were also observed in large numbers. After resting a day in this locality which was called Las Llagas de Nuestro P. S. Francisco,[38] and which is midway between the ports of Monterey and San Francisco, the march was resumed. On June 27th the expedition arrived at the laguna which Col. Anza that very spring had named Laguna de Nuestra Señora de los Dolores,[39] and which through the arroyo of the same name emptied its water into the Ensenàda de los Llorones or Mission Bay. The people pitched their fifteen tents on the banks of the lagoon, and next day Moraga had an enramada or brushwood shelter constructed to serve as a chapel. It was here that Fr. Palóu, on June 29th, the feast of the Apostles Peter and Paul, offered up the first holy Sacrifice of the Mass, and with Fr. Cambón continued to do so as long as the camp remained in that vicinity.[40] It was practically the beginning of the Mission.

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[35] "Salvo á la leche que no querian probar." Palóu, *Noticias*, 166.

[36] In the Santa Clara Valley.

[37] A palmo is equal to about nine inches.

[38] Wounds or Stigmata of Our Father St. Francis.

[39] See chapter xi.

While the colony waited for the appearance of the transport, the two missionaries visited the native rancherias and the men cut timber for the proposed military post. After waiting in vain a whole month for the *San Carlos* and for despatches from Captain Rivera, Moraga determined to commence the erection of the fort on the spot near the inlet to the bay which Anza had designated. He also allowed the Fathers to put up permanent buildings on the Dolores, and left them six of his soldiers, two colonists and all the mission cattle. This practically was the beginning of Mission San Francisco de Asis. Fr. Palóu, indeed, dates the founding of the mission from the first of August, 1776,[41] though the formal opening took place two months later. On July 26th the lieutenant with the main body of soldiers and immigrants removed to the presidio site, and began the construction of temporary huts of brushwood and tules. The first structure was a chapel. There Fr. Palóu on July 28th celebrated the first holy Mass.[42]

Meanwhile the *San Carlos* waited for the return of the courier, who had been despatched to San Diego to obtain Rivera's permission for removing two cannon from the Monterey presidio to the fort in the north, as directed by the viceroy. When he arrived she sailed out, but heavy storms drove her as far as the latitude of San Diego. Captain Quirós from there sailed back to the north, proceeded to forty-two degrees, and then sailed down the coast in search of the harbor. During the night of August 17th the vessel anchored off Point Reyes, but the next morning she passed through the

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[40] "Moraga mandó se hiciese una enramada, que sirviese de capilla para celebrar el Santo Sacrificio de la Misa, en la que se dijo la primera el día 29, fiesta de los grandes santos Apóstoles San Pedro y San Pablo, y continuamos á celebrar en ella todos los días hasta que se trasladó el real al sitio que ocupa del embarcadero." Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. iv, cap. xviii, 166. "Se formó un altar, en el que dije la primera Misa."—*Vida,* cap. xlv, 209.

[41] See tital page of Mission Registers begun by Fr. Palóu.

[42] "Siendo la primera la que había de servir de capilla en la que dije la primera Misa el 28 de dicho mes." Palóu, *Noticias,* 168.

Golden Gate a second time.[43] Captain Quirós, the two pilots, and Fr. José Nocedal, the chaplain, were the first to set foot on the shore near the new colony. Work was immediately begun on permanent buildings after a plan drawn by José Cañizares. The result was a square measuring ninety-two varas, or about two hundred and fifty feet on every side. It contained the chapel, rooms for the officers, the barracks for the soldiers and their families, storehouse, guardhouse, and the apartments for the colonists. The walls of these buildings were constructed of timber palisades; the roofs were covered with tules. As soon as the work on the presidio was well under way, Captain Quirós, Fr. Nocedal, one of the pilots, the ship surgeon, and six sailors went over to the mission site in order to assist in erecting a permanent chapel and a house for the missionaries after the style employed at the fort. These structures were finished by the middle of September.

The feast of the Impression of the Wounds of St. Francis,[44] September 17th, was chosen for the dedication and formal occupation of the military post and colony. The ceremony of the formal opening of the mission was postponed to the feast of St. Francis, October 4th. It will be remembered that Captain Rivera, for reasons of his own and despite the oft-repeated desire of the viceroy, had directed that the founding of the mission should be put off until further notice. Inasmuch as the will of Bucareli was well known, Lieutenant Moraga and Fr. Palóu seem to have resolved to brave the wrath of the erratic captain, and to push the work to completion, but yet waited to have his word for the formal dedication.

In the presence of the people of the presidio, the mission camp, and most of the sailors from the *San Carlos,* Fr. Francisco Palóu, finally blessed and raised the great cross. He then sang the solemn High Mass assisted by Fr. Benito Cambón, Fr. José Nocedal, and Fr. Tomás de la Peña, who had come up from Monterey to select a site for Mission Santa Clara. Thereupon formal possession was taken in the name of the King of Spain. The ceremonies concluded with the singing of the *Te Deum Laudamus,* while the bells announced the joyful news, the cannons boomed, and the soldiers fired their muskets. The remainder of the day was devoted to such feasting and amusements as the circumstances and means afforded.

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[43] The first time was on August 5, 1775. See chapter x.

[44] "Impresión de las Llagas de San Francisco." Bancroft, vol. i, 289, true to his anti-Catholic principles, translates llagas with "sores." Wound, the correct term, would not have sounded ridiculous. In this connection the eminent historian Dr. John Gilmary Shea with much reason remarks, "We regret our inability to use Bancroft's California, but it is throughout an attempt to treat Catholic affairs with misrepresentation, derision, and insult. Catholic terms known to every child are put in a way to seem ridiculous and disgusting." Shea, *Hist. Cath. Church,* vol. iv, 351.

Lieutenant Moraga and Captain Quirós now determined upon a more complete survey of the bay and the great river to the northeast. Accompanied by Fr. Cambón, Pilot Cañizares, and a few sailors, and provided with rations for eight days, Quirós in the ship's launch moved over to San Pablo Bay. He continued along the eastern shore and through Carquínez Strait to the mouth of the great river discovered by Fages and Fr. Crespi in 1772, where Moraga had promised to meet him with the land expedition. After waiting a day in vain, want of provisions forced the navigator to turn back; but he discovered another bay which he reported to be as good as that of San Diego, and which he named Puerto de la Asunción de Nuestra Señora.[45] Returning, the launch passed along the western shore of San Pablo Bay which he examined closely, and then moved up an estuary or creek,[46] which he supposed might communicate with Bodega Bay. After laboring a whole day and a night navigation came to an end. Quirós was now convinced that there was no outlet to the ocean save by way of the channel through which the *San Carlos* had come. On the 29th the explorers were back at the starting point near the presidio.

Lieutenant Moraga with eight soldiers and necessary supplies left the presidio on the same day as Quirós in order to reach the mouth of the great river by land. He went around the head of the bay in the south and from there marched up the east coast towards Carquínez Strait. For the purpose of saving time he crossed the Contra Costa mountain range, but found that he should be unable to meet Quirós at the time specified. He, therefore, abandoned the plan of joining the captain, and undertook to make explorations farther to the east. From the summit of a mountain he imagined that he distinguished five distinct water courses. These he supposed formed the great river which Fages and Fr. Crespi in 1772 had christened Río de San Francisco, and which swept down Carquínez Strait into the Bay of San Francisco. Descending the mountain on the east side he approached the first of the five streams,[47] forded it at a place pointed out by Indians, and came upon a vast plain. For a day he led his men through this plain, which he describes as level as the palm of a hand, unbroken by either trees or hills. The sun shone excessively hot, and nowhere was water to be found. Neither Indians nor game was seen. In this extremity Moraga resolved to return the same way to the presidio and arrived there on October 7th.[48]

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[45] Probably Suisun Bay.

[46] Doubtless Petaluma Creek which the Spaniards called Nuestra Señora de la Merced.

During all this time preparations continued for the solemn dedication of the new mission church and other buildings on the Dolores. The 4th of October, the feast of the patron saint of the mission, was fixed for the celebration. Only Moraga's absence delayed the ceremonies. As soon as Captain Quirós arrived from his exploring expedition he set six sailors to work helping the Fathers. Hoping that the lieutenant would appear in time, Fr. Palóu on the eve of the feast of St. Francis, Thursday, October 3rd, solemnly blessed the nicely decorated church building;[49] but, when on the 4th the lieutenant had not arrived, only a High Mass was celebrated by Fr. Palóu. When Moraga returned on October 7th, and observed that everything was ready, that Captain Quirós was anxious to depart for Mexico, and that not a word had been received from Captain Rivera, he allowed the solemn ceremonies and the formal opening of the mission to proceed on the next day, October 8, 1776.[50]

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[47] Río de San Joaquín.

[48] Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. iv, capp. xix-xx; *Vida,* cap. xlv.

[49] Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. iv, cap. xxi, 177. "Bendíjose la capilla con toda solemnidad el día 3 de Octubre, vigilia de N. Seráfico Padre."

The Mission of San Francisco de Asis at Dolores had at last been founded in accordance with the will of Viceroy Bucareli, though in opposition to the orders of Captain Rivera. That Rivera had disregarded the oft-expressed wish of Bucareli was brought home to him at San Diego, when in the fall of 1776 he received a letter from the viceroy in which Bucareli referred to the two missions at the Port of San Francisco as doubtless established.[51] This communication made the Captain hastened northward. He probably felt much relieved when on reaching San Luis Obispo he learned that his command had been disobeyed, and that Mission San Francisco had been formally dedicated. At all events he expressed himself quite satisfied. At Monterey, the Fr. Presidente being absent, he notified the Fathers that he would now establish the second mission ordered by the viceroy, and in company of Fr. Tomás de la Peña, who with Fr. Murguía had been appointed for Santa Clara nearly two years before, went to the presidio of San Francisco. He arrived there on November 26th. Next day he visited the new mission and approved everything that had been done. Leaving Fr. de la Peña at Dolores, the captain on November 29th started out with Moraga to make another survey of the great river and plain which the lieutenant had seen two months before. They crossed the river, but retraced their steps when they discovered that high water was likely to cut off their return.[52] On the way back a courier brought information of an uprising at San Luis Obispo. This compelled Rivera to hasten to the endangered mission, while Moraga returned to the presidio. This incident once more delayed the founding of Mission Santa Clara.

The trouble at San Luis Obispo arose from the jealousy existing between two distant pagan rancherias. In order to

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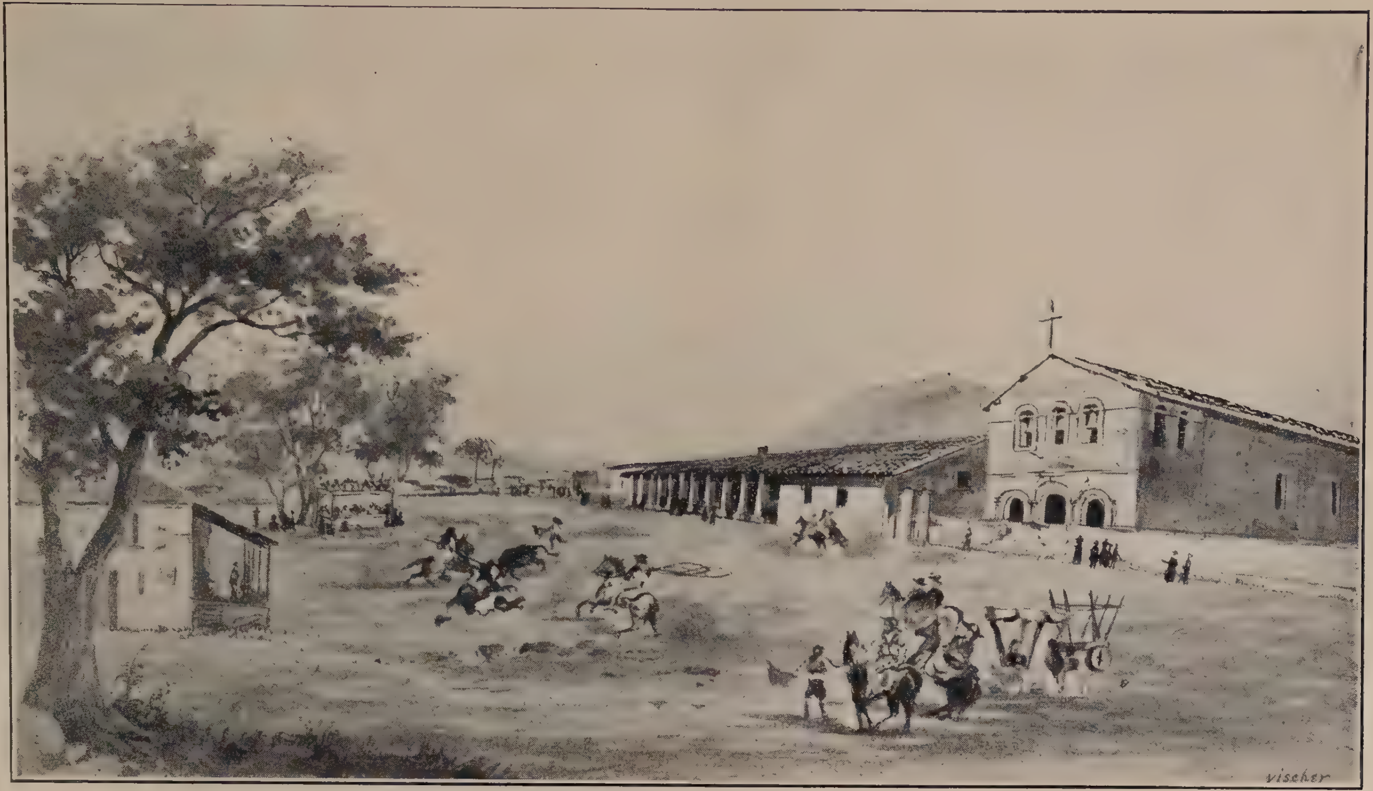
[50] "El día 8 de dicho mes, que la tarde antes había llegado el Señor teniente, se hizo la fundacion, etc." *Noticias,* ibidem p. 177. In his *Vida,* Palóu gives October 9th as the date; but this must be a misprint.

[51] "y como Su Excelencia le escribía daba por supuestas dichas fundaciones, etc." Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. iv, cap. xxv, 194; *Vida,* p. 218.

[52] Palóu, ut supra 194-196.



V. MISSION SAN LUIS OBISPO, FOUNDED SEPTEMBER 1, 1772

revenge themselves upon their enemies, the savages of one village singularly enough set fire to the mission buildings. These were all destroyed together with their contents, save the church and granary. The result was that for want of altar wine and candles holy Mass could not be celebrated next day. Rivera captured two of the ringleaders and sent them as prisoners to Monterey, whither he followed soon after.[53]

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[53] Palóu, *Noticias*, tom. iv, cap. xxvi, 196-197; *Vida*, cap. xxxii, 142.

CHAPTER XIII.

Fr. Serra Goes to San Diego.—Captain Choquet's Noble Action.—Rebuilding the Mission.—Rivera Stops the Work.—His Discomfiture.—Viceroy Bucareli's Letter.—Joy of Fr. Serra.—Work Resumed.—San Juan Capistrano Founded.—Assignment of Missionaries.—Santa Clara Founded.—Another Letter from Viceroy Bucareli.—Governor Felipe de Neve Ordered to Monterey.—The Friars and Their Supplies.—The Transports.—Fr. Serra at Santa Clara and San Francisco.—Pueblo of San José Established.—The Colonists.—St. Michael Patron of the Missions.

EVER since December 13, 1775, when the revolt of the San Diego Indians became known at San Carlos, Fr. Serra sought an opportunity to console the missionaries and to rebuild the mission. Once, in spite of his advanced age and his infirmities, he tried to make the long journey by land in company of Captain Rivera; but that officer declined the favor on the ground of haste. Six months later, after the expedition had departed for the Port of San Francisco, he accomplished his desire by sailing on the *San Antonio,* accompanied by Fr. Vicente de Santa Maria, who had come up on the *San Carlos* and was now to be assigned to one of the southern establishments. Fr. Benito Sierra, the chaplain of the *San Antonio,* was also aboard the ship. The vessel left the harbor of Monterey on June 30th, and entered the Port of San Diego on July 11th. This was the reason why the Fr. Presidente did not attend the founding of Mission Dolores.

Fr. Fuster, the missionary in charge at San Diego, and Fathers Lasuén and Amúrrio, designated for the new mission of San Juan Capistrano, were found in a most dejected mood. All three had already importuned the Fr. Presidente for a permit to retire. They informed him that the Indians were pacified, and that Rivera had so reported to the viceroy; that the ringleaders of the conspiracy were in prison; that the Fathers had nothing to do; but that after eight months no steps had been taken to reestablish the destroyed mission. Fr. Serra then resolved to restore the building himself if he could obtain the necessary assistance. He approached Captain Diego Choquet of the *San Antonio,* and asked him to permit his sailors to aid in the work while the ship remained in the harbor, in case the commander of the presidio furnished the requisite guards. Choquet replied that with much pleasure he would not only send the sailors, but he himself would go as a common laborer.[1] Much pleased Fr. Serra by letter informed Rivera of the captain's offer, and begged him to send the necessary guards in view of the fact that he had reported that the Indians were pacified. Rivera could invent no excuse for refusing the request, and therefore detailed a corporal and five men to protect the Fathers and the laborers.

On August 22, 1776, Fr. Serra, two missionaries, Don Choquet, a pilot, the boatswain, twenty armed sailors, thirty or forty neophytes, and six soldiers, went to the ruins, two leagues up the river, and worked with a will carrying stones, making adobes, and laying foundations. After fifteen days 7000 adobe bricks were in readiness, and much stone lay piled up. All hoped to have the outer wall of the square completed in two weeks, and the prospects were bright that the buildings would be finished before the *San Antonio* had to put to sea. That would leave some time for the sowing of wheat. At this stage the caprice of Captain Rivera put an end to the general satisfaction. One of the Indian converts, it is said, went to the commander and told him that he had heard from a pagan Indian that the savages were preparing arrows for another attack. Rivera sent the sergeant to ascertain the facts. The soldiers reported that not the least sign of revolt had been discovered. Rivera, nevertheless, pretended to believe the idle story of the Indian, went out to the mission on September 8th, and advised Don Choquet to withdraw his men, as it was rumored that another attack was contemplated, and that the soldiers would therefore be ordered back to the presidio. The noble navigator could not help asking whether Don Fernando had taken the trouble to investigate. Rivera replied that he had not traced the rumor, but that, inasmuch as it continued among the Indians, he had no doubt that it was true. "Well, sir," the indignant Choquet retorted, "when the rumor passed around before you came here, you ordered an investigation to be made by the sergeant. The rumor was found to be false; for all the rancherias were found perfectly quite, and the Indians repentant of their deed. Investigate further; with all these men that are here there need be no fear whatever. It would seem more to the point, if any sign were discovered, to increase the guards and not retire to the discredit of the Spanish arms."

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[1] Respondió como caballero, que con much gusto, que no solo los marineros, sino que él tambien de peon." Palóu, *Vida,* cap. xlii.

This sensible view of the honest ship captain only irritated the obstinate commander, and he withdrew after giving strict orders for the soldiers to retire to their quarters at San Diego. Nor had he the hardihood to face Fr. Serra with the silly pretext, but requested Don Choquet to inform the missionaries. "You will do me the favor," said he, "to notify the Fathers that I do not tell them, because I know it will give them pain." The captain communicated the disheartening news to the friars, and that he had been unable to move Rivera to desist. "I see no reason for withdrawing," he told them, "and it is a great shame; but I do not want to have a quarrel with the man, and so I resolved to depart." Great was the disappointment of the missionaries to see their efforts for the conversion of the natives frustrated through the caprice of one man, who wanted to make them feel his little brief authority. No one felt more keenly the miscarriage of their noble plans than the Fr. Presidente. "Let the will of God be done, who alone can apply the remedy!" was all he said. Then he directed the friars to recommend their heavy troubles to the Lord.[2]

Rivera's triumph was of short duration. A Lower California Indian soon arrived and reported that Corporal Guillermo Carrillo, whom the captain had sent with despatches to Loreto, was at San Fernando de Velicatá with soldiers on their way to San Diego. On September 28th despatches from the viceroy came which stated that these troops were intended to guard the missions. The next day, feast of St. Michael, the soldiers, recruits from Guadalajara, marched into the presidio. They also brought letters from the viceroy and the Fr. Guardian to the Fr. Presidente written in reply to his reports about the destruction of the mission. Bucareli's communication revived the drooping spirits of the friars, inasmuch as it left them free to give full vent to their zeal. Under date of April 3, 1776, the viceroy wrote as follows: "In view of the prudent Christian sentiments to which Your Reverence gives expression, and inasmuch as you incline to believe that it would be more expedient to think of attracting the rebel neophytes rather than to chastise them, I reply to Your Reverence that I have so directed. On this same date I give orders to Commander Don Fernando de Rivera y Moncada that he should act accordingly, and that he should bear in mind that this is the most suitable means to pacify and tranquillize the minds of the people. Perhaps also it may win the neighborhood pagans when they observe that they receive kindness and good treatment, whilst for their excesses they will doubtless expect to see themselves punished and their rancherias desolated. I also instructed that officer that the principal business of the day is the re-establishment of Mission San Diego and the refounding of that of San Juan Capistrano, the former on the spot which it occupied before, and the other in the place which had been chosen before the sad occurrence. . . . All this I communicate to Your Reverence for your satisfaction and consolation. I hope that, impelled by the apostolic zeal which animates you for the good of those missions, Your Reverence will aid in making my orders effective, assured that I am disposed to provide on my part whatever assistance may be possible."[3]

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[2] Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. iv, cap. xxiii, 182-187; *Vida,* cap. xlii, 191-193.

Fr. Serra was so overjoyed that he set the bells ringing, and on the next morning celebrated a High Mass of thanksgiving. Capt. Rivera, on the other hand, found himself obliged to countermand previous orders. He at once assigned twelve men to Mission San Diego, ten with a corporal to Mission San Juan Capistrano, and sent two others to Mission San Gabriel. He also set at liberty the Indian prisoners whom he had intended to banish to San Blas. Not wishing to be present at the reopening of the mission which he had endeavored to delay, Don Fernando on October 11th started out for the north with twelve soldiers in order to carry out the viceroy's command concerning the missions of San Francisco and Santa Clara.

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[3] *Santa Barbara Mission Archives.*

The happy Fr. Presidente with Fathers Fustér and Lasuén and the twelve guards now went to the old mission site to hasten the work of restoration. Aided by the neophytes, who willingly lent their assistance, such progress was made that he felt he could leave the completion of the buildings to the resident missionaries. With Fathers Pablo Mugártegui and Gregorio Amúrrio, and accompanied by eleven soldiers, he therefore proceeded to found Mission San Juan Capistrano. The cross erected by Fr. Lasuén on October 30, 1775, was still in its place. The bells were then disinterred, and a hut of boughs was constructed. Here Fr. Serra celebrated the first holy Mass on the feast of All Saints, November 1, 1776, and thus formally established the mission. Eager to advance the work, he went to San Gabriel to procure supplies and cattle, and a number of neophytes to help in erecting the buildings. On the way back he walked a little ahead with only one soldier and one convert Indian. About midway between the two places the three wanderers suddenly found themselves surrounded by a horde of armed and painted savages, who yelled frightfully, and threatened to kill them. When the neophyte observed their intention he shouted in the language of the aggressors that they should beware, because many soldiers were coming up behind who would kill them all. The artifice succeeded, for the Indians dropped their weapons. The good Father now approached them, made the sign of the cross on the forehead of every one, as was his custom, distributed glass beads, and dismissed them as friends. The men and supplies brought along enabled Fr. Serra to leave the work in the hands of the two friars, and to return to his beloved San Carlos. On the way he visited the missions to the delight of the missionaries, who entertained a real affection for the venerable man. He reached his mission on January 1, 1777, and heard that San Francisco and Santa Clara had been founded.[4]

The senseless opposition and many disappointments suffered at the hands of Captain Rivera during the past two years had dampened the ardor of some of the friars, and a few were so discouraged that they wished to retire to their College. Thinking that a change of scene, particularly now that they could labor without interference for the conversion of the savages, would renew their zeal, the Fr. Presidente assigned the religious as follows:

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[4] Palóu, *Noticias*, tom, iv, cap. xxiv, 187-192; *Vido*, capp. xlii-xliii, 193-197.

San Diego: Fathers Fermín Francisco de Lasuén and Juan Figuer;

San Juan Capistrano: Fathers Pablo Mugártegui and Gregorio Amúrrio;

San Gabriel: Fathers Antonio Cruzado and Miguel Sanchez. Fr. Vicente Fuster was stationed here as supernumerary.

San Luis Obispo: Fathers Antonio Paterna and José Cavaller;

San Antonio: Fathers Miguel Pieras and Buenaventura Sitjar, who had been there from the beginning;

San Carlos: Fathers Junípero Serra, Juan Crespi, and Francisco Dumetz;

San Francisco: Fathers Francisco Palóu, Benito Cambón, and Vicente de Santa Maria, the latter as supernumerary;

Santa Clara: Fathers Tomás de la Peña and José Murguía.

This distribution gave so much satisfaction that no one desired to leave the territory.[5]

We have seen that Don Rivera, after going with Lieutenant Moraga as far as the San Joaquin River, was called to San Luis Obispo to quell an Indian disturbance. On returning from there to Monterey towards the end of December, 1776, he directed Moraga to proceed with the founding of Mission Santa Clara. Moraga with nine soldiers and one colonist besides their families started out from the presidio of San Francisco on January 5, 1777, and passed the night at Mission Dolores. Fr. Tomás de la Peña, who had been appointed one of the missionaries of the new establishment, joined them here next morning. The little troop marched toward the southeast in sight of the great bay, and on the 7th arrived at the Rio Guadalupe. They went into camp on its banks for the purpose of searching for a suitable locality in which they might erect the buildings. About three leagues up the river from the bay shore they discovered a creek with a good volume of running water by means of which the land could be irrigated. Near this arroyo and the river they found a favorable site, and there they raised the standard of the Cross.[6] A temporary chapel was quickly constructed, and here Fr. Tomás de la Peña celebrated the first holy Mass on January 12, 1777. A plot of land about seventy varas, or nearly two hundred feet, square was then cleared for the mission buildings. The lieutenant meanwhile sent a party of soldiers to Monterey to bring up Fr. José Murguía with the mission goods, implements and cattle. The Father arrived on January 21st, whereupon Moraga returned to the presidio of San Francisco.[7]

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[5] Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. iv, cap. xxiv, 192-193.

In the meantime Captain Diego Choquet had reached San Blas, whence he reported the occurrences at San Diego to the viceroy. Bucareli felt so mortified that he commanded Governor Felipe de Neve to hasten his arrival at Monterey. To Fr. Serra he wrote under date of December 25, 1776: "I doubt not that the suspension of work for the restoration of the destroyed mission of San Diego must have given Your Reverence much pain. As for me the very hearing of it displeased me, and much more so the frivolous motives that brought it about. A letter from Don Diego Choquet, commander of the *Principe,* or *San Antonio,* has acquainted me with them. I suppose that when the twenty-five men, who have been recruited by my orders to reinforce the troops of the presidio, arrive, Don Fernando de Rivera will devote himself to the execution of this important business, and that he will in due time erect Mission San Juan Capistrano on the spot selected before. If he has not done so, Your Reverence need not doubt that the governor of these provinces (Neve), who is commanded to take up his residence at Monterey, will do all this . . . One of the things I strictly command him is the founding of Mission Santa Clara . . . I have instructed and directed him as to what he must do to advance those territories, charging him strictly that after Mission San Diego has been restored and San Juan Capistrano founded he should devote himself to bring it about. I also give him the same orders as were given to Don Fernando de Rivera according to which he should not chastise the heads or authors of the late disturbance so that the leniency with which they are treated, though they deserve the severest punishment, will serve them as a warning and make them come to the resolution to be docile and peaceable. . . . Though I have directed that the two missions which Your Reverence proposes as necessary on the Santa Barbara Channel, and another between these two, should follow next, in order to secure communication, yet it will be expedient to postpone them until later, and until the other missions are firmly established. With this understanding Your Reverence may let me know by return ship what goods are needed for them, so that I can arrange for their transportation. . . . Governor Felipe de Neve is *charged to consult me and to propose whatever he may deem expedient and necessary to make those establishments happy;* and he is *likewise charged to act in everything in accord with Your Reverence.*[8] I hope that you will continue in that fervent zeal which fills the soul of Your Reverence for the propagation of the Faith, the conversion of souls, and the extension of the domain of the king in those remote territories, and that you will ordain whatever seems attainable. Meanwhile inform me as to what may be necessary to make my measures effective."[9]

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[6] "Habiendo hallado á las tres leguas de la playa del estero un arroyo que corria con buen caudel de agua al pelo de la tierra, que con él sin trabajo alguno se podia regar bastante tierra, señalaron cerca él y del rio el sitio de la poblacion, y en el fijaron el estandarte de la santa cruz." Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. iv, cap. xxvii, 198.

[7] Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. iv, cap. xxvii, 198-199; *Vida,* cap. xlvi.

Felipe de Neve was appointed to supersede Governor Felipe de Barri, of Lower California, who had quarreled with the Franciscans and later with the Dominicans, and had made himself generally obnoxious. His jurisdiction over Upper California was only nominal, inasmuch as this territory possessed a military commander. At the advice of Don Joseph de Galvez, then prime-minister of Spain, the king commanded that Monterey should be the headquarters of the governor, and that Don Rivera should reside at Loreto as lieutenant-governor. A second royal order, dated April 19, 1776, directed the governor to proceed to Monterey immediately. The viceroy forwarded the command on July 20, 1776. This arrangement relieved Bucareli of the task of having to decide in the quarrels of the two officers; for Neve's relations with the Dominicans were but little less disagreeable than those of Rivera with the Franciscans.[10] Bancroft quite truly remarks that "had Rivera's peculiar conduct been known in Spain, it is not likely that he would have been retained in office; but the viceroy hoped that in a new field he might succeed better."[11] Neve arrived at Monterey on February 3, 1777. In March Rivera departed for Loreto with the six soldiers who had escorted the new governor from the peninsula. Neve had an inventory taken, examined the conditions at the presidio, visited Mission San Carlos, and then proceeded to make a trip to the port of San Francisco. He reached the presidio on April 30th. After a visit to the mission he again went south, stopped at Santa Clara, and then returned to Monterey. There Fr. Serra proposed the erection of three missions on the Santa Barbara Channel, in order to make communication more safe between the southern and northern missions. Governor Neve agreed with him, and the recommendation to the viceroy was sent by the frigate *Santiago*, which sailed on June 9, 1777.[12]

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[8] "de que para todo use de los acuerdos de Vuestra Reverencia."

[9] *Santa Barbara Archives;* Palóu, *Vida,* cap. xlii, 194-195.

Although the missionaries everywhere along with Religion introduced agriculture, the missions, and especially the presidios, still depended upon Mexico for supplies. The goods adressed to the Fathers were purchased with the stipends granted to each missionary from the Pious Fund. This allowance amounted to $400 a year for each of the two friars stationed at a mission. Supernumeraries received nothing. The money was paid to the College síndico, a layman who acted as treasurer for the benefactors of the Franciscans, and in this case for the officials of the Pious Fund. The missionaries each year indicated the goods desired for their churches and neophytes. Inasmuch as the friars in California personally had no needs, and could accumulate nothing, every contribution was disbursed for the benefit of the missions. One of the Fathers at the College was appointed to procure the supplies and forward them into their destination. The accounts were turned over to the síndico who paid the merchants with the stipend obtained from the Pious Fund. This stipend, or the articles received instead of it, less the freight charges, which sometimes consumed one-third of the allowance, was the only contribution which the missionaries enjoyed in California. The soldiers, likewise, received no money. Their wages were paid in supplies furnished by the government less the discount stated in chapter viii.

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[10] See vol. i.

[11] Bancroft, *History of California*, vol. i, 308. For Rivera's autograph see vol. i.

[12] Palóu, *Noticias*, tom. iv, cap. xxviii, 200-201; *Vida*, cap, xlvii, 223; Hittél, vol. i, 521-522; Bancroft, vol. i, 306-309.

Two, later on three, transports were employed to make annual voyages to and from California in order to furnish the presidios and missions with men and supplies. Though opened by Colonel Anza, the route by way of the Colorado River overland was never used for that purpose. The three vessels engaged in this traffic were the *San Carlos, San Antonio,* and *Santiago.* In 1777, the year which brought the first governor, Felipe de Neve, to Upper California, the *San Antonio* left San Blas in charge of a new captain, Don Francisco Villaruel, on February 28th, and entered the harbor of San Diego on May 4th. Fr. Benito Sierra of San Fernando College was her chaplain; for as yet the government felt enough concern for the spiritual welfare of the sailors to insist on a chaplain. The politicians were still wise enough to see that the presence of a priest on board could only add to the efficiency of the men. The frigate *Santiago* (Nueva Galícia), in charge of Captain Ignacio Arteaga and Pilot Francisco Castro, put to sea at San Blas on March 1st. She sailed directly for the Port of San Francisco and cast her anchor there on May 12th. She was the first vessel that made the voyage from the Mexican coast straight to the inner harbor of San Francisco. Fr. José Nocedál acted as her chaplain. The ship departed on May

27th, stopped at Monterey on the 28th, and on June 8th sailed for San Blas.[13]

Thus far the Fr. Presidente had not seen the two new missions in the north, but as soon as Governor Neve returned from his official visit Fr. Serra determined to delay his own visitation no longer. He agreeably surprised the Fathers at Santa Clara on September 28th, and next day, the feast of St. Michael, sang the High Mass and preached. On October 1st he started out very early, and late in the evening, very much fatigued from his fifteen leagues' journey, he was joyfully welcomed at Mission San Francisco. On the feast of St. Francis, October 4th, he gratified the mission people, as well as the soldiers and colonists who had come over from the presidio, by singing the High Mass and preaching with his usual fervor. Seventeen adult Indians had already received the Sacrament of Baptism and were living at the mission. He next visited the fort and was shown the entrance to the harbor. When he gazed at the vast expanse of water to the west, the channel before him, and the great bay to the right, he exclaimed, "Thanks be to God! Our Father St. Francis with the Cross of the mission procession has reached the end of the California continent; for to pass on he must have boats."[14]

By this time eight missions had been established, but they were situated at great distances from one another, notably in the Santa Barbara Channel region. The zealous Father pointed out the drawback to Fr. Palóu. "This procession of missions," said he, "is very much disconnected; to be agreeable to God and man it must march in succession. I have already petitioned for the founding of three missions on the Santa Barbara Channel. Help me to pray God that they be established, and then we shall labor to fill up the other gaps." The venerable prelate, Fr. Palóu explains, desired to see all the savages converted. In order that all might be caught in the apostolic net, if not at one mission then at another, he longed to see the whole coast covered with missions, so that the number of the children of God and of the holy Church might be increased. Full of these lofty plans Fr. Serra on October 10th took affectionate leave of Fathers Palóu and Cambón, and returned to his beloved Carmelo by way of Santa Clara.[15]

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[13] Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. iv, cap. xxix, 202-203.

[14] "Gracias á Dios! Ya N. P. San Francisco con la Santa Cruz de la procesion de misiones llegó al ultimo término del continente de la California; pues para pasar adelante es necesario embarcacion." Palóu, *Vida,* cap. xlvii, 224. Fr. Serra alludes to a religious procession. The cross-bearer precedes and the members of the community or society follow in close order avoiding gaps.

While Fr. Serra's zeal kept him busy devising ways and means to gather the savages into the fold of Christ, Governor Neve was active on another project. He had come up with the resolution of maintaining the troops from the products of the country. In the beginning he thought sufficient supplies could be procured from the missions; but the Fathers soon convinced him that in proportion as the acreage of cultivated land increased and the harvests yielded more grain, the number of Christian Indians and consumers also grew larger, and that for a long time to come no provisions could be spared. With the approval of the viceroy, Neve therefore decided to establish a colony of Spanish settlers who should devote themselves to agriculture and stock-raising. The surplus was to be sold to the troops so that the soldiers would be provided with the necessities of life in case the transport ships failed to appear, as had happened before.

While the viceroy made arrangements to send industrious colonists who understood farming, the governor selected nine soldiers and five Sonora immigrant families, who lay idle at the San Francisco presidio, for the purpose of forming a pueblo or colony. Each settler was given a yoke of oxen, two cows, a pair of horses, one mule, two lambs, two goats, and all the necessary farm implements with the understanding that they should pay for the animals and goods with the product of their fields. The locality chosen by Neve lay on the eastern bank of the Rio Guadalupe, three-quarters of a league southeast of Mission Santa Clara. The colonists to the number of sixty-six or sixty-eight persons, men, women and children, in charge of Lieutenant Moraga, marched out from the Presidio on November 7, 1777. When they arrived at their destination Moraga in the name of the King of Spain gave each settler possession of the lot upon which he was to erect a dwelling. He next marked out for each one a piece of land sufficiently large to sow a fanega of grain, besides a plot for beans and other vegetables. The people built their houses of palisades or upright wooden stakes which were plastered with mud. The land was irrigated by means of a ditch which brought the water from the Rio Guadalupe. This had been dammed up for that purpose. The settlement was named in honor of the patron saint of the whole California enterprise Pueblo de San José de Guadalupe, that is to say, San José on the Rio Guadalupe. As the mission was near by, Governor Neve asked the Fathers to take charge of the spiritual wants of the colonists, who thereafter attended divine service and received the Sacraments at Santa Clara. The community in the beginning was governed by an alcalde, or magistrate, who was selected from the inhabitants. It also had a military guard composed of a corporal and three soldiers. The people, with great difficulty at first cultivated wheat, corn, and beans. What they did not need they disposed of to the troops, and from the proceeds they purchased clothing at the government warehouse. They also raised cattle, sheep, and horses, many of which were sold to the presidios. Such was the beginning of the first purely white settlement in Upper California.[16]

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[15] Palóu, *Vida,* cap. xlvii, 223-224.

An incident of interest to the missionaries of California at this time was a Papal Indult issued at Rome on April 6, 1777. Pope Pius VI. thereby granted the missionaries of the Apostolic Colleges of Querétaro, Zacatecas, Guatemala, and San Fernando the privilege of celebrating the feast of St. Michael, the Archangel, September 29th, as a double of the first class with an octave.[17]

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[16] *Vida,* cap. xlvii, 225; Hittell, vol. i, 412-413; Bancroft, i, 310-313.

[17] "Benigne indulsit Sanctitas Sua, ut eumdem Sanctum Michaelem Archangelum, qui elapso anno iisdem ab Apostolica Sede datus est in Patronum Suarum Missionum, adscire etiam valent in Patronum dictorum Collegiorum, ejusque Dedicationis festum, quod recolitur die 29 Septembris, sub ritu duplici primae classis cum octava celebrare possint, non solum in Missionibus, quae ab iisdem Patribus exercentur, sed etiam in praefatis quatuor Collegiis, servatis tamen rubricis generalibus super occurrentia et concurrentia festorum, reliquis in contrarium non obstantibus." *Archb. Archives,* vol. i, No. 12.

CHAPTER XIV.

The California Indians.—Population.—Origin.—Races and Tribes.—Languages.—Physical Characteristics.—Dress.—Habitation.—Weapons.—Occupation.—Mechanical Arts.—Money.—Amusements.—Government.—Religion.—Diseases and Their Cure.—Death.—Morality.—Marriage.—Polygamy.—Adultery.—Other Vices.—Virtues.

BEFORE we continue the narrative it will be necessary to become acquainted with the characteristics of the Indians of whom the missionaries were expected to make fervent Christians and useful subjects of the king. All accounts agree in representing the natives of California as among the most stupid, brutish, filthy, lazy and improvident of the aborigines of America. Tuthill[1] voices the impressions of all the early navigators, explorers, and travelers when he says that "of all wretchedly debased and utterly brutal beings, the Indians of California were the farthest fallen below the average Indian type. They were neither brave nor bold, neither generous nor spirited. We hear of no orators among them, no bold braves terribly resenting and contesting the usurpation of the whites. They were 'Diggers,' filthy and cowardly, succumbing without a blow to the rule of foreign masters. Perhaps the *mild, motherly sort of treatment white priests met them with,* disarmed them. . . . They were as contemptible physically as intellectually, and evinced as little traces of conscience as of a reasoning faculty. Venégas thought the Lower Californians to be the most stupid and weak, in both body and mind, of all mortals; but the settlers of Upper California, who had seen both, thought the northern natives far inferior to the southern.[2] Humboldt, from all his reading, concluded them as low in the scale of humanity as the inhabitants of Van Diemen's Land. . . . In all their customs, their religious notions, and their habits, the residents of different valleys differed, though not widely. We may take the picture of the tribe that occupied the sea-coast forty or fifty miles below Los Angeles, as representative of the people whom the missionaries found in Upper California, and whom Fr. Junípero

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[1] *History of California.* 88-90. See vol. i, sect. ii, chap. vii.

[2] Fr. Lasuén, who knew both, agrees with Humboldt.

Serra learned to love dearly as if they were his own flesh."

"There are some," Bancroft writes, "who assert that the character of the Californian has been maligned. It does not follow, they say, that he is indolent because he does not work when the fertility of his native land enables him to live without labor; or that he is cowardly because he is not incessantly at war; or stupid and brutal because the mildness of the climate renders clothes and dwellings superfluous. But is this sound reasoning? Surely a people assisted by nature should progress faster than another struggling with depressing difficulties. It is not until we reach Central California from the north that we find whole tribes subsisting on roots, herbs, and insects; having no boats, no clothing, no laws, no God. . . . Naturally pusillanimous, weak in development, sunk below the common baser passions of the savage, more improvident than birds, more beastly than beasts, it may be possible to conceive of a lower phase of humanity, but I confess my inability to do so."[3] "There can be no doubt," Hittell declares,[4] "that even the most intelligent amongst them passed a brutish existence." Finally, Fr. Boscana, to let one of the missionaries speak, writes, "They passed a wretched life, ever idle, and more like the brutes than rational beings."[5] Of course, the good Father has the savage in mind. Let us go into particulars briefly and under various heads learn the condition of the aborigines before the advent of the messenger of Christ.

1. Population. The common opinion seems to be that formerly, save in certain districts along the Santa Barbara Channel, California was not thickly settled. The whole number scarcely exceeded seventy-five thousand. Professor Kroeber of the University of California,[6] claims that the ancient population may have reached 150,000. In that case the pagan portion must have died away much faster than the mission Indians; for the convert population never exceeded thirty thou-

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[3] Bancroft, *Native Races,* vol. i, 399-400; 427.

[4] *History of California,* vol. i, 777.

[5] Boscana, *Chinigchinich,* cap. viii.

[6] *Handbook of the American Indians,* edited by F. W. Hodge, pt. i, p. 190. Washington. Government Printing Office, 1907.

sand at any time. The missionaries during the whole mission period baptized only 90,000. What then becomes of the theory that mission life increased the rate of mortality?

2. Origin. Fr. Boscana, who took great pains to ascertain the beliefs, notions, traditions, and habits of the Indians, writes: "It is impossible to find any account of where they originated, as they have no tradition, and are entirely ignorant of their descent."[7] Professor Kroeber[8] agrees with Fr. Boscana and says, "The Indians themselves in no part of the State, except the extreme south, have any tradition of migrations, and uniformly believe themselves to have originated at the spot where they live." A few claimed that their ancestors entered the country from the north. The truth is, the subject did not interest them in the least.

3. Races and Tribes. Various attempts have been made to divide the natives of California into distinct groups, but with poor results. The general term "Diggers" applied to them is about as expressive and adequate a name as any so far invented, inasmuch as they differ very little in their habits. On the other hand, there is decided difference in the language, and therefore scientists have endeavored to classify the natives linguistically, but with scarcely better success. In order to secure some kind of method in the description, Bancroft[9] divides them geographically into Northern Californians, Central Californians, and Southern Californians. To these he adds another group in the extreme south of the State which he apportions to the Shoshones. The Central and Southern Californians and the Shoshones came under the jurisdictions of the twenty-one Franciscan missions, that is to say, the savages that occupied the territory lying along the Pacific Coast from Lake County to the southern boundary of the State. The characteristics of all these Indians were so much alike that whatever is related in the following description may be considered to apply to all. Each rancheria, or Indian village, however, had

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[7] *Chinigchinich,* cap. i; Fr. Señan, *Respuesta,* No. 2. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[8] In *Handbook* ut supra.

[9] *Native Races,* vol. i, 322.

its own name which will be pointed out in the local history of each mission in a subsequent volume.

4. Language. "The diversity of language is so great in California," Fr. Boscana[10] tells us, "that almost every fifteen or twenty leagues you find a distinct dialect, so different that in no way does it resemble the other. The natives of San Diego cannot understand a word of the language used at this mission;[11] and in like manner those in the neighborhood of Santa Barbara and farther north." Professor Kroeber[12] affirms that "the dialects of almost all these groups were different and belonged to as many as twenty-one distinct linguistic families, being a fourth of the total number found in all North America, and, as compared with the area of the State, so large that California must probably be regarded as the region of the greatest aboriginal linguistic diversity in the world." It is evident, however, that the very language, which is spoken by a people without Religion, without government or laws, without honor or shame, without clothing or dwellings of any moment, who busied themselves about nothing, spoke of nothing, thought of nothing, cared for nothing, save how to fill their stomach and how to gratify their carnal appetites, must be deficient. They had words for scarcely anything that could not be seen, heard, touched, or tasted. This made it extremely difficult for the missionaries to convey the lofty ideas concerning the unseen, supernatural world.[13]

5. Physical Characteristics. "Physically," Kroeber[14] writes agreeably to all accounts, "the California Indians, like other tribes of the Pacific Coast, are rather shorter than the majority of those in eastern North America. In many cases they incline to stoutness. Along the coast, and especially in the south, they are unusually dark." As a rule the men had no beards, and those that observed a sprinkling of hair on their face would pluck them out by the roots.

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[10] *Chinigchinich,* cap. i, Fr. Señan, *Respuesta,* No. 3.

[11] Mission San Juan Capistrano.

[12] In *Handbook,* p. 191.

[13] See vol. i, sect. ii, capp. ii, vii.

[14] *Handbook,* p. 191.

6. Dress. Men and boys wore nothing whatever. Those living around San Francisco Bay, as Fr. Palóu reports,[15] in cold weather would plaster their bodies with mud. As the day advanced and the atmosphere became warmer, they would wash off this coating. Sometimes the skin of a deer or other animal would be thrown over the shoulders as protection against inclement weather. The women and girls would always wear some kind of covering, though, generaly, it was nothing more than a fringed apron made of tule or bulrush fibre, which fell from a girdle tied around the waist and reached down to the knees. A similar garment was worn in the back and thus formed a kind of skirt open on both sides. During cold weather the women would wear over their shoulders a kind of cape made of feathers or strips of otter skin twisted together. Men as well as women, except in certain districts, wore the hair long, and took considerable pride in cultivating its length as a mark of beauty. Ornaments of shells and feathers were common.

7. Habitations. Their dwellings were about as primitive as their dress. In summer a shady place of an enramada of brushwood answered the purpose. Their permanent or winter habitations were nothing but flimsy shelters constructed of poles fixed in the ground and drawn together at the top at a height of about ten or twelve feet. The poles were interwoven with small twigs and the whole structure was then covered with tules or tufts of dried grass. In places these dwellings were conical in shape, whereas in other regions they were oblong. The size depended upon the number of people that were to occupy them. At a distance they resembled huge bee-hives or small haystacks. On one side there was an opening which served for a door, and at the top there was another opening to let out the smoke. A collection of such native huts in California is called rancheria.[16] In these shelters all the members of a family, men, women, and children, besides single

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[15] *Vida,* cap. xlv, 217. See also the accounts of Fr. Crespi and Costansó in previous chapters.

[16] Ranchería, from "rancho" a word originally applied by the Spaniards in New Spain to the place where food was distributed to laborers or soldiers.

relatives, or friends, huddled around the fire burning in the center of the hut, or lay wherever there was room. There was no privacy, no screens, no beds or berths. Several baskets, a stone mortar or two, weapons, scanty rags of clothing, and the unused products of the chase or seed-gathering were kept in the crowded apartment. There was no furniture whatever. Refuse food or bones were left where they had been dropped or thrown so that the earthen floor had the appearance of a dog-kennel. Dirt in the mass of which fleas and other vermin thrived abounded. The longer such a habitation was used the filthier it became, until it was rendered unendurable for even the savages. Fr. Crespi[17] relates that on one occasion in October, 1769, the soldiers took refuge for the night in a hut of this kind. They soon rushed out with the exclamation "Las Pulgas! Las Pulgas!"[18] The Indians had a simple way of improving the situation. The owner would set fire to the hut and then erect another after the same inexpensive plan. La Perouse[19] relates that "the exhortations of the missionaries have never been able to change this general architecture of the two Californias. The Indians say that they like open air, that it is convenient to burn their house when they are devoured by a too great number of fleas, and to be able to construct another in two hours." Though they bathed frequently, when not in the water they wallowed in filth, and they swarmed with vermin which they would catch and eat. In short, as Bancroft affirms, the Indians in their personal habits were filthy in the extreme.[20]

There were other structures, usually one in each rancheria, and built in the following manner. A pit was dug about three feet deep and from twelve to sixteen feet in diameter. Heavy timbers were placed on end around the rim of the pit and inclined toward the center so as to meet at the top. Reeds were laid over the timbers crosswise, and the whole was covered with earth. Only a small opening was left at the top to allow the smoke to escape, and another small hole was on one side through which the men crawled in and out. These were the notorious sweathouses. Within was a fireplace, a hole in the ground. The men would crawl into this structure, start a fire with wood, and lie around until the perspiration flowed from their bodies. They would then emerge and plunge into a stream or pool of water. For this reason the rancherias were usually found near a river, creek, or lagoon. Women were never allowed to enter the sweathouse, which also served as a kind of meeting-room for the men.

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[17] *Diario* of the first expedition to San Francisco Bay.

[18] "Fleas! Fleas!"

[19] *Voyage de la Perouse Autour Du Monde,* tom. ii, chap. xi, 263. "Cette architecture générale des deux Californies n'a jamais pu être changée par les exhortations des missionnaires; les Indiens disent qu'ils aiment le grand air, qu'il est commode de mettre le feu á sa maison, lorsqu'on y est dévoré par une trop grande quantité de puces, et d'en pouvoir construire une autre en moins de deaux heures."

[20] Boscana, *Chinigchinich,* cap. viii; Bancroft, *Native Races,* i, 371-373; 377; Hittell, i, 777-779; Forbes, *California,* 186-187.

8. Weapons. These consisted of bows and arrows, to which some added a spear. Those farther south also used macanas or clubs made of hard wood. The arrowheads and spear points were of flint, bones, or shells chipped to suit the purpose. However, the Californians on the coast were neither brave nor warlike. A handful of badly equipped Spanish soldiers could keep in check a host of savages. Yet petty wars were frequent among the natives, but they served only as a pretext for plunder. The slightest real or imaginary wrong sufficed to make a stronger ranchería attack a weaker one.[21]

9. Occupation. "They neither cultivated the ground," says Fr. Boscana, "nor planted any kind of grain, but lived upon the wild seeds of the field, the fruits of the forest, and upon the abundance of game. It is really surprising that during the lapse of many ages, with their reason and experience, they had not advanced one iota in improving the things that would have been useful and convenient for them, for instance, in agriculture, in sowing and cultivating those seeds which were most appreciated; or also in planting trees around their habitations bearing such fruits as they were obliged to bring from a great distance; but no! Nothing of the kind. In no part of the

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[21] *Chinigchinich,* capp. viii; xii; Bancroft, *Native Races,* i, 407; *La Pérouse,* tom. ii, chap. xi, 272; Hittell, i, 783.

country was to be found aught but the common, spontaneous products of the earth. We cannot but wonder that a knowledge so important was unknown here until the missionaries came amongst them and introduced the planting of wheat, corn, beans, and other grains that are now so abundant everywhere. Hence I consider these Indians, with their endowments, like the soul of an infant, which is merely a will accompanied by passions: an understanding not exercised or not used. For this reason they did not comprehend the virtue of prudence, as they made not sufficient use of their intelligence. Although ripe in years they manifested no more experience, and no greater reasoning powers, than in their childhood, and thus blindly followed in the footsteps of their ancestors."[22]

Much more severe are the reports of navigators and explorers. They cause Bancroft to exclaim, "The bestial laziness of the Central Californian prevents him from following the chase to any extent, or from even inventing efficient game traps."[23] Hittell finds that the "characteristics which most forcibly struck all writers on the California aborigines were their extreme laziness and uncleanness."[24]

Nor could years of toil and patience on the part of the missionaries entirely eradicate these vices among the very neophytes. Describing the converts at San Francisco and San José, Vancouver, an eye-witness, writes: "The same horrid state of uncleanness and laziness seemed to pervade the whole population. There was scarcely any sign in their general deportment of their being at all benefited, or having added a single ray of comfort to their own wretched condition by the precepts and laborious exertions of their religious instructors, whose lives are sacrificed to their welfare, and who seem entirely devoted to the benevolent office of rendering them a better and a happier people . . . who appeared to be a compound of stupidity and innocence. All the operations and functions both of the body and mind appeared to be carried on with a mechanical, lifeless, careless indifference. This disposition is probably inherited from their forefathers."[25] In their savage state "hunger alone compelled them to make some sort of exertion in search of food; but they labored no more than was necessary to secure a supply of anything that would sustain life, without much reference as to its quality."[26]

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[22] *Chinigchinich,* cap. viii.

[23] *Native Races,* i, 373.

[24] *California,* vol. i, 744.

In consequence of this improvidence the Indian frequently was in a state of semi-starvation. In that case he would greedily devour almost anything living upon which he could lay his hands. Coyotes, skunks, wild cats, rats, mice, hawks, owls, lizards, frogs, snakes, excepting rattlesnakes. worms, grasshoppers and other insects served as food. In fact, any life-sustaining substance which could be procured with little trouble was food for the Indian. Stranded whales, seals, shellfish, and fish formed the main support of those on the coast. For others the mainstay were acorns, roots, grass seeds, berries and the like. Grasshoppers were eaten roasted. Acorns were shelled, dried in the sun, and then pounded into a powder with stones. From this flour the women made a species of coarse bread, which was sometimes flavored with various kinds of berries or herbs. A sort of mush was made of the clover seed. Meat was roasted on a stick over a fire, or baked in a hole in the ground, but "the Californian," Fr. Boscana writes, "often made his meal from the uncooked animal, and even at present, flesh very slightly cooked is quite common among them. They also extract the blood by sucking it. I have seen many instances of their taking a rabbit and sucking its blood with eagerness, previously to consuming the flesh in a raw state."[27]

It was the duty of the women to gather the seeds, prepare them for cooking, and perform all the meanest offices as well as the most laborious, whilst their lazy husbands were either at play or asleep. Frequently they would receive ill-treatment in return. For seed-gathering two baskets were used; a larger one, which was carried on the back, and another smaller scoop-shaped, or a seed-beater, which was carried in the hand. With this latter the tops of the ripegrass were swept, and the seed thus taken was thrown over the left shoulder into the larger basket. The seeds were then parched and pulverized, and stored as pinole.[28] When the Indians resorted to cooking they placed the food in water-tight baskets filled with water. Into this they dropped hot stones. More frequently the cooking was done in vessels made of soapstone. As in other respects, in their cooking they were also excessively unclean.[29]

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[25] Vancouver, *Voyage of Discovery,* vol. iii, 34-36.

[26] Hittell, i, 744; Bancroft, *Native Races,* i, 405.

[27] *Chinigchinich,* cap. i. The eating of raw flesh was forbidden by the viceroy as late as 1818. *Cal. Arch., St. Pap.,* xviii, 639.

The men generally passed their time in playing, roaming about, dancing, and sleeping. This was their only occupation and the mode of life most common amongst them from day to day, Fr. Boscana writes. "Sometimes their occupation consisted in constructing bows and arrows, in hunting deer, rabbits, squirrels, rats, etc., which not only provided them with food, but with clothing, if it can be so called."[30]

10. Mechanical Arts. "Culturally," says Professor Kroeber,[31] "the California Indians were probably as simple and rude as any large group of Indians in North America. Their arts (excepting that of basket-making, which they possessed in a high form) were undeveloped; pottery was practically unknown, and in the greater part of the State the carving or working of wood was carried on only to a limited extent." Fr. Boscana [32] also observes that "necessity, the mother of invention, has heretofore revealed to man how to produce, at least, the rustic implements used for securing food; but it is surprising that the Californians had not advanced one iota in improving the things that would have been useful for them." This shows that laziness was inherent in them, and that it would have required considerably more than "but little," as Hittell pretends, to cause them to shake off the apathy and to take some interest in life.

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[28] Pinóle from the Aztec word pinolli is a flour made of Indian corn. The name is applied to any kind of grain or seeds parched and ground before it is made into dough. Palóu, *Vida,* 79; 216.

[29] Bancroft, *Native Races,* i, 407.

[30] *Chinigchinich,* cap. viii.

[31] *Handbook,* 191.

[32] *Chinigchinich,* cap. viii.

With regard to basketry, it must be observed that this industry was cultivated by the women, who were very ingenious in plaiting grass of fine willow-roots into mats and baskets. These baskets are of various sizes and shapes, from flat, basin-shaped, water-tight, rush bowls to the large pointed cones which the women carried on their backs when root-digging, berry-picking, or acorn-gathering.

Among the few other articles which the Indians produced, besides their bows and arrows, were fishhooks, needles, and awls of bone or shell. Mortars and pestles of granite, and cooking vessels of soapstone, were also made; but they manufactured no pottery or clay vessels before the arrival of the missionaries. The tools which they used were knives of flint and awls of bone.[33]

Along the Santa Barbara Channel the Indians seemed to have been somewhat brighter and more industrious in that they made canoes of wood, whereas other savages, notably at San Francisco Bay, merely used balsas or tule rafts. The balsa or raft is perhaps the rudest or most primitive mode of navigation found among any people. It is entirely formed of bulrushes bound together into bundles of about ten feet in length, of considerable thickness in the middle and gradually tapering towards the ends. These bundles or sheaves are tied together at the ends until the whole mass is of sufficient size to buoy up two or more persons. The boat thus formed is about ten feet long, of considerable breadth in the middle, and tapering regularly at each end. It is propelled by paddles. In calm and smooth water the center part of the raft may be dry, but more commonly the rowers sit on them soaked in water, as the balsa seldom rises above the surface.[34]

The boats at the Channel were made of rude planks fastened together with fibre cords. The planks were bent and joined by the heat of fire and smeared with asphaltum, which abounds there. These boats were governed with long double-blade paddles. They were generally manned by three or four men, but sometimes they were large enough to carry twenty persons.

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[33] Kroeber, *Ethnography of the Coahuila Indians,* 39-59.

[34] Forbes, *California,* 191-192.

Some of the canoes were laboriously dug out of a single log, scraped smooth on the outside, and scooped out by burning and with their primitive stone knives.

11. Money. The natives had a kind of circulating medium which consisted of very small round pieces of white mussel shells. These were polished, perforated, and arranged on strings. The value depended upon the length. Eight lengths of these beads equaled the value of one dollar of our money. The worth of a real, or twelve and a half cents, was put upon a string of beads which reached from the tip of the middle finger to the wrist.[35]

12. Amusements. Like all the Indians everywhere the Californians possessed a passion for games of chance. With these they passed much of their time. Nothing was too precious or too insignificant to be staked, from a wife to a deer-skin or any other trifle. One game which still obtains was that of guessing which hand contained a small bit of bone or wood. It was a favorite because it required no exertion. Nothing, however, seemed to give them greater pleasure than to lie stretched out for hours upon the ground with their faces down, doing absolutely nothing and entirely careless and indifferent to everything.[36]

Smoking was indulged in to some extent. The natives smoked a species of wild tobacco which had a nauseous and sickening odor. The pipes were straight tubes of stone.[37]

The Indians were fond of dancing, but men and women as a rule did not dance together, nor was the dance anything like those in vogue among white people. It was a swaying of the body and an alternate lifting of one foot and the other. The men usually danced naked while their heads were adorned with feathers and their faces were painted with glaring colors in grotesque patterns. Important events, such as the seasons for hunting, fishing, acorn-gathering and the like were celebrated with dances. The dancing was accompanied with chanting, clapping of hands, blowing on pipes, beating of skin drums, and rattling of tortoise shells filled with pebbles. This horrible discord was intended to mark the time.[38]

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[35] Bancroft, *Native Races,* vol. i, 385; 409; Kroeber, *Ethnography,* 63.

[36] Bancroft, *Native Races,* vol. i, 393-394; Hittell, vol. i, 745.

[37] Bancroft, *Native Races,* i, 394.

13. Government. In pagan times the Californians had no general government. Each rancheria had its own chief and was absolutely independent of all others. The chief would take the lead in time of war, make peace, appoint feasts, and give good advice; but beyond this he had little power. Every one followed the bent of his own mind without exterior restraint except his fear of the sorcerers or medicine men. These sorcerers wielded a tremendous power. They were feared for the supernatural gifts which they pretended to possess. The result was that there was hardly any excess or wickedness which these diabolical imposters could not and did not commit with impunity. So great was the dread for them, says Fr. Boscana, that "the parents invariably advised the girls, who had arrived at the state of womanhood, that when they went out to collect seeds, or for other purpŏse, if they unfortunately happened to meet with one of the sorcerers, they should comply with any desire which he might express without manifesting the least repugnance on their part; not even if in the company of their mothers, or if married and attended by their husbands, should they call upon their protection. Both mothers and husbands were obliged to submit to his request, through fear of the many afflictions which they believed would be the result of their refusal. Hence, whenever they discovered any of this detested race, they would if possible conceal themselves, so as not to be seen by them." [39]

14. Religion. It may be said that, before the advent of the missionaries, the California savages had no religion whatever. Religion is the bond between the Creator and the creature, the reverent acceptance of whatever the Creator has revealed directly or indirectly, and the eager endeavor of the creature to praise, thank, propitiate, and petition the Creator for the purpose of being united with Him in everlasting bliss. Of this pure and reasonable worship of God the Californian had no

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[38] *Chinigchinich,* cap. ix; Hittell, i, 764-765; Bancroft, *Native Races,* i, 392; 416.

[39] *Chinigchinich,* capp. v-vi.

conception. As he, brutelike, only aimed at filling himself and gratifying his animal instincts, the subject of Religion did not interest him until the missionaries raised him up and made him realize that he was something more than an animal and that he existed for something higher than eating, drinking, sleeping, and amusing himself. Fr. Boscana discovered a certain kind of worship of a phantom whom the Indians of his missionary district called "Chingchinich;" but as he had his story from three old neophytes, half a century after the first missionaries arrived, the suspicion is not without foundation that the shrewd sorcerers had adopted many of the features of Christianity in order to impress their dupes. None other of the Fathers reports anything like Fr. Boscana's story. We shall therefore treat it as a local matter in connection with the history of San Juan Capistrano.[40] Fr. Palóu writes: "In not one of the missions which cover the more than two hundred leagues of territory from this mission (of San Francisco) to San Diego, was there found any idolatry, but only a negative infidelity. Some superstitions and foolish practices were discovered among the Indians, and among the old men some ridiculous tales; but they were easily disillusioned."[41]

15. Diseases and their Cure. Owing to their extreme filthiness the Indians were subject to disgusting eruptions of the skin; but otherwise they seemed to be remarkably free from many of the diseases known among the white people. After the coming of the soldiery, however, various maladies affected the natives which will be mentioned later. The general remedy in case of sickness was the sweathouse already described. In addition their sorcerers or medicine men practiced quackery. They pretended to cure by means of incantations, massage of the affected member, sucking the spot giving pain, and other trumpery. If they failed to cure, these imposters, especially during an epidemic, were sometimes put to death.

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[40] *Chinigchinich,* capp. ii-iii.

[41] *Vida,* cap. xlv, 215. "En ninguna de las misiones que pueblan el tramo de mas de doscientas leguas desde esta mision hasta la de San Diego, no se ha hallado en ellas idolatria alguna, sino una mera infidelidad negativa." See Fr. Señan, *Respuesta,* No. 12. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

16. Death. "Death," says Fr. Boscana, "they believed to be an entity, real and invisible, who in anger with any one by degrees took away the breath until all was removed, and then the person died." The future abode some imagined to be a place where they would live forever and ever, eating, drinking, and dancing, and where they would have wives in abundance. The majority believed that the last breath was the end of the person's existence, except that chiefs under certain conditions took their places among the stars. The punishments which "Chinigchinich" threatened, and which the savages dreaded, were wholly physical and temporal.[42] The bodies were disposed of by cremation or burial. In some regions several hours after the death of a person the body was placed upon a pile of brushwood and burnt. Everything that belonged to the deceased, such as bows, arrows, feathers, beads, skins, etc., was consumed with the corpse. The mourning for the dead would continue for several days. In token of grief the relatives would cut their hair. Generally, however, the dead were buried and everything that belonged to the deceased was put into the hole with the body.[43]

17. Morality. Since we discover no Religion worthy of the name among the primitive California Indians, we need not expect to find morality among them. The morality of a man is on a level with his religion. If his religion is lofty and elevating, his morals will be of the same character. If man's conception of God be low, material or carnal, if he does not hold himself accountable to God, because forsooth he pretends to deny God's existence or God's fatherly interest in His creatures, then will such a man's moral ideas naturally be low in proportion. If such a man, nevertheless, preserves himself from gross excesses, it will be owing to the influence of his surroundings or early impressions; that much removed, the result will be the same as with the savage. What is true of the individual in this respect applies also to tribes and nations. The history of the Romans, Greeks, and all pagan nations amply proves this. The Californians, too, before the arrival of

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[42] *Chinigchinich,* cap. xiv; Fr. Señan, *Respuesta,* No. 35.

[43] *Chinigchinich,* cap. xiii.

the Franciscans were living evidences of the truth that without God and Religion there is no morality deserving notice, inasmuch as moral ideas follow religious ideas.

It is not expedient here to describe the morals of the Indians in detail. Those who desire more than we dare to offer may read Bancroft's "Native Races." We shall imitate the missionaries and under several heads merely indicate what is necessary to state, in order to form a correct view of the morality of the savages. Much can be inferred from what has already been said.

Marriage. This was a mere living together at pleasure; for Fr. Palóu writes, "In their marriages they observe no more ceremony than mere convenience and agreement between two persons, which last only as long as they choose to live together." These marriages are broken off with as little ceremony as they are contracted. The man dismisses the wife, or the wife simply leaves the husband. The divorce is then accomplished, and either may form another alliance with any other, and so on indefinitely. The children go with the mother if the parents take up with other partners.[44]

Polygamy. "The men," says Fr. Palóu, "are often incited by the wife to marry her sisters, and sometimes also to take the mother-in-law. It was, indeed, the custom that he who married a woman took all her sisters. Inasmuch as it was not the husband who provided for the wife and family, but the wife who procured the food for the husband, it made no difference to the men as long as the wives lived in peace.[45]

Adultery. Among some tribes adultery was attended with danger, among others the difficulties were easily allayed. However, "the young unmarried women were common possession." [46] Hence it was that the missionaries wisely insisted that the girls and single women, or women whose husbands were absent, should live in community at the mission under the eyes of a matron; for chastity and continence were not cultivated and were hardly regarded as virtues by savage Indians.

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[44] Palóu, *Vida,* cap. xlv, 217; Boscana, *Chinigchinich,* cap. vii; Fr. Señan, *Respuesta,* No. 14. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[45] Palóu, *Vida,* cap. xlv, 217.

[46] Bancroft, *Native Races,* i, 351.

Fr. Crespi and Fr. Palóu relate that when the Fathers first came to California they found men dressed as women, and performing the duties of women, but who were kept for unnatural purposes.[47] "To distinguish this detested race," Fr. Boscana tells us, "at this Mission of San Juan Capistrano they were called 'Cuit,' in the mountains 'Uluqui,' and in other parts they were known as 'Coias.' At present (1825) this horrible custom is entirely unknown among them." [48]

18. Other Vices. Besides stealing the most notable vice was untruthfulness. "My idea is," says Fr. Boscana, "that the natural divine precepts implanted in the hearts of man by his Creator are by the Indians observed in a retrograde manner, or in the opposite sense, that is to say, the affirmative with them is negative, and the negative is affirmative; and this opposition appears inborn among all classes. In his grave, humble, and retired manner, the Indian conceals a hypocritical and treacherous disposition. He will deceive the most minute observer, as has been the case with many, or with all, that have endeavored to learn his character, until time has revealed to them the true qualities." [49]

Disregard for human life is another characteristic of the savage or primitive Indian. Among the women infanticide was common, particularly in the region of Santa Clara. Jealousy and resentfulness seem to be inherent in the Indian nature to a marked degree. Of the Indian's ingratitude Fr. Boscana writes agreeably to the experience of all missionaries: "For benefits received he is never grateful; and instead of looking upon that which is given, he beholds only that which is withheld. His eyes are never uplifted, but like those of the swine, are cast to the earth. Truth is not in him, unless to the injury of another, and he is exceedingly false." . . . "The Indians of California may be compared to a species of ape; for in naught do they express interest, save in imitating the actions of others, but in doing so, they are careful to choose vice in preference to virtue. This is the result, no doubt, of their corrupt and natural disposition."[50]

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[47] Fr. Crespi, *Diario;* Palóu, *Vida,* cap. xlvi, 222; Costansó, *Diario.*

[48] *Chinigchinich,* cap. vii; Fr. Señan, *Respuesta,* No. 24; *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[49] *Chinigchinich,* cap. xvi; Fr. Señan, *Respuesta,* No. 23; *Sta. Barb. Arch.* See Appendix H, vol. i, this work.

20. Virtues. The missionaries observed with pleasure some natural good qualities, which they delighted to put on record, and only regretted that they could not report more. The good qualities most noticeable were love for their children, submissiveness, patience in sickness, and a certain degree of shamefacedness or modesty on the part of the females who had not been entirely corrupted.[51]

Such were the people to whom Fr. Serra and his brethren devoted themselves, and whom they endeavored to Christianize and civilize. Let us now observe the method which they employed to wean the natives from their bad habits, and induce them to practice virtue.

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[50] Fr. Boscana, *Chinigchinich,* cap. xvi.

[51] Fr. Señan, *Respuesta,* No. 9, August 11, 1815. *Santa Barb. Arch.*

CHAPTER XV.

Aim and Object of the Missionaries.—Messengers of the Gospel.—The Mission System.—Its Origin.—The Friars Well Equipped for the Task.—The Beginnings of a Mission.—Manner of Procuring Converts.—The First Structures.—The Monjerio.—Marriage and How It Was Brought About.—Critics.—The First Instructions.—Slanders.—The Language Difficulty.—Aids to the Understanding.—Daily Routine.—The Children.—Divine Services.

THE reader will learn to appreciate the system under which the Franciscans labored, and the means they employed, if he bears in mind the object which they wished to accomplish. The method naturally resulted from the purpose in view, and this was none other than the conversion of the savages to Christianity. The friars came as messengers of Christ. Their message was the Gospel as preached by Christ and His Apostles. Like the Apostles they had severed every tie that interfered with the delivery of this message. They had given up relatives, friends, property, prospects, and mother country for the sake of attracting souls to Christ. They paid little or no attention to questions or things that could not aid them materially in gaining the good will of the people whose salvation they had at heart. Like the Apostles, the Franciscans came not as scientists, geographers, ethnographers, or schoolmasters, nor as philanthropists eager to uplift the people in a worldly sense to the exclusion or neglect of the religious duties pointed out by Christ. Superficial writers and shallow pedagogues have found fault with the early California missionaries for not emphasizing what they are pleased to call "education"; but, inasmuch as the friars came in the spirit of the Savior and of the Apostles, they saw no need of laying stress upon such knowledge save in so far as it helped them to gain their end. In this they but followed the example of the Divine Master. Christ surely could have given the most lucid and effective instructions on worldly education and on all other subjects that agitate the learned and unlearned of every period. Nevertheless He urged but "the one thing necessary." He sent out His disciples merely to preach what He had told them. For that same purpose Fr. Serra and his brethren came to the Pacific Coast.

This conception of missionary duty, of course, does not appeal to infidel writers and pedagogues, who in opposition to the Redeemer persuade themselves that Religion is of little or no importance in the educational curriculum; nay, who think it quite honorable to be conspicuous for abject ignorance of Gospel truths and laws. However, the historian is bound to clearly state the views and position of the men who established and managed the missions, in order that the sincere student of history may judge their work, their successes and their failures intelligently. With regard to the mission system of California, it will remain a puzzle to the reader unless he fully comprehends that the missionaries came with the sole object of imparting the truths revealed by the Founder of Christianity. Now we do not find that Christ directed His Apostles to teach reading, writing and arithmetic. Although these branches of human knowledge are highly useful, even necessary, as things go, in order to advance in the world, such knowledge is not absolutely necessary for admission into the kingdom of God, and therefore it is not the duty of the missionary to impart it. He will use it as a means to further his principal object whenever he finds it expedient; but he will carefully beware of creating the impression that such human knowledge or accomplishments or "education" should precede or supersede the knowledge of divine truths. This would have been the result if the Fathers had commenced their activity with the teaching of reading and writing to a people who loathed mental exertion even more than manual labor. In the end, the simple-minded Indians, like a great many not simple-minded white people nowadays, would have regarded reading and writing as essential, and Religion with its commandments against vice only as optional or secondary, and thus the object of the missionaries would have been frustrated from the very beginning.

At all events, the missionary Fathers knew that secular "education," even if it had been practicable at the time, could not of itself transform savages into good citizens. Greeks, Romans and Egyptians were well versed in that kind of knowledge; yet they were morally corrupt to the last degree. At this day, too, penitentiaries are not filled by illiterates, but by such as have passed through schools in which Religion is tabooed. Hence, if historians and other authors would judge the early California missionaries and their efforts fairly, they must divest themselves of the foolish notion that the first duty of the missionary is to impress the necessity of reading and writing. They must look upon those friars as messengers of the Gospel, and apply the same rules of criticism that must be employed in judging the work of the first missionaries, the Apostles; because the friars went among the savages for no other purpose than to "seek and to save that which was lost," in other words, to save the souls of the Indians. Everything else was only a means to that end. Until said authors and writers generally get this fundamental idea of the mission system into their heads, they are as incompetent to criticize the labors of Fr. Junípero Serra and of his companions as an ordinary farm-hand is capable of criticizing the intricate machinery of a modern battleship.

In addition it is to be observed that the lot of the friars, unlike that of the Apostles, fell among an entirely naked, brutish people who had no conception of human dignity. As the preceding chapter shows, the habits of the Californians were scarcely above those of the lowest wild beasts. This state of things called for measures not usually expected from messengers of the Gospel. The savages had first of all to be taught that they were incomparably superior to brutes; they had to be shown how to live worthy of human beings; and they had to be led to see that they were amenable to both divine and human laws. In short, the missionaries had not only to make good Christians, but law-abiding subjects of a people who till then had neither recognized nor practiced any restraint whatsoever. This naturally developed the famous mission system upon which closet historians and magazine writers have sat in judgment, and through ignorance or malice or both perpetrated the absurdities and calumnies which for nearly a century have circulated as history.

Let not the reader fancy that the mission system originated with the friars of California. As early as 1519, Rt. Rev. Juan de Quevedo, a Franciscan, and the first bishop on the mainland of America,[1] in a Memorial addressed to King Ferdinand, declared "that all the people of the New World whom he had seen, either on the continent or on the islands, appeared to him a race of men whom it would be impossible to instruct or improve, unless they were collected in villages and kept under continual supervision." [2] Thus, as early as twenty-seven years after the Discovery of America, a Franciscan proposed the essential feature of the system employed to Christianize and civilize the natives on the western coast. The experience of all missionaries from Canada to Patagonia, and from Florida to the Pacific Coast, has demonstrated the truth of Bishop Quevedo's statement; for scarcely any lasting impression could ever be made on the Indians as long as they roamed about at will.

As a rule, the missionaries entered upon their duties well equipped for their almost superhuman task. They had made the classical, philosophical and theological studies prescribed for priests the world over; and at the missionary College of San Fernando they were told what to expect and what was expected of them among the savages. Fathers Serra, Palóu, Crespi, Lasuén, Tápis, Señan, Boscana, Sarría, Payéras, Durán, and many more, excelled in the philosophical and sacred sciences, and what is more they were thorough religious. Others were less brilliant, as is the case to-day among college-bred men and university graduates; but every one of the friars devoted himself to his missionary work absolutely devoid of selfish, pecuniary or other worldly interest. This is the next essential point which the reader must bear in mind, and critics must rid themselves of the notion that the Franciscan missionaries, like their traducers, Bancroft, Hittell, and some others, may be fairly judged from the standpoint of commercialism. The friars had by vow relinquished even the right to possess or accumulate property or worldy goods, as the reader has learned from the preceding volume.[3] Unless the historian keeps this in view throughout, he will be manufacturing, but not recording, history.

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[1] He was appointed Bishop of Santa Maria de Antígua, or Darien, on the Isthmus of Panamá, by Pope Leo X, August 28, 1513. *Boletin de la Real Academia de la Historia,* Madrid, tom. xx, 1892.

[2] Magliano, *St. Francis and the Franciscans,* p. 538.

[3] Appendix F in vol. i.

The regulations which governed the missionary establishments in California were framed by Fr. Pedro Pérez de Mezquía,[4] Superior of the newly-established missionary College of San Fernando,[5] in the City of Mexico. They had been tested in the Franciscan missions of Texas, whither Fr. Mezquía had accompanied the Ven. Fr. Antonio Margíl, founder of the missionary College of Guadalupe, Zacatecas.[6] The same Father introduced the well-tried methods into the Sierra Gorda missions,[7] where Fr. Serra and nine companions labored for nine years.[8] On the Pacific Coast their way of converting savages proved so well adapted to the character of the Indians that Charles F. Lummis writes, "The mission system was the most just, humane, and equitable system ever devised for an aboriginal people."

Let us now examine the system in detail. "The first thing," Lummis rightly says, "toward educating, reforming, or uplifting any human being is to secure him safety and tolerable comfort in material affairs."[9] Experience gathered in Texas, Arizona, Sonora, and Lower California had convinced the Franciscans of the wisdom of this manner of proceeding. Accordingly, when about to start a mission they searched for a locality where the Indian population was numerous, where good land and water abounded, and where a sufficient supply of timber was within reach. On a spot protected against high winds and inundations a Cross was solemnly raised and blessed in order to mark the site of the church; for the house of worship was invariably the first building erected. Rude huts for the two missionaries, male servants and guards followed.

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[4] His name appears in the baptismal registers of San Antonio, Texas, in 1715.

[5] It was established on October 15, 1734.

[6] Established 1707.

[7] Three days' journey north of the City of Querétaro. The writer in August 1905 visited the Franciscan monastery at Bucareli in this region.

[8] Most of these Fathers, including Palóu, Lasuén, Crespi, came to California.

[9] *Out West,* June, 1904; p. 556; *Land of Sunshine,* Nov., 1899.

Later these temporary structures were replaced with adobe[10] or stone buildings, which generally formed a square with an inner court or patio. They varied in material and size at the different establishments.

In order to pay for the expenses of constructing the buildings, procuring church goods, furniture, agricultural implements and raw material for the mechanics, the king allowed $1000 to be appropriated from the revenues of the Pious Fund for each new mission.[11] The neighboring establishments had to contribute what they could spare from their vestries, granaries, and live-stock. Each of the two religious assigned to a mission was entitled to an annual stipend of $400. This money, as already stated elsewhere, was paid to the College síndico out of the Pious Fund. The síndico, or in his name, the College procurator, with this contribution would purchase the articles desired by the friars. Much of the allowance, often one-half, was lost in paying for the transportation. The goods purchased with the stipend usually consisted of vestments, sacred vessels, altar linens, paintings, statues, banners, wax candles, incense, chocolate, sugar, kitchen utensils, cloth, farm implements and seeds. Money never reached the missionaries from Mexico. Sometimes the Fathers would receive small money donations from the soldiers and colonists for celebrating holy Masses. All this went into the fund of the respective mission. For themselves the friars kept nothing.[12]

The Fathers then endeavored to obtain converts.[13] Curiosity frequently attracted a number of savages to witness the ceremonies of planting the Cross and the work of constructing

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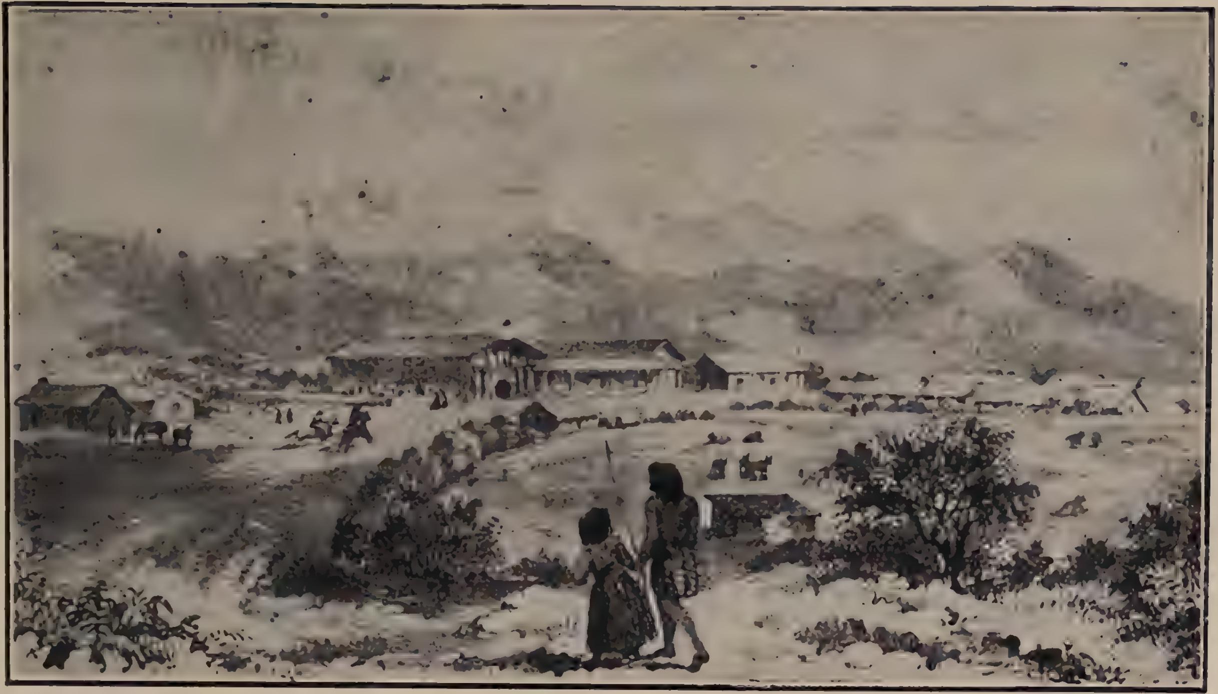
[10] Bricks made of adobe soil twelve to eighteen inches long, about ten or twelve inches wide, and about four inches thick, and baked in the sun. Chopped straw is mixed with the mud. This material, if preserved from moisture, will endure for centuries.

[11] See vol. i, 430-431; chapter v, this volume.

[12] This is absolutely true, Mariano Vallejo and the horde of slanderers to the contrary notwithstanding. Nor was anything sent to the College.

[13] No one was forced to become a Christian. "El método es no obligar á nadie á que se haga Christiano, y solo admiten á los que voluntariamente se ofrecen." Fr. Font, *Diario*, January 5th. Fr. Font was an outsider, inasmuch as he belonged to the Santa Cruz College whose missions were in Sonora.



VI. MISSION SAN FRANCISCO, FOUNDED JUNE 29, 1776

buildings. Gifts of food, clothing, and trinkets, and above all the gentle manner of the missionaries, would move them to lend a hand in clearing the land, preparing the timbers, and erecting the temporary huts. Good meals and rewards of some kind or other gained their good will and induced others to join them. As every little assistance on their part was appreciated and rewarded, the Indian concluded that after all it was better to live with the kind missionaries, and have plenty to eat, than to have to be everlastingly on the lookout for something eatable in the mountains and valleys. They were now disposed to listen to what the strange white men would try to convey through interpreters or by means of signs. This usually caused a few to make their permanent abode under the shadow of the Cross.

It is plain that if the friars had not been able to first employ the only language which the savages understood, the language of gifts, their message and their mission would have resulted in failure; for "it has long since been demonstrated as impossible," Bancroft truly remarks,[14] "to reach the heart of a savage through abstract ideas of morality and elevation of character. A religion, in order to find favor in his eyes, must first meet some of his material requirements. If it is good, it will clothe him better and feed him better, for this to him is the chiefest good in life."

The catechumens at first raised their cabins after their own fashion on a plot a few hundred feet from the chapel or church. The huts erected generally consisted merely of poles covered with dry grass or tules. This was the work of a day. When such a structure decayed or became uncomfortable by reason of the multitude of fleas, it was burnt down to make room for another. In this and similar customs that were not sinful or subversive of order, the Fathers humored their converts, in some cases for years, lest they offend them. Later on, however, adobe dwellings, one for each family, were built in regular order and roofed with tiles. The walls were whitewashed and thus produced a pleasing effect upon the traveler. Here the married portion of the neophytes lived subject to the regulations which will be given presently.

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[14] *Native Races,* i, 33.

The girls from about eleven years upwards, the single women, and the wives whose husbands were absent, passed the night together in a separate building. The doors were locked on the outside, and the officer or mayordomo would deliver the keys to the missionaries. In the morning the same person would again receive the keys, unlock the doors, and allow the inmates to join the others in the exercises of the day. When not occupied the girls could visit their relatives in the mission village close by, but they were not permitted to go beyond the limits alone. "At Mission San Luis Obispo," Fr. Font writes,[15] "I saw that a married soldier served as mayordomo of the mission. This gave the Father no little relief. The wife of this soldier had charge of the girls, and they accordingly called her mistress. During the day she kept them around her, taught them to sew and to do other work; but at night she locked them in a room, where they were secure against any insult. For this reason they were called *monjas* or nuns. This arrangement seemed to me a good thing." Indeed, owing to the brutish character of the Californians, it was so necessary and reasonable that it is amazing to meet with writers who can find fault with it. Of course, this precautionary measure failed to receive the approbation of carnal natives and lecherous white adventurers. The *monjerio,* or nunnery, as it was called, was therefore one of the first institutions of the mission system which the enemies of the missionaries, on their accession to power, abolished under the pretext of liberty. Well, the inmates, till then quite happy and innocent, were "freed," but only to sink into the most degrading slavery.

The girls remained under this gentle tutelage until they married. To be married was the height of bliss in their estimation. Marriage came about in this way. When a young man wanted a wife he would make his wishes known to the missionary. The Father would tell him to make his selection, and he would then introduce the young man to the girl. If she was willing, the espousal took place in regular form and was recorded before witnesses, and then the day was set for the nuptials. The marriage was invariably blessed in church before the altar, after the bans, according to ecclesiastical law, had been published on three successive Sundays or feast days. The couple was next assigned one of the adobe dwellings furnished by the Father. After that they formed part of the village community. If the girl was not willing to accept her suitor for husband, she was perfectly free to decline.

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[15] *Diario,* January 5th.

There were those who criticized the Fathers not only for separating the girls from their relatives and from the rest of the population during the night, but for segregating the convert Indians from their tribesmen, and especially from the white people. They claimed that such a system was contrary to human liberty. That was the ostensible reason for their dissatisfaction. In time we shall discover that these criticisms emanated from self-interest and from want of sympathy for the amelioration of the savages through Religion. The ignorance of the fault-finders was possibly deeper than their malevolence. If the Lord found it necessary to separate the Israelites from the other nations in order to preserve them in the true Faith and prevent them from sinking into the mire of vice for which the old heathens were notorious, we need not wonder that the missionaries judged it prudent to take the same course with reference to their California converts.

Next to reaching the heart of the Indian through the stomach, as it were, by feeding him, it was necessary to find a way to his mind and heart for the truth of Religion. The road passed through the eye chiefly, as wise missionaries have experienced at all times. For this reason the Fathers celebrated the Divine Mysteries with all the pomp available, and then insisted on the utmost reverence within the sacred walls. The ceremonies were explained in the course of the year in accordance with the ever-recurring calendar. The instructions, necessarily simple, usually began with the outward devotional practices, such as the Sign of the Cross, the pronouncing of the name of God, respectful inclinations and genuflections, etc. These preliminaries were later imparted by one of the advanced neophytes, or by the interpreter.

Beechey[16] describes one of the lessons as follows: "I happened (in 1826) to visit the mission about this time and saw these unfortunate beings under tuition. They were clothed in blankets, and arranged in a row before a blind Indian, who understood their dialect, and was assisted by an alcalde to keep order. Their tutor began by desiring them to kneel, informing them that he was going to teach them the names of the Persons composing the Trinity, and that they were to repeat in Spanish what he dictated. The neophytes being thus arranged began: 'Santisima Trinidad, Dios, Jesu Christo, Espirito Santo,' pausing between each name to listen if the simple Indians, who had never spoken a Spanish word before, pronounced it correctly. After they had repeated these names satisfactorily, their blind tutor, after a pause added 'Santos'—and recapitulated the names of a great many saints which finished the morning's tuition."

Now this is precisely the method employed by secular instructors who teach the first letters to the little ones, and in the same manner do grown people acquire the rudiments of a foreign language. No man in his senses would insist that the teacher imparts nothing else, or that after a few days such pupils, "no doubt," are considered capable of receiving graduating diplomas. Yet such idiocy Forbes, who quotes Beechey, imputes to the missionaries, for he says, "After a few days, no doubt, these promising pupils were christened, and admitted to all the benefits and privileges of Christians."[17] This is a fair sample of the rubbish some early writers have circulated about the California Franciscans.

Fr. Font, who came from afar and was an eye-witness, gives this information on the subject: "The method observed by the Fathers in the conversion of the Indians is to force no one to become a Christian. They admit only such as voluntarily offer themselves. Then they instruct those who voluntarily come, teach them how to bless themselves and all the rest that is necessary. If they persevere at the catechism for two or three months with the same determination, and if they have acquired sufficient knowledge, then they are baptized." [18]

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[16] *Voyage*, vol. ii, p. 30.

[17] Forbes, *California*, 217.

The catechumen was led on step by step, so that the practice of daily reciting in common everything that had been learned at last impressed the *Doctrina* on the dullest mind. This *Doctrina* comprised the Sign of the Cross, the Lord's Prayer, the Hail Mary, the Creed, the Confiteor, the Act of Contrition, the Acts of Faith, Hope and Charity, the Ten Commandments of God, the Precepts of the Church, the Seven Sacraments, the Six Necessary Points of Faith, and the Four Last Things.

The missionary had then in the course of time to explain the meaning of all that had been learned by heart and of all that was observed at the divine services. One of the greatest obstacles was the multiplicity of languages. The neophytes were recruited from different rancherias where different dialects and often different languages were spoken. Frequently the natives of the various villages on meeting at the missions could not understand one another. It was impossible for the missionary to learn all the idioms of his mission. Apart from the royal mandate that the Spanish language should be taught and spoken among the neophytes, it became necessary to introduce it as a medium of communication among the Indians themselves. Thus it was that the Castilian became the universal language of the California Indians. This rendered it possible to instruct all the catechumens of a mission at the same time. Meanwhile the Fathers would use interpreters who turned the instructions into Indian and frequently taught the converts themselves. Some of the friars learned the dialect spoken by the majority of a mission, and then taught the neophytes in their own native idiom. However, interpreters continued a standing necessity, because new candidates for Baptism applied for admission who knew nothing but their own jargon. Changes also took place among the missionaries through death, or illness, or at the expiration of the statutory term of years in the service. Interpreters were therefore indispensable.

In order to help the dull minds of the Indians to grasp the significance of the doctrinal points, and to excite the neophytes to practice virtue or avoid evil habits, the missionaries lined and decorated the walls of the chapels and corridors with statues and pictures of Christ, the Blessed Virgin, angels and saints, especially of the mission's patron saint. There were also pictures representing heaven, hell, death, judgment, purgatory, etc.; and the fourteen Stations of the Cross were to be found in every mission. Processions were frequent, and the Indians fondly participated. The procession of Corpus Christi Day especially affected the childlike neophytes as nothing else could. Nevertheless, comparatively few comprehended the full significance of the Holy Eucharist. Notwithstanding the zeal of the friars, who would repeat the lessons over and over again, in order that the Indians might understand the divine truths to some degree, far from being "admitted to all the benefits of Christians after a few days of unintelligible instruction," as Forbes ignorantly asserts, a large number remained incapable of receiving holy Communion,[19] just as they failed to grasp the full significance of citizenship.

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[18] Fr. Font, *Diario*, January 5, 1776.

The daily order at all the missions was as follows: At sunrise the bell called to church all the adults, that is to say, all over nine years of age. Holy Mass was celebrated by one of the Fathers, whilst the other recited aloud the prayers and the *Doctrina* with the Indians. At the conclusion the *Alabado* was sung after a melody which was the same at all the missions.[20] Before being dismissed, during certain seasons of the year, an instruction in Spanish followed the celebration of holy Mass. All would then take breakfast.[21] This consisted of atóle,[22] a kind of gruel made of corn or grain which had been roasted before it was ground. It was prepared in large iron kettles. Every family sent for its share, which was ample, in bark or earthen vessels. The girls and young men took their meals in their respective quarters. After breakfast, which lasted about three-quarters of an hour, the men and larger boys went to the work assigned in the field, among the live-stock, or in the shops. The girls and single women found occupation under the care of the matron. At noon the Angelus Bell announced the time for dinner. This was served in the same manner as the breakfast, but consisted of pozóle,[23] a gruel to which meat, beans, peas, lentils, or garbanzos were added according to the seasons and means of the mission. Two hours were allowed for the meal and for rest. At two o'clock work was resumed, one of the missionaries encouraging the neophytes by his words and example. At about five o'clock work ceased, and the whole population went to church for the recitation of the *Doctrina* and religious devotions. On these occasions the Father would add an instruction in Spanish or Indian as appeared expedient for his polyglot audience. As usual the *Alabado* concluded the exercises. At six o'clock supper was served in the shape of atole. The remainder of the evening was passed in various amusements. In this matter the Indians enjoyed much latitude. They were permitted to indulge in the pastimes of their savage state as long as decency and Christian modesty were not offended.

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[19] Such was found to be the case among all tribes in Canada, the United States, and Lower California. In this matter the adult Indian of that period was not as capable to discern the Body of Christ in the Eucharist as the white child of six years. His instability and his carnal nature were other reasons to make the missionary hesitate.

[20] The Fathers would sing along, Fr. Font remarks, for the sake of encouragement and conformity, even if they had no good voices.

[21] "Before they took their meals they blessed themselves and sang grace." Fr. Font, *Diario,* January 5th.

[22] Atóle is from the Aztec word atolli, or atlaolli, which means a dish prepared of corn and water. Duarte *Mejicanismos;* Robelo, *Diccionario de Aztequismos.*

The children received special attention. "In the morning," say the regulations, "as soon as the grown people shall have gone their way, and in the afternoon before sunset, the Fathers shall give instructions to the boys and girls who are five years old and more, and they shall permit none to be absent." These children generally assembled in the *sala* or large reception room. Furthermore the regulations direct, "The catechumens, those who are about to be married, and those who are preparing to comply with the precept of annual confession, shall likewise attend these exercises in the morning and in the evening, in order that they may be instructed before receiving said holy

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[23] Pozóle from the Aztec word pozoatl, which means a kind of soup or broth.

Sacraments. The same shall be observed with regard to those who, despite the daily exercises, may have forgotten the *Doctrina.*[24]

"On Sundays and feast days the Fathers shall exercise great vigilance lest any one neglect the principal Mass or the sermon which must be preached during that holy Sacrifice. On such occasions they shall explain the Gospel or the mysteries of our holy Faith, and they shall endeavor to adapt themselves to the dullness and the needs of the Indians. When holy Mass is concluded, one of the missionaries shall call every one by name from the Padron.[25] The neophytes shall then approach one after the other to kiss the priest's hand. Thus it will be seen when any one is missing. Those more capable and intelligent shall be exhorted to frequent the holy Sacraments in addition to complying with the precept of the Church,[26] especially on great feasts."

On Sundays and holydays of obligation no work was performed; but after the divine service in the morning and after the devotional exercises in the afternoon, the neophytes were free to divert themselves to their heart's content. The singing at the High Mass was in Latin, of course. Instead of organ accompaniment, instrumental music was employed. The Indians composed the choir and sang from notes which were written on parchment in different colors to indicate the part which the respective singer had to follow. Fr. Estévan Tapis of San Juan Bautista was an expert in writing music; but other Fathers also practiced this method of notation. The afternoon devotions consisted of the Rosary, the Litany of the Blessed Virgin, and other short prayers in Spanish. All other devotional exercises, such as the Way of the Cross every Friday and more frequently in Lent, the prayers and singing during the processions, etc., were in Spanish. At Santa Clara, San

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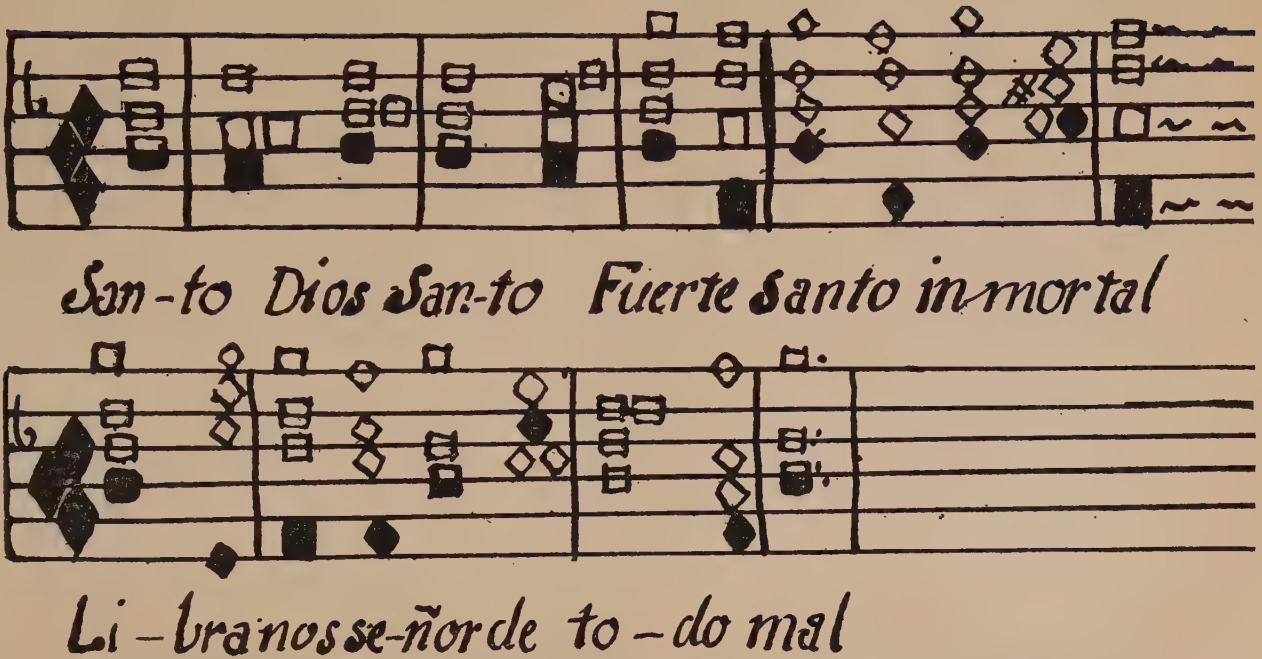
[24] The catechism in use at all the missions, Fr. Font tells us, was that of Fr. Catani. We have never found the name mentioned elsewhere.

[25] The book which contained the names, day of birth, condition, sex, etc., of every member of the community.

[26] "á mas del cumplimiento de la Iglesia." Hence it would be wrong to accuse the Fathers of Jansenism. It simply was not as yet in the natives to abstract from what the senses conveyed.


San-to Dios San-to Fuerte Santo inmortal
Li-branos se-ñor de to-do mal

SPECIMEN OF MISSION MUSIC FOR FOUR VOICES. THE TOP NOTE WOULD BE YELLOW; THE NEXT BELOW WOULD BE RED; THE THIRD LINE WOULD BE BLANK OR WHITE; THE FOURTH WOULD BE BLACK

Diego, and doubtless at all the missions, though we have no records on the subject, the Christmas season was the pride and joy of the childlike neophytes; for then they could represent the Coming of the Savior. Everything was enacted as lifelike as possible. Mary, Joseph, the Shepherds, the Three Kings, etc., were impersonated by Indians. Other ecclesiastical seasons were similarly celebrated, and the instructions adapted to the occasion. In truth, a more kindly, patriarchal life hardly existed anywhere. Inasmuch as there were many holidays, and nothing worried the neophytes, surely no one was overworked save the heads of the great families, the missionaries. However, let us now see how the Indians at the mission were employed.

CHAPTER XVI (Continued).

Mission System Continued.—Agriculture.—The Plough.—Harvesting.—The Ox-Cart.—The Mill.—The Trades.—The Rodeo.—Clothing.—Faultfinders.—Making Converts.—Deserters.—Position of the Neophytes.—Education.—Senator Carmack.—Charles F. Lummis.—Commissioner Jones.—The United States and the Indian.—Expenditures and Results.—Commissioner Leupp.—Commissioner Valentine.—Secretary Ballinger.—Dr. Moody.—The Franciscans Vindicated.—The Neophytes and Schools.—Difficulties.—System of Punishments.—Corporal Punishment.—Affection of the Neophytes.

THE principal occupation of the mission Indians was agriculture. This included the clearing of the land, ploughing, planting grain, building irrigating ditches, irrigating the soil, harvesting the crops, thrashing the wheat and barley, husking corn, picking beans, peas, lentils and garbanzos, gathering grapes and fruits, etc. The implements were very primitive. The plough, which is still used in many districts of Mexico, was composed of two pieces of timber. One of these was formed of a crooked branch of such a shape that it constituted the sole and the handle or stilt. A sharp piece of iron was fitted to the point of the sole. The other piece was a beam of undressed timber long enough to reach the yoke which was fastened with thongs of rawhide to the horns of two oxen that drew the plough. This beam was inserted into the upper part of the main piece and connected with the sole by a small upright piece of wood on which it would slide, and which was fixed by two wedges. By withdrawing these wedges the beam was elevated or lowered, and by this means the plough was regulated as to the depth of the furrow. The ploughman went on one side holding the handle or stilt with his right hand and managing the goad with the left. Only a rut could be made and the soil could not be turned over deep; this necessitated crossing and recrossing the field many times. A harrow was unknown. Where wheat and barley were sown, a bushy branch was used to cover the seed. In places a log of wood was drawn over the field. Corn was planted by hand in the rut made by the plough, and the seed was covered with soil by means of the foot.[1]

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[1] Forbes, *California*, 247-248; 253.

THE PLOUGH OF THE EARLY MISSION PERIOD IN CALIFORNIA

Harvesting was similarly primitive and laborious; but as there was no need of haste it made no difference to the Indians, and the missionaries were satisfied to see their wards acquiring habits of industry and shunning idleness. The grain was thrashed after a method which explains the command in the Old Testament. "Thou shalt not muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn on the floor."[2] The cut grain was spread on a level spot of hard soil. Around this poles were driven into the ground so as to form a circle from about fifteen to twenty feet in diameter. Into this enclosure an Indian led a number of cattle, or preferably horses and mules. He would keep them moving about in the ring, and thus from the stamping the wheat was thrashed out. The chaff was thrown away, and the wheat was brought to the granaries in ox-carts or by mules. This simple method is still in use among the Pueblos of New Mexico.

The form of the carts was as rude as that of the plough. It was composed of a bottom frame of a most clumsy construction on which poles were stuck upright and connected at the top with slight bars. The wheels of the ox-cart were also of a most singular construction. They had no spokes, but were composed of three pieces of timber. The middle piece was hewn out of a tree of sufficient size to form the nave and middle of the wheel all in one. This middle piece was made of a length equal to the diameter of the wheel, and rounded at the two ends to arcs of the circumference. The other two pieces were made of timber naturally bent and joined to the sides of the middle piece by keys or oblong pieces of wood, grooved into the ends of the pieces which formed the wheel. The whole was then made circular, and resembled the wheels of the barrows. Sometimes the wheels, two or three feet in diameter, were made of one block of wood. Into the construction of this cart no particle of iron, not even a nail, entered, for the axle was entirely of wood, and the linch-pin of the same material, as well as the pins that fixed the cart to the axle. The pole was of large dimensions, and long enough to be fastened to the yoke in the same manner as the beam of the plough.

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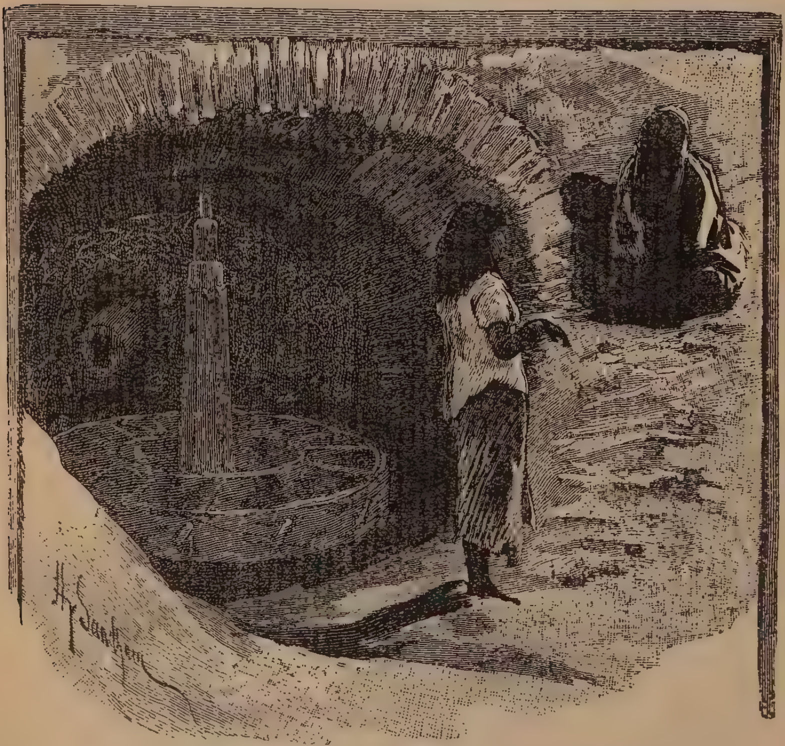
[2] Deuteronomy, xxv, 4.

Wheat and corn were ground to flour by the Indian women after their own primitive way by crushing with the pestle in a mortar or in baskets. Later on water mills were introduced. They, too, were of the most primitive construction, Forbes informs us; but none better were found in other parts of Spanish America, not even in Chile where wheat abounded. These mills consisted of an upright axle, to the lower end of which was fixed a horizontal water-wheel placed under the building, and to the upper end the mill-stone. As there was no intermediate machinery to increase the velocity, the mill-stone could make only the same number of revolutions as the water-wheel. This necessitated a wheel of small diameter, otherwise no power of water thrown upon it could make it go at a rate sufficient to give the mill-stone the requisite velocity. The wheel was constructed in the following manner: A set of so-called spoons



WATER-POWER MILL AT MISSION SAN ANTONIO

were stuck into the periphery of the wheel which served in place of float boards. They were made of pieces of timber in something of the shape of spoons; the handles were inserted into the mortises on the edge of the wheel; and the bowls of the spoons received the water which spouted on them and forced round the small wheel with nearly the velocity of the water which impinged upon it.[3]

Many of the neophytes were set to work at the various trades, such as the needs of the community demanded. Thus in the course of time we find them making bricks, tiles and pottery, laying brick, doing carpenter and mason work, making shoes, saddles, hats, clothes, candles, soap, tanning hides, combing and spinning wool, melting tallow, shearing sheep, blacksmithing, etc. One of the chief occupations was the weaving of a kind of coarse cloth and blankets from the wool of their own sheep. The women and girls would spin, sew, grind corn, and attend to household duties. Even the children were employed to chase away birds from the orchards and vineyards, or doing the chores of which they were capable.

Fewer men and less labor were required to care for the livestock; but, as each mission possessed large herds of cattle, sheep, and horses, and some mules, a good number of men and boys were engaged in this department of the mission system. The pastures at most seasons of the year were abundant, and the domestic animals increased amazingly; but, except for those that were slaughtered for food, little advantage was obtained from the cattle beyond the value of the hides and tallow. A time was set apart at certain seasons of the year to which the Indians looked ahead as the period of feasting and relaxation. Many would come from other missions to assist at the feasting. It was the time of the *rodeo*. The cattle were rounded up in a large enclosure for the purpose of examining and counting them. On this occasion also the young would be branded with the mark of the mission. Those that were to be operated upon were forced through a gate singly, and then lassoed. When secured the iron brand was applied, and thus marked the animal as the property of the particular mission.

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[3] Forbes, *California*, 251; 261-262.

The product of the field was garnered in granaries, and the goods produced in the shops were stored in the mission warehouse for the benefit of the community. All, Indians and missionaries, shared alike in what was produced. No one received wages, because the wants of all were supplied from the common property. The missionary himself received no more. When there was an opportunity, the missionary would sell to foreign merchants what could be spared, and in turn he purchased groceries, dry goods, and especially iron and ironware. Most wearing apparel was manufactured by the Indians, so that no other expenditure was necessary. The clothing of the neophytes was simple, but well adapted to their tastes and mode of life. The men wore a linen shirt and pantaloons; they were also given a woolen blanket made at the mission shops. The overseers and expert workmen wore clothes like the Spaniards. The women wore chemise, gown and blanket or shawl, likewise manufactured at the mission. While the friars received their stipends, that is to say, down to the end of 1811, and later on when the hides, tallow, grain, wine, and olive oil, etc., had been sold at a good price to ships from abroad, the Fathers would distribute handkerchiefs, wearing apparel, tobacco, and trinkets to the members of their great mission family. The rest was devoted to embellish the churches, or to procure church goods, pictures, statues, musical instruments for the Indian band, etc. On such occasions the missionary was only too happy to be able to make his wards happy; he shared everything with them just like the thoughtful father of a family.

It is no wonder, therefore, that the Indians under the supervision of the missionaries felt quite contented and happy. "Their labor is light," Forbes[4] acknowledges, though with much reluctance, "and they have much leisure time to waste in their beloved inaction, or in the rude pastimes of their aboriginal state."[5] This being so, it is amazing to find the same Forbes, Hittell, and others laboring hard to show that the convert Indians were nothing but slaves to the missionaries. Theodore Hittell is especially virulent, but like Forbes merely succeeds in laying bare his unreasoning prejudice and unhistorical methods. It must strike the intelligent student, who reads those authors, that the real fault which the critics find with the mission system is none other than that it was devised and conducted by members of a Catholic religious Order, friars at that. To call the neophytes under the management of the friars slaves, is flying into the face of historical facts and doing violence to the very word.

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[4] *California*, 222.

[5] The Fathers wisely forbade only such games as were indecent.

No one, to begin with, was compelled to join the mission. Only those who voluntarily presented themselves for instruction and for the mode of life they observed at the mission, were admitted to Baptism after a period of probation. They were first induced by means of gifts and persuasion to visit the establishments and to witness the happy, care-free life of the Christians, and thus shown the advantage of it from a merely worldly point of view. The missionary then would try to make the visitors grasp the spiritual aim and the advantage of becoming Christians. The persuasion of well-fed Christian relatives operated more powerfully in favor of the mission than even the gentle manner of the missionary. To know that there would always be something to eat under the shadow of the Cross, whilst away from it there was everlasting want of food, was a powerful incentive; for a material meal would attract the savage far more effectively than any number of other reasons. It was not a noble motive, but it was as high as the low Californian was in the habit of thinking, and the only one which he could command. The better motive for staying and submitting to the conditions came whilst he received instruction. If he could not muster the courage and manhood requisite, he was free to depart; and very likely many did return to their wild ways which knew no restraint of any kind. After the candidates had once received Baptism, however, which could not be administered until the missionary convinced himself that the catechumens were in good faith and determined, then, indeed, they were not free to resume their wild and immoral life, because they bore the indelible mark of a Christian upon the soul which it was not allowed to desecrate. Such neophytes were on a level with the soldiers who had taken an oath to stand by the flag of their country which they could not be permitted to desert. Whether this appeals to the infidel or not, does not matter. Such was the situation which was well known to the convert.

There was another, a political reason, to forbid the neophyte to return to former ways. If he rejoined his heathen tribesmen, he was a menace to the peace of the mission people and of the colonists. If he was a traitor to his Religion and the missionaries, he would not hesitate to turn against the Spaniards. The mission history of Old Mexico, New Mexico, Florida, Texas, Arizona, and of San Diego itself proved this. The runaway was, therefore, followed by the mission guards and brought back. Nevertheless, it is untrue to assert that the male neophytes were never allowed to visit their pagan relatives and friends in the mountains or deserts. Such permission was frequently granted for a period of two weeks. During this vacation the neophyte could visit his relatives and friends in the heathen rancherias, or, if he wished, he might go anywhere from San Diego to San Francisco, and he was sure to be treated hospitably at every mission. That was far more than the Indians could boast of in their savage state. Before the coming of the missionaries the Indians could not safely leave their little district to go, for instance, from Santa Barbara to San Buenaventura, less than forty miles.

The neophytes were obliged to lead orderly, decent and industrious lives, and infractions would be punished according to the gravity of transgression; but that does not make a man a slave. Children are marched into the class room; at every society gathering certain rules must be observed; inhabitants of a city are held to keep within the laws and ordinances; members of labor unions submit to regulations; the very legislators follow rules; and the soldier's liberty is very much restricted, and he is ordered hither and thither; yet no one looks upon all these as slaves. Why the Indians, for being marched to divine service, to catechetical instructions, to their work, as well as to their meals, and for being governed and corrected by priests rather than by politicians or police officers, should deserve to be called slaves, and the missionaries despots and tryants, is more than sound reason may comprehend; but that has been the fashion with a certain class of historians and newspaper scribes. Both Hittell and Forbes speak of the kindly character of the mission

UNIVERSAL CONVEYANCE IN THE EARLY MISSION PERIOD

Fathers, yet they write them down as slaveholders. Hittell claims that "the missionaries were in reality tyrants."[6] The contradiction is inexplicable save on the ground that intense bigotry at times ran away with the common sense of such writers. The term which alone applies to the missionaries is the one that Spanish law conceded to them. They stood to their neophytes in the capacity of a father toward his children, and as fathers the friars conducted themselves towards their converts, notwithstanding all that closet-historians and fanatical bigots assert to the contrary. The narrative will bring this out clearly enough. The neophytes were regarded and treated as adopted children. That is the historical truth of the matter.

Mr. Charles Dwight Willard, author of *"The History of Los Angeles City,"* discovered another term which may pass muster if a good deal of affection is thrown in. He says the neophytes held the position of apprentices. Such they were. Unfortunately, owing to the dullness of their mental faculties, their inherent indolence, their lack of will-power and their want of self-reliance, save in a small number, they failed to emerge from the apprenticeship in either religious, civil, or social matters. In spite of all missionary efforts, they remained children. One reason was, the enemies of the mission system expected too much of them, and would not give them time to develop in order to become masters in anything. The friars were supposed to effect in a few years what it required centuries to bring about in the ancestors of the mission traducers.

We now come to the question of secular "education," the modern fetish and cure-all of irreligious pedagogues. What has been said thus far on the mission system demonstrates that the friars endeavored to educate their wards in the true sense of the word; for they taught the neophytes everything that would contribute to their earthly well-being and eternal happiness. They gave the Indians the education which was adapted to their present needs and probable future condition in society. That was a sane proceeding, but it does not satisfy modern pedagogues and shallow critics who do not judge the past by the circumstances of the past, but from the standpoint of modern inventions and discoveries, and by their own notions of man's destiny on earth. They everlastingly harp on an "education" which is no real education, and charge the missionaries with wilfully keeping the natives in ignorance. By education these modern lights mean book-learning, even the indiscriminate cramming into the heads of a great many things that are absolutely of no use to the pupil in his later years. Men of thought have long since found this to be folly, at least as far as the Indians are concerned. Thus on April 25th, 1902, Senator Carmack in the Senate Chamber of the United States gave it as his conviction that "the idea that you can transform the character of a race by teaching them to read is the wildest, craziest, the most fantastic dream that ever flitted through a lunatic's brain." The famous author and editor Charles F. Lummis, who had witnessed Indian life in New Mexico, Arizona and California, answers the question "What is an education?" as follows: "Is it the ability to repeat what you have heard? A phonograph can do that. And a phonograph is about the measure of modern 'education.' To older-fashioned folks an education is what fits a man, or woman, to live happily, decently, usefully. And whatever parrotry of text-books falls short of this isn't an education."[7]

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[6] See Hittell, vol. ii, chapter xii, and compare his vol. i, 472. Forbes, *California*, pt. ii, chapter v.

The missionaries established the missions in order to transform the savages into Christians and law-abiding subjects of the State. Like Senator Carmack, they perceived that book-learning could not accomplish that object, even if it had been possible to induce the Indians to avail themselves of it. They aimed to lead their wards to abandon brutish ways, and to "live happily, decently and usefully." The friars possessed common sense enough to see that what modern fad-chasers call "education" was absolutely unfit for the purpose, just as much so as a wooden hammer is unsuitable to forge a horseshoe. It really would have unfitted the pupil for the life he would have to live after he came away from the tutelage of the Fathers. Fifty years ago the United States Government was persuaded not to be content with giving the Indian children an ordinary school knowlege, but to send them thousands of miles away to educational establishments in Virginia and Pennsylvania for the purpose of affording them a high school education. The movement, because of the way it was inaugurated and the proselytism manifested, caused us missionaries no little worry. Those who knew the Indian predicted failure, but in vain. Well, after twenty years, the Hon. Commissioner of Indian Affairs reported: "These pupils are gathered from the cabin, the wickiup and the tepee. *Partly by cajolery and partly by threats; partly by bribery and partly by fraud; partly by persuasion and partly by force,* they are induced to leave their homes and their kindred to enter these schools, and take upon themselves the outward semblance of civilized life. Here the pupil remains until his education is finished, when he is returned to his home."[8]

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[7] *Land of Sunshine*, June, 1900, p. 50.

What were the results? "In the last twenty years," the Hon. Commissioner confesses, "fully $45,000,000[9] have been spent by the government alone for the education of Indian pupils, and it is a liberal estimate to put the number of those so educated at not over 20,000. It is contended, and with reason, that with the same effort and much less expenditure, applied locally or to the family circle, far greater and much more beneficent results could have been obtained, and the tribes would have been in a much more advanced stage of civilization than at present. On the other hand, it is said that the stream of returning pupils carries with it the refining influence of the schools and operates to elevate the people. Doubtless this is true of individual cases, and it may have some faint influence on the tribes; but will it ever sufficiently leaven the entire mass? It is doubtful. It may be possible in time to purify a fountain by cleansing its turbid waters as they pour forth and returning them to their original source; but experience is against it. For centuries, pure fresh-water streams have poured their floods into the Great Salt Lake, and its waters are salt still.

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[8] *Annual Report* of the Hon. W. A. Jones, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, for the year 1901. See also *Land of Sunshine,* December, 1901.

[9] Had the California missionaries possessed but the one hundredth part of that immense amount of money for school purposes, they would have been able to bestow a sane and serviceable school education on their Indians.

"What then shall be done? And this inquiry brings into prominence at once the whole Indian question.[10] It may be well first to take a glance at what has been done. For about a generation the government has been taking a very active interest in the welfare of the Indian. In that time he has been located on reservations and fed and clothed; he has been supplied lavishly with utensils and means to earn his living, with materials for his dwelling and articles to furnish it; his children have been educated and money has been paid him; farmers and mechanics have been supplied him, and he has received aid in a multitude of different ways. In the last thirty-three years[11] over $250,000,000[12] have been spent upon an Indian population not exceeding 180,000,[13] enough, if equitably divided, to build each one a house suitable to his condition and furnish it throughout; to fence his land and build him a barn; to buy him a wagon and team and harness; to furnish him plows and the other implements necessary to cultivate the ground, and to give him something besides to embellish and beautify his home.

"What is his condition today? He is still on his reservation; he is still being fed; his children are still being educated and money is still being paid him; he is still dependent upon the government for his existence;[14] merchants wait on him and farmers still aid him; *he is little, if any, nearer the goal*

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[10] The Commissioner's Report applies so well to our subject that we need offer no apology for reproducing the main point.

[11] The enemies of the friars thought ten years enough in order to accomplish without means what the rich and powerful U. S. Government could not attain in five times ten years, and it confesses that in an additional thirty years it will not see its way out.

[12] This does not include the large sums expended by missionary societies.

[13] Compare with this expenditure what the royal and viceroyal government contributed for the nearly 90,000 Indians whom the Franciscans eventually baptized in California. The next chapter will reveal how niggardly the poor missionaries were remembered. From the beginning the missionaries and the Indians had to worry along without government help.

[14] In California the reverse obtained. The government could not, after 1811 and till 1846, have existed without the missions. It depended for maintenance entirely upon the labor of the Indians and friars.

of independence than he was thirty years ago, and if the present policy is continued he will get little, if any, nearer in thirty years to come. It is not denied that under this, as under the school system, there has been some progress, but it has not been commensurate with the money spent and effort made."[15]

Not only the United States Government discovered at last that book-learning is not the universal remedy for the ills of the Indian, but the latter himself found that the high school branches, as imparted with all the conventionalities of the pedagogues, unfitted him for work among his own people. "The Indian youth realizes," Hon. Francis E. Leupp, successor of Commissioner Jones, writes,[16] "that if he had not been carried so far up, he would not have had so far a fall; that if he had devoted the energies of his youth to learning how to shoe a horse, or build a house, or repair wagons, or make clothes, or manage a stable, or to do something else, which he could have continued to do after his return home, he might have remained of humbler mind, but he would have grown stronger in character and in purse. The gospel of Indian salvation,[17] if I read it aright, *puts industry at the top of the list of human virtues.*[18] Wherever we find the Indian idle, we find him a pauper and unruly. Wherever we find the Indian busy, we find him comfortable and docile. It requires sympathy, consideration, tact, firm but gentle handling on the part of his teachers. With these in full exercise we can make of him a useful member of society. It is pleasant to note that the more intelligent teachers in the service are ignoring books as far as they can in the early stages of their work. . . . If it came to a question between keeping the children at their studies and letting them go into these lines of labor,[19] I should decide in favor of the labor every time. They learn more from it. Self-support at a gainful occupation is worth tenfold what they can get from books."

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[15] *Annual Report* of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, ut supra.

[16] *The Failure of the Educated Indian, Booklovers' Magazine,* May, 1906, p. 594-602, passim.

[17] Mr. Leupp means temporal welfare, of course.

[18] What a vindication of the Franciscan mission system is all that Mr. Leupp says!

[19] In orange groves, orchards, hop fields, beet fields, etc.

This sane view of the Indian problem, which is based on the experience gathered from costly experiments, and which exactly coincides with the ideas and practice of the California missionaries, has now become the fixed policy of the United States Government in dealing with the young Indians. "The fundamental principle in all these schools," writes the Hon. Robert G. Valentine, present Commissioner of Indian Affairs, "is the adaptation of the studies to the needs of the children in the locality where they will live after leaving school." [20]

His superior in office, the Hon. Richard A. Ballinger, Secretary of the Interior, in the Annual Report to Congress confirms the statements of the subordinate officials. "My personal visitation to some of the non-reservation Indian schools," he says, "convinces me that certain of them should be abolished. It is my purpose to abandon at the end of this school year such of these schools as are not sufficiently promoting the public service, and where retained to concentrate the energies of the department on the development of agricultural and industrial schools in order to give the Indian means of learning how to support himself by farming and by the exercise of the simpler trades; and for the girls a domestic training in harmony with the station they must naturally fill." [21]

We may now allow a medical man to express his views on the subject. Dr. Charles S. Moody, who spent some years among the Indians in the wilds of the West, at a time when the West was in reality wild, is even more emphatic on the subject. Writing to the *American Journal of Clinical Medicine,* he expresses himself as follows: "The education of the Indian in a higher sense is a failure. The white man cannot ingraft upon the savage soul his ideas of culture. The Indian is an imitative genius, and will learn the accomplishments of the white man and apply them only so long as he is under the influence of the white man. Allow him to return to his tribal relations and he sooner or later reverts to the old tribal customs.[22] I do not mean by this that the education of the savage is a failure; I simply mean that the higher education of the Indian is not only a failure: it is a crime. By all means educate the native. Educate him to be a self-sustaining citizen. Teach him the value of industry, economy, frugality, honesty. Teach him that only those who labor shall eat, and you have accomplished all that can be reasonably expected. The Catholic Church with its faculty of getting at the root of things, long ago saw this, and in consequence the Catholic Indians are more self-sustaining than any other of our Indians." [23]

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[20] *Sunset Magazine,* June, 1910.

[21] *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior,* December, 1909.

[22] This is precisely the reason why the missionaries retained the converts at the missions. Not only would the neophyte lose his Religion if he went back to his former haunts, but he would resume old habits.

Thus we find that, after almost a century of virulent vituperation, the method of dealing with the Indians practiced by the Franciscans, in all its essential features, has been adopted by the very Government of the United States. It should be needless to affirm that, not any more than said government, do we advocate ignorance of the ordinary school knowledge for the aborigines. We have in the past thirty years and more personally founded and managed day schools for both Indian and white children, and boarding schools for Indians. We have endeavored to keep them on a plane which could challenge competition,[24] but only as a means to a higher end. Education of any kind, with the Christian, can hold no other position; but to be adequate such education must be adapted to the condition and prospects of the pupil. The California friars knew very well that a knowledge of reading and writing could render great assistance in acquiring a deeper knowledge of Christian truths; but understanding the mind and capacity of their neophytes, the missionaries refrained from pressing the task upon any of them save those who were found willing. Bible truths were therefore taught by word of mouth. This was far more agreeable to the indolent native, and after all the only sane and safe way of teaching him what he must believe and do in order to save his soul. Had the Fathers insisted that the savages, who applied for admission, and who had not yet learned to wear clothes, must learn to read and write, their chances of obtaining converts would have been very slender; for that required extra mental exertion which the Indian hated more than manual labor. It was difficult enough, as it was, to make him learn the bare rudiments of Religion, and pictures had to be employed to help him acquire even that much.

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[23] Quoted by the *Ave Maria,* March, 1907, p. 405.

[24] We once sent a formal challenge to a government agent and his boarding school for a public competition with our Indian boarding school, in order to give him a chance to prove his charges. We expressly stipulated that the judges must be Protestants. He declined to accept.

Hence it was that the missionaries offered the opportunity of learning to read and write only to such boys as manifested a desire and aptitude to learn, whereas they insisted on manual labor for all without exception. These boys were taught as well as time and circumstances permitted. A good number of youths succeeded at each mission and they composed the church choir. They sang the Masses and psalms in Latin, and they could lead at community prayers and public devotions in Spanish. Besides these singers, at all the missions a few boys assisted the priests at the altar, and most probably were able to read. The elementary branches were, therefore, not neglected, and ignorance was not encouraged; but, for the reasons stated, book-learning was not made compulsory. It would have been unwise for another reason. The white population, over which the Fathers could exercise no control, cared nothing for "education" so called. The governors themselves failed to convince the majority of its necessity. It would then have been imprudent to compel the Indians to trouble themselves with something which the *gente de razon*[25] declared to be quite useless. The position of the missionaries was difficult enough as it was.

Let us, however, examine whether so called "education" was practicable in those times, supposing that the Indians were willing to acquire it. Who should teach? Apart from the fact that the missionaries came as messengers of the Gospel, not as schoolmasters, the king and his government refused the means of livelihood for more than two priests at a mission.

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[25] *People of reason.* This is what the Spaniards called themselves, and the Indians also used the term for all white people, because they assumed that they were guided by reason, whereas the Indian followed his instincts or passions.

Nay, the great reformer Neve would allow that much for only one priest. Moreover, without the permission of the government the Superior in Mexico could not send a third one, much less a laybrother, who might have undertaken to teach the elementary branches. The two Fathers had their hands full managing other more weighty temporal matters in addition to their chief duty. They would have welcomed teachers from Mexico, but who would pay their salary? The friars received no money even for their own services. The teacher might possibly volunteer to teach for nothing, but who would pay his traveling expenses all the way from Mexico? Then, who would pay for the books and other necessary articles of the schoolroom? Everything had to be brought from Mexico thousands of miles overland by means of mules, or by way of the ocean from San Blas. If malicious writers had sat down and had figured out the cost of founding and maintaining a simple elementary school at each mission under such circumstances, and if they had considered the fact that neither teachers nor pupils could easily be obtained, granting for argument's sake that such schooling was necessary, which in those times it was not, then these carping critics would not have displayed such a lack of knowledge of the first principles of a true education—regard for truth and fairness.

According to what the authorities quoted declare necessary for the Indian even now, when he is no more the brutish savage of a century ago, the friars wisely chose industrial pursuits as most congenial and beneficial to him. The modern educators judge the Indian to be as anxious as the white pupil for book-learning, and as eager for reading matter as other children. Well, he has had all the opportunities, more so than hundreds of thousands of white children; yet as a rule he manifests no taste for reading. The writer of this has frequently tried to induce Indian pupils and youths to read story books, for instance. They took little or no interest in what would delight the white boy or girl. A game of anything and at all times is far more to their liking. In short, the United States Government has discovered that the old friars were men of common sense, as well as zealous missionaries, and that their system of Indian training was the one best adapted to the character and needs of the American native at that period.

We have to touch one more feature of the mission system—the method of punishing transgressors. If on the subject of education for the primitive Indian hostile critics prove themselves unreasonable, they appear to have lost their wits when describing the means employed by the missionaries to correct delinquents. Let us see. Each mission resembled a great family of which the missionary was the head. He was so declared by the Spanish law, and therefore he might not only reward but punish. His family comprised many hundreds, often some thousands, of Indians, good, bad and indifferent. Some were firm in their resolutions, others vacillated and were easily led astray by white adventurers or by those of their own race. Some became absolutely vicious, as we shall learn from the local annals of each mission. Necessarily disorders and excesses would occur. To prevent them, as much as possible, the friars drew up what might be called police regulations for the transgression of which certain punishments were meted out. Here is where the critics differ with the Fathers, just as on the subject of education, as to what kind of penalties would be proper and effective. Well, the missionaries employed various means to preserve order and to keep their wards industrious and virtuous. They would instruct, warn, admonish, and finally have recourse to such punishments as would impress creatures so dull, coarse, and carnal, with the gravity of a deed or neglect of a duty. The culprit would be locked up; but that was what he courted, because it relieved him of work. He was also deprived of the privilege of visiting his relatives or friends in the mountains, or forbidden to participate in a festivity or amusement. This affected him somewhat more.

There were offenses, however, intrinsically wicked or subversive of order, which had to be dealt with in such a way that the transgressor *felt* the gravity of them, if he would not comprehend it. Such misdeeds were, habitual stealing, persistent indolence, stubbornness, desertion, drunkenness, immoralities, etc. For such misconduct civilized society maintains workhouses and penitentiaries, and within those institutions various kinds of punishments are inflicted. The missionaries employed some of those in use in the prisons of Mexico, such as the stocks, pillory, chain to the legs, or extra work, etc.

However, the savage was thoroughly carnal, and sometimes his animal propensities would come to the surface after he had adopted Christianity. Culprits of that class, when they displayed stubbornness, needed a punishment which touched their carnal nature. As they remained children, with regard to the use of their mental faculties, they had to be treated like unruly boys if other remedies failed. The lash was accordingly applied. It was the only punishment that convinced. The number of lashes which might be inflicted was laid down by Spanish laws. It could never exceed twenty-five for the same offence. The chastisement was not inflicted by the missionary, but at his direction by one of the chief Indians or an Indian official. This manner of correcting the guilty in Lower California originated with the Rev. Juan Maria Salvatierra, S. J.,[26] and Fr. Serra retained it for the Indians under his charge. Criminals, who committed misdeeds deserving capital punishment, had to be turned over to the corporal of the guard, who in turn reported the case to the governor.

This use of the lash, which was quite common in Old Mexico, gave the enemies the opportunity they desired for reviling the friars. They declared such punishment degrading, inhuman, cruel, tyrannical, etc.[27] The Indian did not think so. Besides, it was in keeping with the custom of the age among white people. Even sailors and soldiers at that period, and inmates of penitentiaries, were given this remedy for their moral ailments. Boys in the public schools not so far back and for their benefit, learned the scriptural lesson, "spare not the rod." It was abolished, true; it was also banished from the missions; in both cases morals and respect for authority gained nothing. The Indian was an overgrown child. As such he was treated, but the stories of cruelty retailed by traducers of the missionaries were either manufactured for effect, or exaggerated out of all semblance to the truth.[28] The Franciscans in the struggle between Indian rights and white cupidity stood on the side of the Indian. It was for this that the Californians and Mexicans had recourse to calumny when they perceived that it would be impossible to win over the friars by persuasion.

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[26] See vol. i, p. 168, for the occasion and the cause.

[27] Nevertheless, the whipping post and the lash is still used in the prisons of the State of Delaware. President Roosevelt advocated whipping for wife-beaters. There are characters who need the lash. Stocks and the pillory were used in New England. Flogging in the English army was not abolished till 1881, nearly forty years after the Mission period. In the English navy to this day the *Cat o' Nine Tails* is in use. In the United States navy sailors were flogged till the year 1850. Flogging soldiers in the U. S. army continued till the beginning of the Civil War in 1861. As to the brutal treatment of sailors on merchant vessels, let readers consult Richard Dana's *Two Years Before the Mast,* pp. 112-119, 122-123. Hence the charge of cruelty comes with poor grace from the Mission enemies. See *Mission San Gabriel,* Appendix F.

An abuse here and there may have occurred; some of the overseers may have exceeded their orders or acted on their own responsibility and become guilty of cruelty. That was possible; but it is incumbent on the accuser to specify the cases. This the enemies of the missionaries fail to do. They deal in generalities. At any rate, such things happen and happened in state institutions. They have occurred in public schools before corporal punishment was abolished. As a matter of fact the Fathers shielded their wards as much as possible, and reluctantly turned culprits over to the soldiers when the law so demanded. The punishments meted out were those a sensible father would inflict on his refractory boys, and no more. It may be taken for granted that the missionaries rather dissimulated and tolerated much because they disliked punishing. That accounts for the esteem in which they were held by the neophytes. Forbes, who is not a friend of Catholic religious, could not help acknowledging: "There are few examples to be found where men enjoying such unlimited confidence and power have not abused them. And yet I have never heard that the missionaries of California have not acted with the most perfect fidelity, or that they ever betrayed their trust, or exercised inhumanity, and the testimony of all travelers who have visited this country is uniformly to the same effect.

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[28] The *Los Angeles County History,* for instance, tells us that "Fr. Zalvidéa of Mission San Gabriel must assuredly have considered whipping as meat and drink to them, for they had it morning, noon, and night." Bancroft, on the other hand, (vol. v, 622) says that Fr. Zalvidéa was regarded as a saint, and that "there is no evidence that he ever had an enemy or said an unkind word to any man."

The best and unequivocal proof of the good conduct of these Fathers is to be found in the unbounded affection and devotion invariably shown towards them by their Indian subjects. They venerate them not merely as friends and fathers, but with a degree of devotedness approaching adoration." [29]

This, for the present, is sufficient on the mission system employed by the messengers of the Gospel in California. We may now proceed with the narrative, better equipped to understand the position and work of the religious who devoted themselves to the task of Christianizing and civilizing the savages.

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[29] Forbes, *California, 227*; *230*. Forbes was long a resident of Tepíc, and was constantly brought in contact with those going to or coming from Upper California during the last years of the mission period.

CHAPTER XVII.

Extra Rations.—The Governor Refuses Them.—Petition of Fathers Palóu and Cambón.—Manner of Obtaining Converts.—Obedience of State Officials and Religious Compared.—Neve's Heartless Reply.—Difficulties of the Missionaries.—Fr. Serra's Statement.—Viceroy Mayorga's Decision.—De Croix Appeals.—Another Spiteful Action.—Unfortunate Change in the General Government.—De Croix's Conceit.—Neve's Arrogant Assumption.—Death of Viceroy Bucareli.—Bancroft's Tribute.

IT will be remembered that, while Fr. Serra in 1773 exerted himself at the capital of Mexico in behalf of the missions, Don Juan José Echeveste, by order of the viceroy on May 19, 1773, presented a plan or Reglamento for the temporal government of the Californias. The fiscal, José Antonio de Areche, on June 14th passed upon it favorably; the director of the Pious Fund Estate, Fernando José Mangino, on June 19th approved of the articles concerning the missions; and viceroy Bucareli, after the royal council had concurred on July 8th, promulgated the Reglamento on July 23, 1773, though it was not to take effect until January 1, 1774.[1] According to this Reglamento each mission in Upper California was to be managed by two Franciscan friars who were each to receive an annual allowance of $400 from the Pious Fund and double rations for five years. Double rations for the same number of years were also granted to the Fathers who as supernumeraries were waiting for the founding of their missions, though for the time being they received no stipends or annual allowance.[2] The single ration was computed at one and one-half reales, and the real was equal to twelve and one-half cents. Hence the double rations amounted to thirty-seven and one-half cents extra each day, or $136.89 and one-half cents a year, for each of the two friars at a mission, or $273.79 for both. With this during the first five years the two Fathers were to pay six neophyte servants who should perform the work about the house and church and begin to till the soil, so that from their example the savages might learn to apply themselves to a civilized life.[3] For their own needs and the maintenance of divine worship the two Fathers each could dispose of their stipend which consisted of goods to the munificent amount of nominally $400, but in reality of only about $260, since the cost of transportation consumed the remainder. Moreover, Governor Fages had been instructed to aid the missionaries without stint. Rivera since January 1774, when the Reglamento went into force, had allowed the rations to be delivered regularly; but the new ruler, Felipe De Neve, despite his instructions to preserve harmony,[4] soon manifested the spirit which controlled him.

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[1] See chapter viii; Echeveste's Reglamento, *Sta. Barb. Arch.;* Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. iii, capp. xxxix-xl, 95-138.

[2] The words and kindly intent are clear. "Por una vez para los primeros cinco años, mandó S. Ex. se diese á los diez religiosos la racion doble, que son tres reales al dia para cada uno, y lo mismo á los supernumerarios, para que esta limosna, junta con los sínodos ayudasen á mantener y vestir á los Indios interin en los cinco primeros años se ponen en corriente las misiones para poderse mantener con solo los sínodos anuales." Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. iii, cap. xli, pp. 146-147; *Vida,* cap. xxxv, p. 155; Echeveste's Reglamento No. 4, in Palóu, tom. iii, p. 98, and the fiscal's' approval p. 110.

Only one year and a half after his arrival at Monterey, Neve addressed the following communication to the Fathers of the missions of San Francisco and Santa Clara: "The scarcity of provisions at the presidio for the troops and for others that are attached to it before fresh supplies may arrive obliges me to command a suspension of the rations which have been furnished to Your Reverences on account of the need in which Your Reverences stood of the said assistance since the erection of the missions until the present harvest. However, inasmuch as higher authority has not sanctioned the enjoyment of said rations[5] and other assistance which Captain Fernando de Rivera[6] allowed for the founding of the last three

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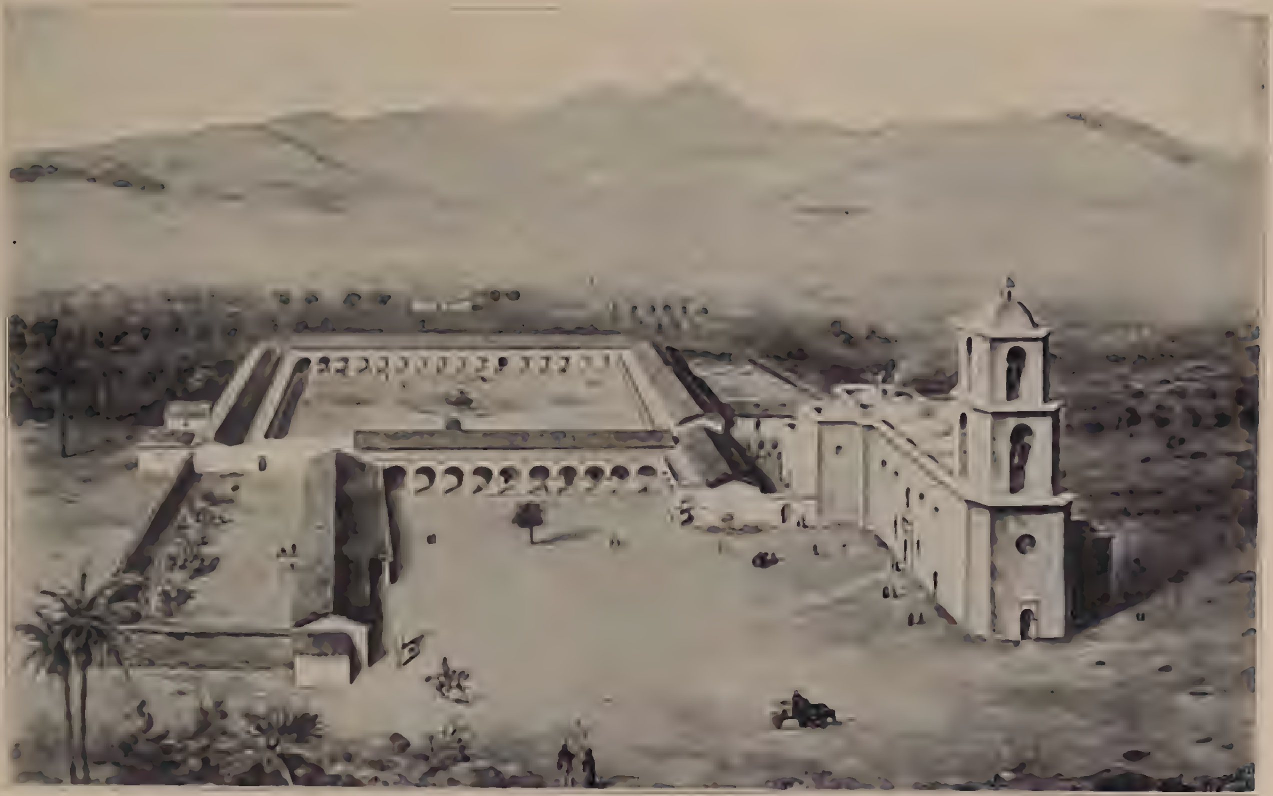
[3] See preceding note.

[4] See vol. i, 556.

[5] A bold assertion, indeed. See chapter viii.

[6] This was another bold assertion. Rivera had nothing to do with allowing the rations. These had been granted by the Echeveste Reglamento.



VIII. MISSION SAN JUAN CAPISTRANO, FOUNDED NOVEMBER 1, 1776

missions, I shall direct that in the accounts the provisions be marked as supplied [7] to Your Reverences until higher authority shall determine otherwise." [8]

In their long and exhaustive reply Fr. Francisco Palóu of Mission Dolores and Fr. José Murguía of Mission Santa Clara refer to the Reglamento which had become law through the decree of the viceroy, who had declared that its provisions should be observed until the king should ordain otherwise. The king had not disapproved of the Reglamento; it was, therefore, incumbent upon the governor to abide by its directions and to furnish the rations; to withhold them until the king should order them to be supplied was not according to the letter nor the spirit of the Reglamento, nor in keeping with the wishes of either the king or the viceroy. The latter had expressly declared that the chief object of Anza's expedition, for instance, was to conduct troops to the Port of San Francisco for the purpose of guarding the two missions which it was resolved to establish there.[9] Surely, the royal heart, which was filled with a desire for the propagation of the Faith, did not begrudge the contribution (not from the royal treasury, but from the Fund established for that purpose by pious benefactors of the missions) to a few poor missionaries, who had left the conveniences of the College, and had voluntarily banished themselves to this corner of the world, solely for the purpose of propagating the Faith and of increasing the number of His Majesty's subjects; and who labored not only for the Indians, but also without compensation attended to the spiritual wants of the troops and their families at the presidio, often staying there a whole day. Besides all this, the friars toiled like peons and to such at all events His Majesty does not refuse the wages and rations from the very royal treasury.[10] At any rate, "we came to these establishments without other assistance than the rations for the missionaries, and with the additional burden of having to sustain from them the four Lower California neophytes who came up for each of the two missions." [11]

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[7] That is to say, Neve suspended the rations because of scarcity, but there would be no scarcity if the Fathers paid for them; at all events he would in the future demand pay for what they received as rations.

[8] Neve to Fr. Palóu, October 7, 1778. *Sta. Barb. Arch.* The Fathers of San Juan Capistrano received a similar notification. The proper way would have been to report to the viceroy and await his instructions; but Neve was bent on embarrassing the friars, notwithstanding Bucareli's instructions.

[9] Bucareli to Fr. Serra, December 15, 1774. *Sta. Barb. Arch.* It had been repeatedly asserted by Galvez and the viceroy that the chief object of the occupation of California was the spread of Religion. The missionaries were the representatives and messengers of Religion. From the treatment they received, especially at the hands of Neve, it must be concluded that the claim was not honestly made or that Neve was acting in opposition to the known will of the sovereign.

Continuing, Fathers Palóu and Murguía explain that the rations had been granted for five years because it was thought that after such a period the missions would be able to raise enough on the land to support themselves and their converts. "We have not, as yet, passed the second year," they write. "It was not possible yet to produce enough, for each of the two missions had only three men at work building the church, dwelling, barn, shops, ditches, and doing work with the plough. The soil had first to be tested, so that the yield was still small.[12] The king, moreover, wants the savages to be transformed into peaceful subjects of the Crown and to be civilized; for that purpose there must be something to attract them to the instructions. While they are under instruction they must be fed and clothed; and after they have been baptized they must be supported at the mission. All this requires time and prudence. In the first year, as we had only these rations, we could do nothing more than with kindness and some small gifts gather the Saniles Indians who visited us; but we could baptize only the dying. When we saw the fields promising, we were encouraged to keep and baptize a few boys; but when we saw the small crop which the farm yielded, we had to check our desires, and we tried to maintain only the few Christians we had. We then baptized those most advanced in the *Doctrina,* after you had given us twelve fanegas of corn with which, and the little corn harvested, the second year was passed. Santa Clara was similarly enabled to subsist with the help received from San Luis Obispo."

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[10] This was true, for the Fathers themselves went into the fields and did all kinds of manual labor with the Indians; yet, what was granted to the peons was denied to them!

[11] Palóu in *Vida*, p. 155, has six neophytes for each mission.

[12] At San Diego one year the Fathers planted their corn in the lowlands. The first flood carried everything away. In the next season they cultivated land situated in a higher locality with the result that the drouth destroyed the growing plants. Thus at the various missions the peculiarities of the soil, climate, etc., had first to be discovered. Meanwhile the missionaries lived the best way they could. A reasonable governor, particularly when he knew the wishes of the viceroy, would have lent his assistance. Instead, we find Neve adding difficulties just as though the friars were foreigners and not in the service of the king as well as he himself.

"Our Seraphic Rule and Apostolic Institute,"[13] the Fathers conclude, "command us to subsist upon the alms of benefactors; for this reason we have been assigned from the Pious Fund destined for the propagation of the Faith what the Reglamento indicates; and therefore we supplicate you, Sir, with due submission, for the love of God, for the sake of most holy Church, and for the sake of our holy Father St. Francis, not to permit us to be deprived of said alms, which we ask not for ourselves, but for the propagation of the Faith, for the sake of which we have dropped all natural repugnance, which the begging of alms creates. Pardon us for being importunate; but we have been moved to this by the investigation which we made, before we began this letter, of the quantities of provisions which the warehouse contains before receiving the cargo from the frigate. If we are not mistaken in the count, they will last to the end of June for the use of the troops and for all depending upon the presidio, including the rations for the missionaries; some flour we have not taken into account.[14] For this reason we respectfully supplicate you, Sir, in the name of all, begging you to command the keeper of the warehouse to give us said rations, a favor for which we hope to see you, Sir, receive the reward in heaven through the intercession of our Father St. Francis."—Fr. Joseph Murguía, Fr. Francisco Palóu. October 12, 1778.[15]

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[13] College of San Fernando.

[14] Neve, as we have seen, had alleged scarcity.

[15] *Sta. Barb. Arch.* FF. Palóu and Murguía to Fages January 8, 1783. *Archivo General,* Mexico, Lib. 5, No. 1898, fol. 59.

It was humiliating to have to beg what was plainly coming to them by right. The rations had been assigned by Viceroy Bucareli and the royal council of Mexico not from the royal treasury, *but from the Pious Fund.* As in the Jesuit Period, and in accordance with the intention of the donors, this Fund should have been administered by the missionaries in keeping with the needs of the missions, instead of being subject to the whims of politicians. It was mission property, therefore ecclesiastical property. Royal decrees and royal might could not lawfully divert it to other uses; besides the missionaries certainly knew better than politicians the needs of the missions, and could have administered the property at far less cost than politicians. As it was, these men of education and of missionary experience had to submit to the indignity of seeing their revenues withheld or doled out to them like unto minors who did not know how to make proper use of their means, and then by politicians, too, whose aims lay in altogether different directions. Neve's attitude towards the religious appears the more niggardly, when it is remembered that he begrudged and refused them the beggarly rations from *their missionary fund* which was granted to peons from the royal treasury, whereas he himself enjoyed a salary of $4000 in cash.

In view of the instructions which he had received from Viceroy Bucareli, we marvel at the audacity with which Neve deprived the missionaries of the little help afforded by the rations. However, we have witnessed such disregard for the orders of the viceroy before. It shows either a want of discipline in the Spanish civil and military officials, or a secret understanding that the representatives of Religion may be humiliated at every turn with impunity. On the other hand, we find the friars at all times loyally obedient to the king and viceroy and their petty representatives even when they were unjust. They will plead their case, as Fathers Palóu and Murguía, respectfully before their oppressors, who in reality deserved anything but respect; but we do not find that members of religious Orders [16] rebel. We found the Jesuits quietly submitting to banishment and inhuman treatment, because an inhuman king in his frenzy so ordered. The Franciscans in California had to encounter the opposition of petty officials like Neve throughout the mission period; but they never lost their respect for civil or military authority, even though the bearer of such authority disgraced his position. This shows, at all events, that love for law and order is instilled into the religious, and that those in authority who persecute them anywhere must be actuated by blind passion, since they do not recognize the strongest support of law and order. As for Neve, the suspicion obtrudes itself that he must have secretly received some kind of assurance from Mexico that for withdrawing the rations granted to the friars of three missions he should not be called to an account; that such assurance must have emanated from a high source which was hostile to the missionaries; and that it certainly was not Viceroy Bucareli. We shall soon learn why it was that Neve took this means of making the Franciscan Fathers feel his assumed superiority, even in purely missionary matters.

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[16] Nor plain good Catholics, for that matter. It is this knowledge which makes unscrupulous politicians so insolent towards the Catholic Church and her religious especially. The more cowardly is the oppression, such as the usurpers, for instance, in Mexico are guilty of.

In response to the humble petition of Fathers Palóu and Murguía, Neve replied from Monterey under date of November 5, 1778, that he would abide by the terms of the Reglamento;[17] that the rations were not intended for the missionaries of the last three missions;[18] and that he had written to Fr. Presidente Serra on the subject.[19] The two Fathers on December 1st again showed that there was no dearth of supplies at the presidio warehouse, and renewed their petition. When he saw that his pretext of scarcity of supplies was proved groundless, the governor in reply used this specious language, which must have disillusioned the friars, so that they knew with what kind of a man they had to deal: "As I am informed that there are sufficient supplies for the maintenance of the presidio, Your Reverences and the missions will be assisted as far as possible, so that you experience no want. Meanwhile we shall await the arrival of the Fr. Presidente. Be assured that I wish nothing so much as the progress of those missions and of the consequent spiritual conquest. Let what has been said not embarrass you, so that, if in the meantime, Your Reverences need assistance it will be allowed with the qualification *supplied,"* or advanced.[20]

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[17] This was untrue, as the Reglamento plainly grants the rations.

[18] This was mere quibbling. The rations were granted for five years from January 1, 1774, to the supernumeraries, who were waiting for their missions to be founded. They could not lose the right to them when the missions at last were established. On the contrary, they needed them more than ever just then. At all events, the law must be interpreted in the light of the viceroy's wishes; these were clear. Moreover, if the friars of San Francisco were not entitled to the double rations on the ground that the Mission was founded after January 1, 1774, on what grounds were the double, extra rations, granted at the same time, continued to the soldiers and immigrants of the presidio, which was also established after that date and for the sake of the mission? Thus the real animus of Neve must be plain to any one who reads.

[19] *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

That is to say, he would "assist" them and charge them for it at so much the fanega! As the Fathers had no means, it is not clear how he expected them to make payment. They had come to California absolutely penniless. They had been placed on some sandy or other uncultivated plot of land; told to put up a church and dwelling, to procure implements, church goods, and other articles with the thousand dollars assigned for the erection of a mission. This they had done. Now they had to live and the servants had to be supported. Huts for the Indian converts had to be erected and the Indians had first to be induced to join and to set themselves to work, something which they hated. Yet they had not wherewith to attract or compensate the Indians, save their own meager allowance and the rations which Neve refused. Until the fields yielded sufficient grain there was absolutely nothing upon which to subsist. The double rations had been granted for the very purpose of maintaining their four Lower California neophytes, who were intended to help them win converts and do necessary house work.[21] Neve, without any authority, cut off this resource. At least he might have waited until the viceroy gave orders to that effect. Thus the two Fathers bitterly complained in their letter of October 12th, and some years later to Governor Fages.

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[20] "deje de darse con la calidad de suplimiento." Neve to Fr. Palóu, November 5, 1778.

[21] Por lo que hubimos de venir á estas fundaciones sin mas socorro que de las raciones de los misioneros con el adito de haber de mantener de ellas á los cuatro Indios solteros Californios, que vinieron para cada una de las dos misiones." See note 15.

Neve went further. He seems to have come up from Lower California, where he had quarreled with Dominicans, with the determination to make all friars feel his wrath as soon as he could safely do so, though he strove to conceal it behind technicalities. "We Fathers of the missions of our holy Father St. Francis, Santa Clara, and San Juan Capistrano," Fr. Mugártegui writes from the last-named mission, "are sentenced to restitution of all the provisions and goods which we received since the founding of the missions to the day on which His Honor deprived us of the benefit *conceded to us by the Reglamento.*"[22]

The letter which Neve on November 4, 1778, sent to the Fr. Presidente on the subject reached him on his way from Mission San Juan Capistrano to Mission San Gabriel. When he arrived at Monterey Fr. Serra had an interview with the governor, but on January 5, 1779, he in a long letter to that official set forth the question at issue so clearly that Neve apparently found no answer. The Fr. Presidente showed that the rations and other supplies given to the missions from the beginning had never been considered as loans, but as alms pure and simple; that if they had been regarded as loans, the friars as the other party to the contract must have been informed to that effect; that in such a case the friars would have refused to undertake the missions, because they could not make such a contract, since they possessed nothing with which to make payment, and the missions could not contract such an obligation because they did not yet exist;[23] that when he was in Mexico he did not ask only for rations for five missions, as he expected much more, and had obtained much more; that the Reglamento did not limit the rations of the supernumeraries to only three missionaries of that class, but it says that the double rations for five years were to be given to the missionaries stationed in the missions and to those who were waiting for their missions to be founded. When that was written it was well known that there were more than six supernumeraries in California. When the viceroy was asked to let these supernumeraries withdraw to save provisions, he would not permit it, because, as he said, they would all be needed. Moreover, he had expressly declared that he would assist the missions in every way possible, which did not mean simply by furnishing guards. The rations and other help during the first five years must be regarded as alms only, and could not be withheld in the face of the Reglamento. At all events, to refuse them to the two missions in the north meant nothing less than to retard the conversion of the Indians in opposition to the king and viceroy who both ardently desired to facilitate and accomplish the spiritual conquest of the savages.[24]

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[22] "Los Padres de las misiones de N. P. S. Francisco, Santa Clara, y San Capistrano, estamos sentenciados á la restitucion de cuantos víveres y efectos hemos percibido desde la fundacion hasta el dia en que su señoría nos privó del beneficio que el Reglamento nos concedia." Fr. Mugártegui, *Carta,* March 15, 1779. *Museo Nacional,* Mexico, Qto. II. Fr. Palóu to Gov. Fages, January 8, 1783, has: "Escribiendonos (Neve) á nosotros lo proprio añadiendo que debiamos pagar la que habiamos recibido en los dos años no cumplidos que llevaba de fundada esta Mision de San Francisco."—*Archivo General,* Mexico, Lib. 5, No. 1898, fol. 59.

As Neve seems to have made up his mind in advance, he was not open to anything that the friars might say. Fr. Serra, therefore, reported their grievances to the College, and the Fr. Guardian laid them before Viceroy Mayorga. After he had examined the question, His Excellency wrote to Gen. de Croix, to whose jurisdiction California belonged, "It seems that since the expense, which the royal treasury[25] will incur by granting the double rations to the five missions already established, as also to the three lately founded, is so small, and the benefit is so great which will result in the progress which His Majesty so much desires in New and Old California by having the missionaries cheerful, since they are the ones who have to procure their advancement, the administering of the double rations to them should be continued, as had been done *in virtue of the resolution in the Reglamento,* with the exception of those that raise enough grain for the maintenance of the religious and their neophytes. I hope, General, that you will so direct in consideration of the benefits which may be expected from the measure."[26]

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[23] "que para dichos víveres en la forma que V. S. expresa, era preciso que lo hicieran saber antes á los religiosos, porque el contracto de mutuo, ó préstamo, como los demas pide conocimiento y libertad de ambas partes; y á haberlo sabido no se hicieran tales fundaciones, porque ni el riligioso tiene de que pagar, ni la mision, que aun no era, podia contraher tal obligacion."

[24] *Santa Barbara Archives.*

This sensible and equitable decision, which fully recognized the position of the missionaries on the subject, very much displeased General Teodoro de Croix, the more so as in the same letter Mayorga overruled an order of Neve which attacked the liberty of the religious.[27] He appealed to the king with the result that Neve addressed the following communication to Fr. Serra: "On July 19th, last, it pleased the Comandante General, Teodoro de Croix, to send me the following royal

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[25] Not correct. The rations were supplied at the expense of the Pious Fund, which the king, however, assumed to hold in trust for the missions. Fr. Palóu himself sometimes vindicates to the royal treasury what came from the Pious Fund, probably because it went through the hands of the king. Fr. Serra also commits this mistake in drawing up the title pages of the mission registers, as we shall see in the local history. See also chapter viii.

[26] "Me parece que siendo corto el dispendio que tendrá la Real Hacienda asi en la subministracion de las raciones dobles á las cinco misiones, que estaban establecidas, como a las tres nuevamente fundadas, y mucha la utilidad, que resultará en los felices progresos, que tanto desea S. M. en la Nueva y Antigua California, teniendo gustosos á estos ministros como que ellos son los que han de procurar sus adelantamientos, se les continue ministrando á todos la racion doble como se ha estado haciendo en virtud de lo resuelto en el citado Reglamento á excepcion de aquellas que cosechen suficientes semillas, etc." Mayorga to De Croix, March 29, 1780. *Sta. Barb. Arch.* Fathers Cambón and Palóu to Fages, January 8, 1783. *Arch. Gen.*, lib. 5, No. 1898, fol. 59.

[27] On the question of license to retire.

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order: 'His Excellency Don José de Gálvez, under date of February 8th, last, has communicated to me the following royal order: "The king approves the decision which in the letter of March 20, 1780, No. 490, you report you had given in accord with the governor of California that the allowance of rations, which it had been customary to give them for the religious in charge of them be discontinued to the new missions of San Juan Capistrano, Santa Clara, and San Francisco; and that the said three missions are declared not entitled to those they have received without their being conceded to them, nor to other aid of provisions with which Captain Fernando de Rivera assisted them." I communicate to you this order of His Majesty for your information.'" [28]

The reference to Captain Rivera indicates that Neve and De Croix must have deceived the king; for the captain, himself not friendly to the Fathers at that time, merely executed what the Echeveste Reglamento prescribed. The king and Galvez, moreover, must have had short memories concerning that Reglamento if they could be misled so easily, or their repeated protestations that they desired above all the success of the missions could not have been sincere, as we have had to observe all along. There may have been another motive for the change of front on the part of the sovereign and his prime minister, though it is scarcely plausible save under the supposition that they feared to offend the comandante-general. It is this:

The five years during which the three missions were entitled to the small contribution had meanwhile elapsed, as the king well knew. His Majesty probably thought it better to humor De Croix by a decision which was now of no loss or benefit to the missions after all. By this time the friars had succeeded in raising enough grain for the subsistence of their neophytes without having to apply to haughty and unsympathetic officials for the necessaries of life which were not denied to the ordinary laborers in the government employ. The poor Fathers, nevertheless, could scarcely forget (and this renders the action of Neve and De Croix so aggravating and unwarrantable) that these rations were not paid by the royal treasury, but from the Pious Fund which had been established by its devout founders expressly for the benefit of the missionaries in California, in order to facilitate the work among the California Indians.

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[28] Neve to Fr. Serra, September 23, 1782. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

Neve was not satisfied with crippling the missionaries by taking away the rations with which they supported their four or six neophyte servants. "A few days after depriving us of the rations," says Fr. Palóu, "he sent an order to the corporal of the mission guards that they should not take care of the few horses, which the mission then possessed, together with the horses of the soldiers, saying they had no obligation to do so.[29] For this reason they are running about at the mercy of the savages, and it costs us much trouble to find some one who will bring us a horse in order that we can hear confessions and celebrate holy Mass at the presidio."[30] It is difficult to see what more the governor could have done to prevent the conversion of the savages, short of driving either the Indians or the Fathers away. Yet this man had the hardihood to claim that he "wished nothing so much as the progress of the missions."

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[29] What trouble it could be to the soldiers to have a few mission horses run along with their own, it is difficult to see. Nothing but animosity could have dictated such an order. Under the circumstances it was the same as insinuating that the soldiers must not show even ordinary courtesy to the missionaries. That this was intended, besides annoying the friars, will become evident in time.

[30] Fr. Palóu to Fages, January 3, 1783. *Arch. Gen.*, lib. 5, No. 1698, fol. 59. In our opinion the Fathers carried submission too far, and, judging from his action in Lower California, Fr. Palóu would have, as he should have done, withdrawn and refused to serve. Fr. Serra might have spared himself and the friars all that followed, if he had recalled the Fathers, and left the mission in the hands of the soldiers. Neve was aware of the Fr. Presidente's love of peace; hence his arrogance.

The disagreeable incidents just related were made possible by an important political change which had meanwhile taken place in Mexico, and which it is necessary to explain. As early as December, 1760, the royal ministers at Madrid proposed to erect a new viceroyalty in New Spain with headquarters at Durango. It was to include Sinaloa, Sonora, Nueva Vizcaya, and the Californias. The reasons alleged were the decadent state of those provinces, their great distance from the capital, the large amount of business nearer the capital which demanded the whole attention of the viceroy, the desire to extend the Catholic Faith along with the Spanish dominion, and the justice of leading those provinces to make some returns from the immense sums of money expended in their behalf from the time of the discovery.[31] Viceroy De Croix and Inspector José de Gálvez on January 23, 1768, jointly proposed as more expedient placing those provinces under a commander-general with headquarters at San Felipe, Chihuahua. They also recommended the erection of a new diocese which should comprise Sonora and the Californias. This plan was subsequently adopted.[32] The king on August 22, 1776, separated Nueva Vizcaya, Coahuila, Texas, New Mexico, Sinaloa, Sonora, and the Californias, which were termed Provincias Internas, from the jurisdiction of the viceroy and placed them under a comandante-general. By royal order of February 12, 1782, Arizpe in Sonora, which had been chosen for that purpose as early as 1780, was named as the seat of the comandante. The first one appointed for the office was Teodoro de Croix, a native of Flanders and nephew of Viceroy de Croix. He had arrived from Spain in December 1776.[33]

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[31] "á pagar algo de lo mucho que ha costado á la Corona y la Nacion."

[32] *Archivo General,* Mexico, tom. 154.

[33] Bancroft, *History of Texas,* vol. i, 670-671; Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. iv, cap. xxxi, 206; *Vida,* cap. xlix, 229-230; Revilla Gigedo, *Informe,* No. 48.

The news of this change was brought to San Francisco on June 17, 1779, by the packet *Santiago*, and created much alarm among the missionaries. No less misgivings were felt at the College of San Fernando. In a letter to Fr. Lasuén Fr. Guardian Rafael Vergér voiced the sentiments of the friars when he wrote, "To my way of thinking and to that of others it is a mistake to separate your government from this viceroyalty."[34] The new arrangement made it very difficult for the College to aid its subjects in California, because the viceroy practically had no authority, and approach to the comandante-general owing to the great distance caused much delay.

De Croix may have suspected the sentiments of the friars. He chose a strange style if he wanted to allay their fears. Writing to the Fr. Presidente from Querétaro on August 15, 1777, De Croix says: "The reports of His Excellency and the contents of the letters which Your Paternity sends, convince me of the activity of your zeal, piety, and prudence in governing the missions, in dealing with the Indians, and of your solicitude for their true happiness. For reasons which the governor will make known to you, I cannot at this date decide about the aid which Your Paternity asks; but I hope shortly to find myself in a position to satisfy your zeal, and to labor tirelessly for the welfare of the new establishments, for the success of which I trust Your Paternity will contribute, not only by continuing your beneficial management, but by enlightening me by means of your reports and opinions. I enjoin upon you good treatment of the neophytes, and I also command your subjects, who have the true spirit, that they avoid the consequences of a false zeal which might ruin in a moment the labors of many days.[35] Your Paternity will find in me all that you can desire for the propagation of the

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[34] "Ha sido para mi modo de entender y de otros un yerro separar su gobierno de este virreynato." Fr. Vergér to Lasuén, January 14, 1780. *Sta. Barb. Arch.* Palóu, *Noticias*, tom. iv, cap. xxxi, 205-206.

[35] Encargo á V. P. el buen trato de los neófitos, y, que, asi mando á sus subditos del verdadero espiritu, prevengan las consecuencias de un falso zelo, que puede arruinar en un instante los trabajos de muchos dias." De Croix must have thought he was addressing raw recruits.

Faith and the glory of Religion. I urge you and all your religious to pray to God for the prosperity and success of my important commission, as I myself plead for the health of Your Reverence, etc."[36]

This letter did not reach the Fr. Presidente until almost two years after it was written. The uncalled-for remarks about false zeal and good treatment, so unlike Viceroy Bucareli's manner, in a first communication at that, exhibit a good deal of conceit and a low opinion of the missionaries.[37] It would seem that Governor Neve had already conferred with the comandante-general. At all events, there is no doubt that Neve was informed of De Croix's appointment and of his sentiments long before the Fr. Presidente became aware of the change in the government. He certainly knew that in cutting off the rations he could depend upon his immediate superior's protection, if indeed he had not obtained his approbation in advance.

Fr. Serra professed to discover some reason for hope in the comandante's dubious epistle; he was soon undeceived. Neve, about the same time that he refused the rations, ventured another attack on the peace of the missionaries. He insisted that no friar should be changed nor retire to the College, even if he had the permission of his prelates, without a license from the governor. He went further and forbade the captains of the transports to take on board any friar who had not the governor's license to leave the country.[38] The arrogant assumption was reported to the College. The Fr. Guardian appealed to Viceroy Mayorga, who had succeeded Bucareli. In a letter to Comandante-General De Croix, dated March 29, 1780, Mayorga declared in favor of the liberty of the friars with these simple words: "The missionaries may use their permit to retire whenever it is expedient, without the license of said governor, save a polite notification."[39]

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[36] De Croix to Fr. Serra. *Sta. Barb. Arch.;* Palóu, *Vida,* 230.

[37] See *The Franciscans in Arizona,* p. 133, for another specimen of conceit inflicted on the missionaries of the Colorado.

[38] This piece of impertinence made it impossible to provide worthy missionaries or to remove unsuitable ones without giving the reasons to the governor. See vol. i, 573, for a similar trouble.

In October, 1779, a courier brought to Upper California the sad news that Viceroy Bucareli had died in the City of Mexico on April 9th, and that war had been declared between Spain and England. The death of the viceroy was justly regarded as a heavy blow to the missions.[40] He had always proved himself the best friend of the religious, and was scarcely less zealous for the conversion of the Indians than the friars themselves. Had California not been withdrawn from his immediate jurisdiction, Neve would not have dared to conduct himself towards the missionaries as insolently as he did. In a letter written only twenty days before he expired Bucareli encouraged Fr. Serra with these words: "I have always looked upon the preservation of those missions as upon one of the chief cares of the government."[41] Hence he would have felt disagreeably surprised, had he been informed of Neve's action. Bucareli deserved well of California. He should be gratefully remembered. For this reason we subjoin the following brief sketch of his life.

Don Frey Antonio Maria Bucareli y Ursúa was a native of Seville, Spain. He had distinguished himself in several campaigns, in engineering work, and as inspector-general of cavalry. Later he was appointed captain-general of Cuba, whence he was promoted to the viceroyalty of New Spain. He arrived at Vera Cruz on August 23, 1771, and entered the capital on September 22nd. Bancroft, who on general principles dislikes men controlled by Religion, cannot help according to the forty-sixth viceroy this splendid tribute: "Viceroy Bucareli during nearly eight years' rule attended carefully to the organization of the military forces and coast-defences; to the well-being of the new settlements in California; an honest and economical management of the royal treasury, the revenue of which he augmented without burdening the king's subjects with extra taxation; the police and administration of justice and the development of public instruction and the arts of peace. Indeed, whatever could contribute to the honor of his sovereign and the welfare of the people was matter of interest to him. He cared for the poor in hospitals and asylums, and was zealous in assisting the prelates of the religious Orders to preserve good morals. *The term of his rule was the happiest that New Spain experienced.* Peace and prosperity reigned, and the country took long strides in advance."[42] The last clause might have applied to California as well, had the territory not been withdrawn from Bucareli's wise control. The Elogio of Uribe also relates that, when the viceroy felt his death approaching, he begged to be allowed to lie on the bare floor, or at least to be helped on his knees that he might die in that position.[43]

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[39] "Permiso á aquellos misioneros para su regreso siempre que convenga sin licencia de aquel gobernador mas que un aviso politico." Appeal of the College to the Viceroy, March 29, 1780. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[40] "La muerte de el Exmo. Señor Bucareli ha sido otro golpe fatal." Fr. Guardian Vergér to Fr. Lasuén, January 14, 1780. *Sta. Barb. Arch.* Palóu, *Vida,* cap. xlix, 233.

[41] "Siempre he mirado la conservacion de esos establecimientos como uno de los primeros cuidados del govierno." Bucareli to Fr. Serra, Mexico, February 17, 1779. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

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[42] Bancroft, *History of Mexico,* iii, 372. This admission of Bancroft is worthy of note; for Bucareli was a staunch Catholic whose actions were controlled by his Religion. Revilla Gigedo, *Informe,* Nos. 44-46.

[43] Bancroft, *Hist. of Mexico,* iii, 373.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Fr. Serra is Empowered to Confirm.—His Confirmation Tour.—Neve Objects.—Fr. Serra's Explanation.—Goes to San Francisco.—Refrains from Using His Faculty.—De Croix's Demand.—Papers Arrive.—Correspondence With Neve.—De Croix's Offensive Note.—Fr. Serra's Dignified Reply.—De Croix Overruled.—De Croix and Neve Fail to Humiliate Fr. Serra.—Neve's Suppressed Rage.—Bancroft's Misrepresentation.—Correct View of Hittell.—Opinion of Clinch.—Fr. Serra's Dilemma.

NOT satisfied with having annoyed the missionaries with a display of his power over them in temporal matters, Governor Neve now ventured to assert supremacy in purely spiritual things as well. The affair which we relate in this chapter might have been treated briefly, but, since Bancroft utilized it to besmirch the character of Fr. Serra so that Neve might appear as the more noble and patriotic of the two, it is necessary to present the facts from the documents at some length.

When the Fr. Presidente with his fifteen companions reached Lower California early in 1768,[1] Fr. Palóu writes, he discovered among the papers which the Jesuits had left behind a copy of a Bull of Pope Benedict XIV. This authorized one of the missionaries of the Society[2] to administer the Sacrament of Confirmation, for the reason that it was extremely difficult for a bishop to visit the peninsula missions. As it was more difficult for such a dignitary to reach Upper California, and as he was desirous that his neophytes should not be deprived of the blessings enjoyed by the Lower California natives, Fr. Serra petitioned the Fr. Guardian to obtain for himself or some other Father the privilege of giving Confirmation. The Fr. Guardian referred the petition to the Most Rev. Fr. José García, comisario prefecto of the Franciscans in New Spain. Fr. García applied to the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, which in turn petitioned Pope Clement XIV. His Holiness on July 10,

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[1] See vol. i, 338.

[2] Neither Venégas nor Clavijero, Jesuit authors, state that any of the Jesuits exercised this authority in Lower California. However, see vol. i, 280-281.

1774, granted the faculty of confirming to Fr. Jose Garcia and his successors in office with authority to subdelegate the power to one missionary of each of the four missionary colleges in New Spain.[3] The faculty in either case was limited to a period of ten years from the date of concession. The holy oils had to be procured from a bishop. Under the anomalous Church laws of Spain the Papal Brief had to receive the *pase*[4] of the king and the Supreme Council of the Indies before the authority could be exercised. In this particular case the viceroy of New Spain had also to affix his *pase*. The Pontificial Brief was accordingly laid before the king and the Council of the Indies, the *pase* duly affixed,[5] and then the document was forwarded to Mexico. Here the Royal Audiencia on September 18th, and Viceroy Bucareli on September 19, 1776, gave their sanction to the use of the faculty conferred by Papal Brief. In the meantime Fr. Jose Garcia died, and Fr. Juan Domingo Arricivita[6] of the Queretaro College became commissary prefect of the Franciscan missions in New Spain. He on October 17, 1777, designated Fr. Junipero Serra as the one representative of the San Fernando College to administer the Sacrament of Confirmation. The document appointing him together with copies of the Papal Brief were brought to San Francisco by the *Santiago* on June 17, 1778, and thence transmitted to Fr. Serra at San Carlos. Thus all the required formalities had been strictly observed. Only six years remained of the ten during which the power could be exercised. The Fr. Presidente therefore resolved to make use of his powers without delay.

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[3] They were Santa Cruz de Queretaro, Guatemala, Guadalupe de Zacatecas and San Fernando de Mexico.

[4] "Pase" the royal permit was termed which allowed the exercise of an ecclesiastical authority in the dominions of Spain. Strange to say, even Papal Bulls were subjected to this permit from the secular power.

[5] "Consta que dicho Breve tenia el Pase de el Real Consejo de Indias, con lo que queda cumplida enteramente la Real Cedula de 23 de Noviembre de 1777." Fr. Guardian Verger to Fr. Serra, February 16, 1780. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[6] He is the author of the standard work *Cronica Serafica*.

In the Libro de las Confirmaciones, or Record of Confirmations, Fr. Serra takes particular pains to record that every formality was scrupulously observed and "executed in the church of this Mission of San Carlos de Monterey on the day of the Apostles Saints Peter and Paul, June 29, 1778. On this day, the whole congregation having assembled for High Mass, which I sang solemnly, I the undersigned at the end of the doctrinal and panegyrical sermon on said holy Sacrament, having in the sermon impressed upon all that the ordinary minister of it is the bishop only, and that they might not think it strange to see me administer it afterwards, I in a clear and intelligible voice, and in the language of the people[7] read the letters patent, which, in order that they may be in evidence to any one who might read this book, are transcribed faithfully on the next folio."

Farther on, in the beginning of the entries, Fr. Serra gives these particulars: "I, the undersigned Fr. Junípero Serra, vested with the sacerdotal robes in which I finished singing the High Mass of this solemn day of Saints Peter and Paul, and assisted by Fathers Juan Crespi and Francisco Dumetz, missionaries apostolic of said College of San Fernando and fellow missionaries at this mission, with holy chrism blessed by the Illustrious Bishop of Guadalajara, the latest which is here or could be obtained, I confirmed according to the Roman Pontifical, and with the solemnity possible, the following persons." Here the Fr. Presidente entered in full the names of ninety-one small children[8] along with the names of the parents and the two sponsors of each child. At the close of the list Fr. Serra added this note: "After the antiphon, prayers, and oration which the Roman Pontifical prescribes, I bestowed upon all the newly-confirmed, who in obedience to my previous charge had remained in said church, the holy blessing which the said Pontifical commands. I also told and explained to the godfathers and godmothers the spiritual parentage and the obligations which they had contracted, and with this that first and solemn act concluded. In testimony whereof I sign together with said assistant Fathers."[9]

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[7] "lengua vulgar," here probably the Spanish version. Though Fr. Serra spoke the Pame Indian language of the Sierra Gorda, it seems he never learned to speak fluently the Mutsun used at Monterey; there is some doubt, however.

[8] Infants and children less than nine years of age, as was customary in Spanish countries. Those over nine years were regarded as adults.

The zealous Fr. Presidente next prepared the grown people, both Indians and Spaniards, for the reception of the Sacrament. By August 23rd he had entered one hundred and fifty names, each one after the minute form already indicated. At the end of this list we read the following note: "The said frigate *(Santiago)* in those days being ready to set out from the Port of Monterey, and the captain notifying me that he intended to make the Port of San Diego on this same coast for a short stop, I considered the words of the Decree of the Sacred General Congregation copied above, 'to concede this same faculty to one of the religious of each College, and to see that the Christian faithful be not deprived of this spiritual aid,' and thought and determined to suspend confirming at this mission, and to embark on said vessel in order to go to San Diego Mission, and thence afterwards by land to travel to the others back to this one, bestowing everywhere the blessing of the administration of this holy Sacrament upon the faithful who had not received it. On the following day, the 24th of the present month of August, dedicated to the most glorious San Bartolomé, Apostle of Farther India, I embarked for the love of God. The voyage for the lack of wind was a long one; but without other mishap, thanks be to God, the ship anchored in said Port of San Diego on the 15th of the following September, and on the next day I disembarked and went to the mission. Again thanks be to God!"[10]

On various days Fr. Serra here confirmed six hundred and ten persons including a few Spaniards.[11] Leaving the mission on Sunday, October 18th, he spent the night at the presidio, and next morning set out for Mission San Juan Capistrano, where he confirmed one hundred and forty-seven convert Indians. At San Gabriel he administered Confirmation to three hundred and sixty-two persons, nearly all convert Indians. Continuing on his way he reached San Luis Obispo, the next mission, on November 28th, and on different days till December 9th the Father gave Confirmation to as many as two hundred and sixty-five people. At San Antonio from December 13th to the 21st he confirmed three hundred and thirty-two neophytes. When he returned to San Carlos at the end of the year 1778 his book of Confirmations contained the names of 1897 persons, very few of whom were not Indians.[12] Down to the same date the Fathers in the eight existing missions had baptized 2947 Indians since the beginning of 1770. At San Carlos during the summer of 1779 the Fr. Presidente prepared and confirmed one hundred and ten additional Indian converts,[13] when to his grief he was forced to suspend the exercise of his faculty to confirm for the reason which will now be explained.

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[9] Libro de las Confirmaciones de San Carlos. Every mission kept a register for the confirmed; but Fr. Serra had his own record. The book is still extant at the parish library, Monterey.

[10] Libro de Confirmaciones, San Carlos.

[11] Libro de Confirmaciones, San Carlos and San Gabriel.

There were good grounds, Fr. Palóu writes, for fearing that the missions might suffer much damage from the change in the government, and De Croix's ill-advised letter, if anything, increased the Fr. Presidente's anxiety. His fears were realized only too soon. No sooner had the military jurisdiction over California been transferred from the friendly viceroy to Comandante-General Teodoro de Croix, than Governor Neve began to give orders and make regulations which if carried out would not only impede the progress of the missions, but would destroy the work of conversion. With his usual prudence and patience, Fr. Palóu says, the venerable Father endeavored to convince Neve of the evil consequences of such measures. Instead of arresting the governor's course, it was observed that Neve every day had another notion and broached new schemes for obstructing the advancement of the missionary establishments which were then flourishing in temporal as well as spiritual matters.[14] Fr. Serra keenly felt the mortifications inflicted upon him, but he bore them patiently lest he should occasion an open rupture. "I shall pass over many instances, which I could recite in proof of what I have said, and touch only one case, and that merely for the sake of connection in the history, in order to make it plain why the Fr. Presidente failed to administer Confirmation during the year 1780." [15]

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[12] Libro de Confirmaciones. San Carlos, San Luis Obispo, San Antonio.

[13] Lib. de Confirmaciones de San Carlos; Lib. de Bautismos.

Neve had, no doubt, reported to De Croix that Fr. Serra was giving Confirmation, and he certainly acted in accordance with the ideas of De Croix, if not under his instructions, which is more probable. Fr. Palóu does not inform us just how the trouble arose, but the governor questioned Fr. Serra's right to administer the Sacrament of Confirmation on the ground that the Father had not received the *pase* or sanction of the Real Patronato nor of the Vice-Patrono.[16] The Fr. Presidente replied that the faculty to confirm had obtained the *pase* of the Royal Council of the Indies as well as that of the King of Spain; that both the Royal Audiencia and Viceroy Bucareli had affixed the *pase*, and that he had exercised his power during a whole year without hearing of any scruples on the subject from the governor. Neve then demanded the letters patent designating the Fr. Presidente, and all the documents concerning the faculty to confirm, besides the *pase*. Fr. Serra explained that the original Brief of the Pope was in the archives of the Most Rev. Fr. Comisario Prefecto, and that the only document needed for himself was the paper, signed, sealed and countersigned by the secretary, by which the Fr. Comisario designated and appointed him to exercise the faculty as directed by the Pope. As for the fact that the document had received the *pase* of the viceroy, and consequently of the Royal Council, Neve might read the letter of Viceroy Bucareli, (which Fr. Serra presented to the governor) in which His Excellency congratulated him for having received the authority to confirm, and for having confirmed so many in the past year.[17]

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[14] "Las eficaces razones que le proponia, le hacian al parecer tan poca fuerza para convencerlo y contenerlo, que antes ibà cada dia ideando otras, sacando nuevos proyectos para impedir los adelantamientos de las misiones fundadas, que corrian, con grande aumento en lo espiritual y temporal." Palóu, *Vida,* cap. 1, p. 234.

[15] Palóu, *Vida,* cap. 1,235.

[16] The king was the patrono of the Church for his dominions, and the viceroy was the vice-patrono or vice-patron in his jurisdiction. See Appendix G.

Neve insisted that this did not suffice, because the Provincias Internas no longer pertained to the jurisdiction of the viceroy, but were subject to the comandante-general.[18] "Well, Señor," the Fr. Presidente inquired, "who then is the vice-patrono?" The governor answered that in all these provinces the said comandante-general enjoyed that privilege, and in California he, Neve, was the vice-patrono.[19] To avoid further quibbling, Fr. Serra rejoined, "Well, Señor, if that is all, it is easy to settle the matter. Here Your Honor has the appointment papers and the faculty giving me the right to confirm. I beg you to affix the *pase,* in order that these poor people may not be deprived of so great a blessing;[20] for, inasmuch as the power is granted for only ten years,[21] it will expire with them." This simple adjustment of the case did not suit the designs of the unfriendly governor nor of his no less unfriendly superior officer. He demanded the original documents, and admonished the Fr. Presidente to refrain from administering the Sacrament of Confirmation until these papers were produced and instructions received from the comandante-general.[22]

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[17] "En que (Su Excelencia) le daba los parabienes de que hubiese recibido la facultad de confirmar, y de los muchos que el año anterior habia confirmado." Palóu, *Vida,* cap. 1, 235.

[18] Not absolutely. Supplies were furnished by the viceroy. The comandante had no part in the financial administration. Occasionally the viceroy overruled the comandante. Subsequently the latter's powers were still more curtailed and comprised only military matters.

[19] According to Neve's and De Croix's reasoning, every petty officer could claim the patronato over the church in his district.

[20] "Pues, Señor, si está todo en la tierra, es facil de componerse; aqui tiene Vm. la patente con la facultad; suplico se ponga el pase, para que estos pobres no se priven de tanto bien." Palóu, *Vida,* 235.

[21] Five of the ten years had already elapsed. Fr. Serra's love of peace conceded too much. Neve had no right to forbid the exercise of Fr. Serra's faculty, and the Fr. Presidente should not have submitted.

Shortly after this interview the officers of an exploring expedition, which had returned from a voyage to the northwest,[23] invited the Fr. Presidente to grant them the pleasure of seeing him at San Francisco. Fr. Serra hesitated. If he appeared there and at Santa Clara without giving Confirmation, as he had done at all the other missions, the impression on the neophytes would be disedifying; if he explained the situation to them his dignity and Religion itself would be lowered in their eyes. He therefore declined the invitation. Yet even so he felt that the difficulty was not removed; for the Indians of both missions would demand to know the reason why the Fr. Presidente did not come to bestow the blessing which he had imparted to all the converts at the other establishments. In this dilemma he resolved to disregard for once the governor's advice, and to follow the dictates of his own conscience which told him that all the formalities, which the secular authorities had a right to demand under the unfortunate patronato, had been observed. It appears that he applied to Neve for the customary guards on his way to the north, but that they were refused. The Fr. Presidente, nevertheless, made the journey in the forepart of October, 1779, confirmed at the missions of San Francisco and Santa Clara, and returned to San Carlos a month later. Thereafter he "refrained from giving Confirmation, lest he be also forbidden to baptize," Fr. Palóu sarcastically remarks.[24] Moreover he avoided visiting any of the missions until the dispute was decided in his favor, in order not to arouse any suspicions among the neophytes, who would naturally expect him to confirm when he appeared among them. Meanwhile he forwarded the documents empowering him to administer the Sacrament to the Fr. Guardian of San Fernando College, in order that the viceroy might return them along with all the papers which the governor demanded. At the same time he petitioned De Croix for permission to continue administering Confirmation. All these letters were sent by the *Princesa* which sailed from San Francisco Bay on October 30, 1779.[25]

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[22] "le exhortaba no pasase á confirmar hasta que viniese respuesta de la comandancia." Ibidem, 236.

[23] The expedition of Bodéga y Cuadra and Ignacio Arteaga, which will be described later.

[24] "Suspendió el confirmar, no fuese que tambien lo privase de bautizar."—*Vida*, 236. Fr. Serra to De Croix, July 20, 1780. *Sta. Barb. Arch.* Palóu, *Noticias*, tom. iv, cap. xxxiii, 218-219.

Fr. Vergér, on December 17th, presented the Fr. Presidente's petition to Viceroy Mayorga, and asked His Excellency to have the records examined and duplicate copies made of all the documents in regular form. Mayorga so ordered on the same day.[26] Meanwhile De Croix referred the governor's contention, or rather his own, to his assessor or legal adviser, Don Pedro Galindo Navarro, who under date of April 17, 1780, declared that the comandante-general held the position of vice-patrono as well as the viceroy; and that, inasmuch as the Fr. Presidente's appointment did not have the comandante's *pase,* the governor could proceed to collect the said documents and the original instructions in the Fr. Presidente's possession, and the latter could be prohibited from confirming under any pretext whatever.[27] De Croix on April 20, 1780, sent this written opinion of his assessor to Fr. Serra with the order that the Fr. Presidente should give this resolution his punctual obedience by delivering the original documents to the governor. He also instructed Neve to the same effect.[28] The Fr. Presidente on July 20, 1780, replied that he had transmitted all the papers on the subject to the College so that they might be put into the form which the governor demanded; that he also asked for the original documents which had not been in his possession; that he hoped the ship would soon bring them up in certified form; and that when they arrived it would become evident that he had acted strictly in accordance with the laws of the patronato.[29]

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[25] Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. iv, 220; *Vida,* 236.

[26] *Santa Barbara Archives.*

[27] "Me parece podrá V. S. mandar se pase orden al gobernador de Californias para que inmediatamente proceda á recojer la referida patente é instruccion original, que existe en poder del P. Junípero Serra, y no permita con pretexto alguno que continue administrando el sacramento de la Confirmacion, etc." *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[28] De Croix to Fr. Serra. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

Less than three months later, October 6, 1780, the packet boat brought the original patente of Fr. Serra's appointment and certified copies of all the documents bearing on the subject, showing the *pase* duly affixed. They had been obtained from the viceroyal archives without difficulty. Along with them came a letter of Fr. Guardian Verger dated February 15, 1780. Fr. Verger also transmitted a copy of all the papers to De Croix.[30] It so happened that Governor Neve just then was absent in Lower California, and it was not known when he could return. The Fr. Presidente stood perplexed. He was anxious to make his regular visitations of the missions, but could not do so without creating comment, unless he administered Confirmation to those who had been baptized since his last visit. To await Neve's arrival would cause indefinite delay. The governor would after all, Fr. Serra thought, simply send the documents to the comandante-general as ordered. He finally concluded to forward the papers back to the College for transmission to De Croix, and so they probably returned with the same vessel that had brought them. Neve did not appear at Monterey until more than two months later, by which time the comandante-general must have received the said documents.[31]

When he had come back from his trip to the peninsula, the governor addressed the following note to Fr. Serra: "As I have soon to send despatches to the comandante-general, and the transmission is still pending of the Original Patente which was directed to Your Reverence by the Fr. Guardian of your College, and which empowers you to administer the holy Sacrament of Confirmation, and also of the Practical Instruction which accompanies it, and which was issued by the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, which documents Your Reverence has postponed to deliver to me in order that you might add others which are wanted from your College, as you were pleased to explain to me in the letters of July 27th and 22nd last, I ask you to remit one and all. I have given full account to the comandante-general, and he will be expecting further information. The ship has arrived, I therefore supplicate Your Reverence to be pleased to remit said papers in order that I may pass them on to His Honor and thus comply with his instructions."[32]

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[29] Fr. Serra to De Croix. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[30] Fr. Serra to De Croix, March 23, 1781. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[31] Fr. Serra to De Croix, March 23, 1781. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

The Fr. Presidente replied on the same date, "I respond with due attention that I am persuaded that the comandante-general will expect no further information from here, because what we could say to His Honor from here the College has already written to him. Hence we are obliged to await, as I am awaiting, what, in view of all, His Honor may resolve. The case is this: that when they in said College received my letters of October of last year, the Rev. Fr. Guardian of said College presented himself to the superior government of His Excellency, the viceroy of New Spain, and asked for duplicate certified copies of the documents which in the month of September, 1776 were issued there concerning the pase of the Pontifical Brief granting authority to administer Confirmation in these missions. He obtained them in the terms which Your Honor can see in the certified document which I include. The said Fr. Guardian wrote to the comandante-general remitting other documents besides this present one, and added that what was missing through the fault of the court officials would be forwarded when the Fr. Commissary Prefect, who was absent, should return. From what was said I have seen, what I have always claimed, that without doubt the Brief or faculty had received the pase of the Supreme Council of the Indies at Madrid, and also in Mexico of the viceroy and of the Royal Audiencia at the time when the patronato of these provinces was held there. Hence it was that the deceased viceroy deigned to write to me that he had been so delighted that I had received the faculty to confirm, and had confirmed ninety children of this mission, and that I conferred Confirmation on so many hundreds at San Diego, whence I sent him the news."[33] This, of course, gave Neve no satisfaction, but he was obliged to wait and see what steps De Croix would take.

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[32] Neve to Fr. Serra, December 31, 1780. Sta. Barb. Arch.

The courteous letter in which Fr. Serra on July 20, 1780, had explained the situation to De Croix and asked for permission to exercise his spiritual faculties regarding the Sacrament of Confirmation, seems to have angered that official, for it only elicited this curt note: "Notwithstanding all that Your Reverence states in the letter of June 20th[34] last, I repeat to Your Reverence that you immediately comply with what I told you by way of request and command in the order of April 20th previous: that Your Reverence should surrender the Patente and the Original Instructions, through which the faculty of giving Confirmation was committed to you, to the governor of the peninsula."[35]

It is hard to understand why these two officials, De Croix and Neve, should be so insistent on examining the Papal Brief and other original papers, which the venerable Fr. Presidente had possessed, unless they had conspired to humiliate him, and make him acknowledge the supremacy in spiritual things of all state officials down to a petty governor. As for De Croix's charge, it implied that he believed the Fr. Presidente was guilty of falsehood; for Fr. Serra had informed the comandante that he had returned the papers to the College in order that what was wanted should be supplied, and consequently that he had them not in his possession. The good Father keenly felt the insult, but in return sent the following dignified communication:

"Very esteemed Señor:—With all the respect which is due to your exalted position and to your superior orders, I yesterday evening received the letter which it pleased Your Honor to address to me under date of November 29, 1780, in which you say to me that notwithstanding all that I have exposed to you in the letter of July 20th last, you repeat to me that I should immediately comply with what came to me as request and command in the order of the 20th of the previous April, by delivering to the governor of this peninsula the original Patente and Instructions which empower me to administer Confirmation. This is the tenor of and all that is contained in said superior order.

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[33] Fr. Serra to Neve, December 30, 1780. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[34] Should be July 20th. De Croix's letter erroneously has June.

[35] De Croix to Fr. Serra, November 29, 1780.

"Respected Sir, I repeat that only impossibility, absolutely insuperable save by miracle, could prevent prompt and punctual obedience to said precept, inasmuch as the original patent, which is demanded of me, is at the College of San Fernando de Mexico, unless they have already forwarded it to Your Honor with the documents proving that the *pase* for said faculty was in 1776 granted by the Supreme Council of the Indies as well as by His Excellency, the viceroy, and by the Royal Audiencia of Mexico; because, when I saw that the governor in October last, in which month the expected annual ship arrived, was so far from here as is Old California, I considered it the shorter way to put the said original patent into the hands of Your Honor by returning it on said bark to the College, than by awaiting the return of the governor to have him forward it to you, when we did not know at what time he might arrive. At any rate, Respected Sir, whether in what has been said I acted wisely or unwisely,[36] *I swear upon the word and honor of a priest,*[37] that I am not in possession of the original patent in which I am given the faculty to administer Confirmations, nor is it on this whole peninsula, for I have returned it on said occasion and with said bark to the Rev. Fr. Guardian of the Apostolic College of San Fernando de Mexico, my Superior, who had sent it to me. In order that Your Honor with more reason may remove every suspicion, if perchance it has occurred to you that I have done this to escape the dilemma in which at present I find myself, I herewith forward to Your Honor as the first exhibit a copy of a clause in the letter of the Rev. Fr. Guardian of my said College, and as the second exhibit a copy poorly transcribed by me of the document authorized by the secretary of the viceroyal privy council, the original of which with a letter dated December 30, 1780, I sent to the governor of this province, who told me afterwards that he had directed it to Your Honor, although I said to him in said letter that Your Honor would probably already have another of the same tenor and form from my said College, because I inferred from the clause in the Fr. Guardian's letter that he had forwarded a copy, and it is said first exhibit.

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[36] "Y sobre todo discurriese en lo dicho con acierto ó con desacierto."

[37] "Yo juro in Verbo Sacerdotis y tacto pectore Sacerdotali."

"In the face of such documents Your Honor will be able to clearly see how amazed I must have been to find the order to surrender said Patente and Instructions to the governor repeated to me. Even now I have not ceased wondering, when I reflect that between the date of the Fr. Guardian's letter, in which he tells me that all due diligence has been employed and that the papers were immediately leaving to inform Your Honor, and the date of Your Honor's letter in which you again order the delivery of said documents, there *intervene more than nine months,* sufficient time for exchanging many letters. This may have occurred designedly or accidentally, I do not know.[38] It only remains for me to mention it, and to conform myself to the will of God. I was in anxiety after receiving such information, and I expected a letter from Your Honor; because I was very confident, relying upon some remarks of your previous communication, that Your Honor would tell me that to the 2455 who had received Confirmation by my hand (when Your Honor made me suspend the said holy function) I should add all those who might present themselves for the greater glory of God. Well, as it has not turned out thus, I repeat, let the most holy will of God be done as well as that of Your Honor.

"When I entered this country after journeying many days before reaching the Port of San Diego, and again from there to the Port of our Father St. Francis, a distance of more than two hundred leagues, there was not a single Christian among the natives of the whole land. Now, thanks be to God! several thousand have been baptized, and hundreds of them are enjoying God in heaven. In view of the fact that I have seen them born again in Christ Jesus, it seems that my desires to see them also confirmed in the Faith might have been deemed somewhat excusable. I am not obliged to mention the repeated efforts which I made in their behalf; but since it was all accomplished through the labors of others rather than through mine, I rejoiced much in consequence, and so the short time of my peregrinations was sweetened. I am now awaiting the steps that may be taken. Your Honor will be served and obeyed in this matter. In order that it be done as soon as it can be done with reference to what you last commanded me, I am writing in all haste for this mail to the Fr. Guardian of our College that he may remit to Your Honor, or to the governor, said documents on Confirmation, in order that I may do on my part what I can." [39]

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[38] "Lo habran hecho, ó habra sucedido, no lo sé."

There was to be a speedy end to the arrogant claims of De Croix and Neve, however. It was found that the Decree of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, dated Rome, July 8, 1774, which granted the power to confirm, was viseed, or given the *pase,* through Don Isidro Fernandez y Quintana, Secretario de la Camara de las Indias, Madrid, on December 2, 1774, two years before the creation of the office of comandante-general occupied by De Croix. Again it was *paseed* in Mexico by the Royal Audiencia and Viceroy Bucareli on October 8, 1776, two months before De Croix arrived from Spain, so that under no supposition could the comandante-general demand that the faculty to confirm should have his *pase,* even though his office might possess that right ordinarily. Nevertheless, on March 26, 1781, Mariano Perez de Tagle, procurator of the Royal Audiencia, certified that the document had the *pase* required. Copies in triplicate were given by the same Don Tagle, to Fr. Pangua on March 28, 1781. The Fr. Guardian, now Fr.

Fr. Joann. Dominicus Arricivita
Comiss. et Praef. Missionum.

SIGNATURE OF THE COMMISSARY PREFECT WHO APPOINTED FR. SERRA

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[39] Fr. Serra to De Croix, March 23, 1781. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

Pangua, on April 20, 1781, sent a copy of the certified Apostolic Brief along with the original patente appointing Fr. Serra [40] to the Fr. Presidente, and another copy to the comandante-general.[41]

The efforts of the Fr. Guardian and of the Fr. Presidente to gratify the quibbling De Croix were in the end unnecessary; for Viceroy Mayorga had meanwhile cut short the childish pretensions of the comandante and the chicanery of Neve, as may be gathered from the following letter which De Croix addressed to Fr. Serra from Arizpe, Sonora, on December 24, 1780, only one month after he had so curtly commanded the Fr. Presidente to deliver the documents to the governor, though the venerable Father had repeatedly declared that he did not possess them. "Having been assured by the testimony which His Excellency, the viceroy, has sent to me, that the Brief, which empowers Your Reverence to administer the Sacrament of Confirmation in those missions, has the *pase* of the Supreme Council of the Indies and that of the captain-general [42] of Mexico, I to-day instruct Governor Felipe de Neve not to prevent Your Reverence from using said faculty, and that for its exercise he furnish Your Reverence with the escort which you ask of him and which you need." [43] Thus De Croix and Neve, after all, had to be content with the viceroy's assurance which had been offered in evidence from the beginning, and De Croix did not succeed in humiliating the Fr. Presidente before Neve. The decision, moreover, implied that for a priest to exercise his authority in things spiritual the permit of the governor was not necessary.

De Croix's letter unfortunately did not reach the Fr. Presidente until August 16, 1781, nearly two years after he had ceased to confirm. Neve's letter, though dated at San Gabriel on May 19, 1781, also failed to arrive at San Carlos until the same August 16th. The governor wrote: "Under date of

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[40] This patente, signed and sealed by Fr. Arricivita, is in the archives of Mission Santa Barbara. It bears date of October 17, 1777.

[41] Fr. Pángua to Fr. Serra, April 20, 1781. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[42] Capitan-General, that is to say, the viceroy.

[43] De Croix to Fr. Serra. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

December 23rd, last, the comandante-general informs me that he had been assured by testimony, which His Excellency, the viceroy, directed to him, that the Pontifical Brief, in virtue of which Your Reverence is granted the faculty to confirm, had received the *pase* of the Supreme Council of the Indies and of the captain-general of Mexico, and that with this knowledge I should not prevent Your Reverence from administering said holy Sacrament. I inform Your Reverence of this so that at your discretion you may use the said faculty in these new establishments as you judge expedient." [44]

How disappointed Neve must have felt at seeing his machinations foiled, and how willing he was to employ force in order to obtain possession of Fr. Serra's faculties, we may gather from his letter to De Croix of March 26, 1781. He wrote: "Fr. Junípero Serra says he sent his patente, etc., to the Fr. Guardian. I do not proceed to take possession and search the papers, because, it not being certain that he sent them away, he will with his unspeakable artifice and shrewdness have hid them, and the result would be delay in the Channel foundations,[45] because these Fathers will not furnish the supplies which they have to contribute. If exasperated there is no vexation which those religious, with their immeasurable and incredible pride, will not attempt,[46] since on more than four occasions my policy and moderation was not enough to turn them from the opposition with which they surreptitiously conspired against the government[47] and its ordinances. At a more opportune time certain measures may be taken, which for the present it has been judged necessary to postpone, in order to bring this Fr. Presidente to a proper acknowledgment of the authority[48] which he eludes while he pretends to obey."[49]

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[44] Neve to Fr. Serra. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[45] It will be made clear that the delay was entirely due to Neve's artifice, who at that "fitting time" endeavored to "carry out certain measures to bring this presidente to the proper acknowledgment of the authority which he eluded," by wanting to foist a system upon the Fathers to which they could not be a party.

[46] Neve pictures himself very well, in that it all applies to himself. "Exasperados estos religiosos con su desmedida y increible altivez no habrá tropelía que no intenten." For religiosos put Neve, and it fits exactly.

It is not surprising that Neve should find special favor with such an enemy of the Catholic Church as Bancroft. Both Neve and De Croix appear to have been tainted with the irreligious notions of the French Encyclopedists of their day, who would merely tolerate the ministers of Christ's Church as long as they permit themselves to be used for the furtherance of the scheme of irreligious politicians and usurpers who fancy themselves to be the State. Such officials recognize no divine character nor divine commission in the Church, because in their opinion there is no Divinity to call them to an account, and consequently there are no representatives of God deserving regard. At any rate, according to their notion the divine command, Go ye into the whole world and teach all nations and teach them to observe whatsoever I have told you,[50] always presupposes the *pase*, or permit, of kings, viceroys, commanding generals, governors, prefects, etc., even though such officials believe nothing themselves! To this class of would-be statesmen belonged De Croix and Neve, and thus it is that these two, especially Neve, find such a staunch defender in Bancroft.

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[47] "El Gobierno," that is to say, Governor Neve. Even he could not have charged the Fathers with conspiracy against the vice-royal government. Their passive resistance to his own assumptions was no conspiring against him. The truth is, the only ones guilty of conspiracy were Neve and De Croix. The Fathers were attending to their duties. Neve could never accuse them of interfering with his duties. It was he who incessantly meddled.

[48] "En tiempo mas oportuno podrá practicarse aquella diligencia que he juzgado preciso sobreseer interinamente cuando conosco asi he de obrar con este P. Presidente para atraerle al debido reconocimiento de la autoridad que elude y aparenta obedecer." That was the sole object of all Neve's machinations: absolute subjection to himself of all the Fathers and their missions. He was anticipating modern French and Mexican methods. Yet he talked of pride!

[49] *Cal. Arch., Prov. Records,* vol. ii, 278-282. Compare Bancroft, i, 324.

[50] Matt. xxviii; Mark xvi.

According to Bancroft, Fr. Serra, when he would exercise his spiritual authority in administering a Sacrament instituted, not by the State, but by Christ Himself, even though he had the permission of the highest official in the State, was all wrong, and Neve, who would forbid the administration of the Sacrament in the face of the viceroy's permit, was clearly within his rights! We have stated the facts from the original documents. The readers may now judge what is to be thought of a writer who in the face of documentary evidence would have people believe that "Neve claimed what he regarded as a well-known right, nothing in the least degree humiliating[51] to the presidente; and when obedience[52] to his demands was refused nothing but his moderation and cool-minded patriotism[53] prevented a scandal which would have been unfortunate to the country, and perhaps disastrous to the missions. No ardent churchman entertains a more exalted opinion of the virtues of Junipero Serra, his pure-mindedness, his self-sacrificing devotion, his industry and zeal than myself. Nor would I willingly detract from the reputation of a man who has been justly regarded as an ideal missionary, the father of the Church in California; but I am writing history, and I must record the facts as I find them."[54] Bancroft accordingly on page 322 twice accuses Fr. Serra of pride for not bowing to Neve in this purely spiritual matter. On page 323 he says that Fr. Serra confirmed in 1780 despite the prohibition of Neve, which is untrue, if he means publicly; for in public the Father confirmed no one from November, 1779, to September, 1781. On pages 323-324 Bancroft makes Fr. Serra play a game of deception on De Croix. On page 325 he says that Fr. Serra deemed himself safe enough to disregard the orders both of De Croix and the Fr. Guardian; and on page 326 he finds Fr. Serra "happy in the thought that he had snubbed his enemy." In truth, instead of recording the facts as he finds them, Bancroft distorts them. From all that he says on the subject, pages 322-328, the reader must get the impression that the venerable founder of the California missions was a shrewd trickster and a most turbulent and unscrupulous friar and citizen, which all is decidedly contrary to the facts as the records reveal them.

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[51] We should like to know what is more humiliating for a priest than to be subject to the whims of a politician in matters purely spiritual.

[52] Fr. Serra owed no "obedience" to Neve in administering the Sacraments.

[53] That is reversing the truth. It was Neve who provoked the dispute. To our American ideas of Freedom Fr. Serra's forbearance of Neve's impertinence bordered on the heroic. Bancroft twists the facts out of all semblance to the truth.

[54] Bancroft, vol. i, 327-328.

Hittell, an enemy of religious orders and an open admirer of the first governor, exposes the true inwardness of the dispute between Fr. Serra and Neve as follows: "Everything bid fair for the future of the new province even under the new arrangement;[55] but after the death of Bucareli, difficulties unlooked for *were started by Felipe de Neve,*[56] governor of California. He had been appointed to his office by the viceroy and charged by him to cherish the missions; but no sooner had his patron passed away than he conceived scruples about the power to administer Confirmation, notwithstanding that power had been exercised long and extensively and without question. He claimed that, as the jurisdiction of the Internal Provinces including California had been separated from the viceroyalty, the authority to confirm should be approved by the comandancia of those provinces. Junípero on his part offered arguments to show that his authority was legitimate; but the governor, either having some ulterior purpose in view or being very technical in his constructions, would not or could not see the force and pertinaciously persisted in his objections. . . . Suffice it to say that in due time instructions were made out to the effect that the governor should throw no more impediments in the way of the Fr. Presidente's administration of the rite of Confirmation, and further that whenever the Fr. Presidente desired to travel from mission to mission he should be furnished with an escort of soldiers." This is a fair statement, and puts Neve in the true light.[57]

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[55] That is to say, the placing of California under the comandante-general.

[56] The Italics are ours.

With Hittell agrees one of the latest writers on California, Bryan J. Clinch. "The conduct of both De Croix and Neve," Clinch says, "showed a singular malevolence towards the mission presidente, not unlike that of Alva and Florida Blanca[58] towards the Jesuits some years earlier. In justice it should be said, the boorish anti-clericalism of Neve and De Croix was exceptional among Spanish officials. The quondam Sergeant-Major Barri at Loreto[59] was the only parallel to Neve in his hostility to the missionary friars. The action of Viceroy Bucareli towards Father Serra is in strong contrast with the harsh arrogance of the commandant of the frontiers. The viceroy was both cordial and judicious in his dealing with Fr. Serra's request, and showed none of the slighted personal importance exhibited by the officials of a lower grade. He kept from interference with the Church."[60]

"While the decision was awaited," Fr. Palóu writes, "the Fr. Presidente neither gave Confirmations nor left his mission, but occupied himself with the ordinary exercises, the Lord consoling him by means of many gentiles who came from afar and asked for holy Baptism. He was kept busy instructing them, and afterwards baptized them, and thus increased the children of holy Church in spite of hell."[61]

The good Fr. Presidente must often have been at a loss to find an answer to the question why he did not give Confirmation and why he did not visit the other missions as before? To state the whole truth would have scandalized the Indians who regarded him with reverence as what he was, supreme in spiritual things within the boundary of California. He could under no circumstances appear as recognizing that the administration of the Sacraments depended upon the good or ill will of a governor. On the other hand, the Sacrament of Confirmation not being absolutely necessary for salvation, Fr. Serra desired to avoid an open rupture, or "a scandal," to use Bancroft's words, "which would have been unfortunate for the country, and perhaps disastrous to the missions."[62] Hence Fr. Serra chose to appear as neglecting his duty rather than to take either horn of the dilemma. Sometimes, however, the Fr. Presidente must have found himself in a position when he had to decide one way or the other. Such cases, for instance, may have been the demand of a sailor coming from afar demanding to be confirmed before entering upon another voyage; or the request of a dying Indian which could not be refused. In cases like these, it seems, the Fr. Presidente quite properly used his powers, which he was absolutely certain had been sanctioned by the king and the viceroy, though of course their consent was not necessary for the validity of the Sacrament. This occurred on twelve different occasions, but so privately that the hostile governor never became aware of it, and therefore could not have taken umbrage. It seems that not even Fr. Palóu knew this, since he expressly says that Fr. Serra did not confirm after his return from San Francisco in November, 1779, until September, 1781. Nor would any one else have known, if Fr. Serra had not conscientiously entered the names in the Book of Confirmations. On these twelve occasions he confirmed in all thirty-one persons. Seven out of the twelve times only one person was confirmed. The dates were December, 1779; January, February, March, May, October, December, 1780; February and June 1781.[63]

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[57] Hittell, *History of California,* i, 420-421.

[58] Francisco Ant. Moñino, Count de Florida Blanca, was prime-minister of Spain from 1777-1792.

[59] See vol. i, this work, sect. iii, capp. ix-x.

[60] Clinch, *"California and Its Missions,"* vol. ii, 136-137, passim.

[61] "En todo el tiempo que tardó el venir la decision de la duda. . . . no hizo Confirmaciones, ni salió de su mision, etc." Palóu, *Vida,* 236.

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[62] Bancroft, i, 327. That historian speaks of Neve, but the words are there misapplied.

[63] Libro de Confirmaciones, San Carlos de Monterey.

CHAPTER XIX.

Movements of the Transports.—New Explorations on the Northwest Coast.—Return.—Gift to Mission Dolores.—Fr. Serra at San Francisco.—Changes.—Fr. Cambón Goes to Manila.—Returns.—Fathers Serra and Crespi at Dolores.—Fr. Crespi's Death.—Neve's New Reglamento.—Regulations for the Military and Settlers.—Attempts Against the Missions.—Dreariness of Mission Life.—Neve's Cruel Assumption.

WHILE Neve was busy scheming to mortify the missionaries whom he should have encouraged and assisted, Viceroy Bucareli endeavored to extend the Spanish dominions to the northwest. We have therefore to leave the Fathers and their tormentor for a while in order to follow the movements of the supply ships and of the exploring vessels. As a rule, unless a special courier came from Loreto, Lower California, the missionaries received news from their mother college only once a year. This was owing to the infrequency with which the two regular transports made their voyages. On June 17, 1778, the *Santiago* arrived at San Francisco Bay, directly from San Blas, which port she had left on March 8th in charge of Captain Juan Manuel de Ayala and the pilots Francisco Castro and Juan Bautista de Aguirre. Her chaplain was Fr. José Nocedal of San Fernando College. She brought notice that two other frigates were preparing to make a voyage of exploration to the northwest coast. Her mail contained letters from the Fr. Guardian which were of the highest importance to the Fathers. Fr. Serra was informed that he had been selected to administer the Sacrament of Confirmation [1] and that the California friars by order of the king and the sanction of the Pope were to be organized into a custody.[2] The *Santiago* sailed from San Francisco Bay on July 27th, and entered the harbor of Monterey on the 31st. There she discharged the freight intended for the presidio and the three missions of San Carlos, San Antonio and San Luis Obispo, whereupon she prepared to leave San Diego. Fr. Serra took passage on her in order to begin his first Confirmation tour at San Diego.

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[1] See preceding chapter.

[2] This subject will be treated later. See also vol. i, 567-568.

On the 25th the *Santiago* weighed anchor, but contrary winds prevented the ship from leaving Monterey harbor until September 6th. She finally arrived at San Diego on September 15th. Storms detained the vessel until the middle of October, when she departed for San Blas. The *San Antonio* in charge of Captain José Camacho and Pilot Estévan Martínez came up from San Blas on May 16th, and began her return voyage in the forepart of June. Her chaplain was a Franciscan of the Jaliscan province whose name was not given. He had taken the place of the late Fr. Benito Sierra, who had made the voyage three times.[3]

In the following year the *Santiago,* commanded by Captain Estévan Martínez and Pilot José Tobár, arrived at San Francisco Bay on June 26th. Her chaplain this time was Rev. Nicolas Loera of the diocese of Guadalajara. He was the first secular priest who set foot in Upper California. The former chaplain, Fr. José Nocedál, had died a few days after reaching Tepíc in the previous year, presumably about the middle of November. His remains were interred at the Franciscan convent of Santa Cruz, Tepíc. The *Santiago* had supplies on board for all the presidios and missions. While she sailed away on July 26th, she was twice nearly wrecked, once just outside the Golden Gate, and again off Point Año Nuevo. The sailors attributed their deliverance to the interposition of the Blessed Virgin. As soon, therefore, as they arrived at Monterey they had a High Mass of thanksgiving offered up in her honor at Mission San Carlos. From Monterey the said frigate proceeded to San Diego and remained there until the middle of October in order to avoid the equinoctial storms.[4]

It will be remembered that the first expedition to the northwest coast under Captain Juan Perez in 1774 [5] went as far as Queen Charlotte's Island; and that the second under Ezeta and Bodega in 1775 [6] reached the fifty-eighth degree, discovered the country about Sitka, and named Paso de Bucareli or Bucareli's Pass. When the result of the last voyage was reported to Viceroy Bucareli, he resolved to despatch a third expedition to the northwest.[7] For this purpose he ordered a ship to be built and equipped at San Blas, and another to be purchased in Perú. Three years were passed in these operations. The San Blas vessel, called *Nuestra Señora del Rosario*, or *La Princesa*, and the Peruvian ship, *Nuestra Señora de los Remedios*, or *La Favorita*, set sail at San Blas on February 12, 1779.[8] Both had orders not to separate except in grave necessity, and then to make the Paso de Bucareli their point of union. The *Princesa* was in charge of Captain Ignacio Arteaga; Fernando Quiros held the position of mate; the pilots were José Camacho and Juan Pantoja y Arriaga. The Franciscans Fr. Juan García Riobó and Fr. Matias de Santa Catarina y Noriega accompanied her as chaplains. The *Favorita* sailed under Captain Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Cuadra; the mate was Lieutenant Francisco Maurelle. José Cañizares and Juan Bautista Aguirre were the pilots, and Rev. Cristóbal Daiz, a secular priest from Lima, acted as chaplain.

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[3] Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. iv, cap. xxxi, 206-208. Fr. Sierra died at San Blas.

[4] Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. iv, cap. xxxii, 209-210.

[5] See chapter ix.

[6] See chapter x.

The expedition sailed directly for the Paso de Bucareli in fifty-five degrees latitude, and arrived there without mishap on May 3rd. The officers spent two months surveying the interior, where they discovered thirteen good ports and an archipelago. As the Indians showed some hostility, the explorers dared not proceed farther into the pass. It was observed that the canoes of the natives measured about thirty feet at the keel; that the men dressed in skins, used arrows and bows, and carried lances which were about sixteen feet long. It was also noticed that the underlip of the women was pierced, as had been observed by former navigators, which custom gave them an ugly appearance. The Spaniards succeeded in purchasing three Indian boys and two Indian girls.

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[7] In his *Vida*, cap. xxxviii, 170-171, Fr. Palóu says he describes these expeditions at some length because they were all occasioned by Fr. Serra's visit to Mexico.

[8] Greenhow, p. 125, has February 7th. Revilla Gigedo, No. 54, has February 11th.

Three of these children were subsequently baptized at Mission San Francisco; the other two, as they were ten years of age, and therefore needed instructions, were taken along to San Blas.

On July 1st the two ships sailed out of Paso de Bucareli, on the 9th sighted Mt. St. Elias, and ere long the men noticed that the land inclined towards the southwest. On the 25th they arrived at a large bay which for the saint of the day, St. James, was christened Port Santiago. They landed and raised a Cross, singing in procession the hymn Vexilla Regis. One of the Fathers sang High Mass and preached a sermon. The commander of the *Princesa* took formal possession in the name of the Spanish king. The bay was then examined and pronounced well protected against winds. There was plenty of timber and fresh water, and the natives appeared friendly. On August 1st the explorers reached sixty degrees and a few minutes. Here on the 2nd, they anchored in a large bay to which the explorers gave the name Nuestra Señora de Regla.[9] By this time there were so many sick aboard, the season had so far advanced, and the point which the viceroy had proposed was reached withal, that the Spaniards decided to return. Both ships entered the bay of San Francisco, the *Favorita* on September 14th, and the *Princesa* on the next morning, in order to give the sufferers a chance to recover and to prepare the charts of the voyage.

The captain of the *Favorita* had brought along a bronze image[10] of Nuestra Señora de los Remédios, which he desired to place in the mission church of Dolores. The Fathers gladly accepted the gift, and it was then borne in procession to the church on Rosary Sunday. All the officers and men, except a few who had to stand guard, took part in the celebration. At the church the clergy received the image and solemnly brought it to the main altar. As it happened to be also the eve of the feast of St. Francis, October 3rd, a solemn High Mass with deacon and subdeacon was sung, during which a sermon was preached and salutes were fired. Next day, the feast of the

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[9] Prince William's Sound, according to Greenhow, p. 126.

[10] "Imagen en lamina de bronce." Palóu, *Vida,* 170.

VIII. MISSION SANTA CLARA, FOUNDED JANUARY 12, 1777

patron saint was similarly celebrated, the people of the presidio coming over to participate in honoring the protector of the port, mission, and fort.[11]

The marine officers, anxious to make the acquaintance of Fr. Serra, had invited him to San Francisco, but when he replied that he could not comply with their request, they resolved to visit him at San Carlos. Fernando Quiros, Juan Francisco de la Bodega, and one of the royal surgeons set out accompanied by Fr. Francisco Palóu. They arrived at Santa Clara on October 11th just as the Fr. Presidente entered the mission from the south. He had changed his mind for the reason given in chapter eighteen, and in spite of his sore leg had walked the whole distance, twenty-seven leagues, in two days.[12] When he arrived he could not keep on his feet any longer. The surgeon examined the swollen leg, and then declared that without a miracle the Father could not have made the journey in that way. He wanted to apply a remedy, but Fr. Serra begged him to delay the treatment until he reached San Francisco where he could rest. To the amazement of all, he, moreover, baptized several adults for whom the officers stood sponsors at his request. Though the ceremonies were very long, the Fr. Presidente performed them all without apparent inconvenience from the ailing foot.

On the 14th of October all started out for San Francisco, and passed a day and a half in making the distance of fifteen leagues. He thanked Commander Ignacio Arteaga for his kindness in sending down the officers, and promised to confirm all in the two crews who had not as yet received the Sacrament of Confirmation. On October 21st the Father sang High Mass at Mission Dolores and preached a fervent sermon on the Sacrament which he was about to administer to the Spaniards and neophytes. He gave Confirmation on three other days also, so that when he departed there was no one that had not been confirmed. He had also baptized twelve Indians for whom the naval officers again acted as sponsors, and confirmed these converts also, as well as the three children whom the explorers had brought from Port Bucareli. The surgeon again urged the Fr. Presidente to permit treatment of the diseased limb; but Fr. Serra said that he felt better after having rested, that the wound was an old one anyway, and would require a long time to heal, and that therefore it was better to leave it to the Divine Surgeon.[13]

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[11] Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. iv, cap, xxxiii, 211-219, *Vida,* cap. xxxviii, 167-170.

[12] "llegó tal que no se podia tener en pie, y no era para menos, pues anduvo en dos dias el camino de veinte y siete leguas." Palóu, *Vida,* 231.

Some days later a courier brought the news from Monterey that for the first time the Philippine galleon *San José* had arrived there on October 11th, and stopped outside the port. The commander sent a boat ashore to ask for a pilot. A soldier who knew the harbor was sent along with fresh provisions for the crew; but the little craft was upset just as the men boarded the ship. At the same time a sudden wind forced the *San José* to depart taking the soldier along to Cape San Lucas.

A little later another courier arrived with the news that Viceroy Bucareli had passed away, and that Spain had declared war against England. This information caused the two frigates to hasten their departure. Fr. Baníto Cambón, the companion of Fr. Palóu at Dolores, on account of ill-health received permission to embark in one of the ships which sailed for San Blas on October 30th; they arrived there on November 21, 1779. Fr. Noriega, thus far chaplain of the *Princesa,* took Fr. Cambón's place at the mission. Fr. Serra on November 6th departed for Santa Clara. He confirmed all that were prepared, and then returned to San Carlos.[14]

Instead of coming up to California in 1780, the transports *San Carlos* and *San Antonio* were despatched to the Philippine Islands. They carried $300,000 with which money the ports were to be fortified against the English. The *San Carlos* sailed in charge of Captain Juan de Ayala, and her chaplain was Fr. Pablo Font of San Fernando College. The *San Antonio,* commanded by Diego Choquet, had the Jaliscan Fr. José Peña for chaplain.

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[13] "que mejor seria dejarla para el Médico Divino." *Ibid.* 233.

[14] Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. iv, cap. xxxiii, 211-219; *Vida,* cap. xlix, 231-233; Revilla Gigedo, *Informe,* 53-58. Gigedo says the *Princesa* arrived at San Blas on the 25th, while the *Favorita* reached there on the 21st of November, 1779.

Fr. Cambón meanwhile reached San Blas very much worse, but he recovered and resolved to return to San Francisco on one of the packets. Lest he come empty-handed, he invested the whole stipend for his services as chaplain, some donations, and alms for holy Masses, in one hundred fanegas of corn and a quantity of sugar. These he brought to the *Santiago* in which he intended to take passage; but as the *Princesa,* which was also ordered to the Philippines in command of Captain Bruno Ezeta, had no chaplain, Fr. Cambón accompanied her to Manila.[15]

The *Santiago* did not reach Monterey until October 7, 1780. She was in charge of Captain Estévan Martínez and Pilot José Tobár. Rev. Miguel Dávalos, a secular priest from Guadalajara, came along as chaplain. The ship discharged her freight at Monterey, and then immediately sailed back. So Fr. Cambón's corn and other goods had to be brought to San Francisco on the backs of mules. The presidio at the Golden Gate fared badly at this time inasmuch as it had received no supplies for more than a year. Matters grew more serious in 1781. In that year no packet boat arrived at the ports of Upper California from San Blas; for the *Santiago,* on her arrival at that port in January, 1781, was ordered to Lima for the purpose of bringing up a quantity of quicksilver, as none could be procured from Spain while the war raged. The *Favorita,* and the packet boat *San Juan Nepomuceno* brought over from the Philippines by Juan Manuel de Ayala, in June, 1781, attempted to sail for California from San Blas, but found the harbor blockaded.[16]

On December 9, 1781, the *San Carlos,* a vessel built at Manila, arrived at San Diego from the Philippine Islands in place of the transport *San Carlos* which had formerly helped to supply California with provisions. Her captain was Juan Gonzáles. Fr. Cambón returned with her, and, though ill, resolved to remain in California. An Augustinian friar,[17] who had taken passage in the same ship, consented to act as chaplain on the way down as far as San Blas. Fr. Cambón brought the news that Fr. Francisco Pángua had been elected guardian of San Fernando College, and that six Fathers were ready to come for the three missions it was proposed to found on the Santa Barbara Channel. Cambón also wrote from San Diego to San Francisco that the Philippine governor had paid the stipend due him with some months additional, and that for this money he had purchased vestments, wax for making candles and other articles for the church of Mission San Francisco.[18] Unfortunately all these things had been registered under the San Blas mark; they could therefore not be landed at San Diego. They were finally brought up from San Blas on the transport which anchored in the harbor of San Francisco on May 13, 1782.[19]

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[15] Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. iv, cap. xxxiii-xxxiv, 219, 222.

[16] "se halló cerrado."

[17] "un padre descálso de pasajero."

Fr. Palóu in his dreary solitude at Mission Dolores was much gratified by an unexpected visit from Fr. Serra and Fr. Juan Crespi. The latter had not seen the bay since its discovery in November, 1769. Both Fathers arrived overland on October 28, 1781, and remained till November 9th. It proved Fr. Crespi's last visit; for after returning to San Carlos by way of Santa Clara, where Serra gave Confirmation, he fell grievously ill and died on January 1, 1782, at the age of sixty years and ten months.[20]

Having thus brought the movements of the transports and other ships up to the date of our narrative, we must take up anew Governor Neve's efforts to annoy and humiliate the friars; for, as Fr. Palóu said, "every day he invented new schemes" to hamper the work of the missionaries who, far from wishing to meddle with the governor's affairs, desired nothing more than to labor for the conversion of the savages unmolested.

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[18] Here again is evidence that the friars used all their earnings for the benefit of their neophytes. This was such a matter of course with them that it is amazing to find writers accusing the missionaries of having accumulated riches for themselves.

[19] Palóu, *Noticias*, tom. iv, cap. xxxvi, 227-228; cap. xxxix, 242.

[20] Palóu, *Noticias*, tom. iv, cap. xxxv, 224-225; *Vida*, cap. i, 236-237.

Echeveste's Reglamento for the government of California had been in force since January 1, 1774. On March 21, 1775, King Carlos III. ordered another Reglamento to be framed in which provisions should be made for the colonization of California. On August 15, 1777, General De Croix forwarded the royal decree to Felipe de Neve, with instructions to report what changes should be made in view of the plans outlined by the king. The documents reached the governor in June, 1778. On December 28th he signed his report and recommendations. He then worked out a new set of regulations, finished it on June 1, 1779, and headed it "Reglamento é Instruccion para los Presidios de la Peninsula de California, Ereccion de Nuevas Misiones, y Fomento del Pueblo y Estension de los Establecimientos de Monterey." [21]

Bancroft himself finds it "strange that the preparation of so extensive and important a state paper, and especially those portions relating to colonization, which was a new and difficult subject, should have been intrusted *in toto* to the governor, and equally so the fact that no correspondence on the subject has been preserved.[22] It is not so strange when it becomes clear what was expected of Neve. As the title indicates, the governor also included regulations for the government of the missions; but he did not deign to take the missionaries in his counsel on a subject that concerned them so much. In his opinion they had no rights in the matter but to obey what the military lord saw fit to dictate. Whether his proposed laws benefited or damaged the missionary work was a question for him alone to determine. This lofty view is quite in keeping with the attitude assumed by the liberal politicians who delight to lord it over helpless religious. Whether Neve had received any secret instructions or not, it is evident that, when he formulated regulations most unfavorable to the missionaries and their wards, he was sure of powerful support at Madrid and Arizpe. At any rate, De Croix was so pleased with the governor's propositions that he thought it unnecessary to await the king's approval. On September 21, 1780, he wrote to Neve that the plan of government had been forwarded to His Majesty by the viceroy, but that the new Reglamento should go into effect provisionally with the new year 1781. It received the royal sanction on October 24, 1781.[23]

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[21] "Regulation and Instruction for the presidios of the peninsula of California, the erection of new missions, the encouragement of colonization and the extension of the establishments of Monterey." Bancroft. i, 317-318; Dwinelle, "Nar. Arg." 26-27; Revilla Gigedo, *Informe*, No. 49.

[22] Bancroft, i, 318.

The first change concerned the military. Owing to the great distance from headquarters, the inspector-general of the frontier garrisons of Mexico found it very difficult to visit the presidios of California. The governor was, therefore, made provincial inspector and was responsible for the enforcement of the military regulations. The actual work of inspecting, however, was assigned to an adjutant inspector who acted under orders from the governor or provincial inspector. Nicolas Solér first held the position from November, 1781.[24] Other arrangements were also made with regard to the pay of the soldiers and in reference to the guarda-almacen or storekeeper. Particulars have already been stated in the first volume.[25]

The section in the Reglamento dealing with colonization was the most elaborate. In order to induce settlers to come to California, each one was to be given the lot for a house and a tract of land for cultivation; in the beginning to each one were assigned at cost price two mares, two cows, two sheep, two goats, two horses, one mule, a yoke of oxen, a plough, and other agricultural implements, seeds, a musket, and a leather shield. For all the supplies furnished the colonist was to pay in horses, mules and produce within five years. In addition, each settler was to receive annually for two years $116.43. Thereafter his allowance for three years would be annually sixty dollars paid in clothing or other articles at cost prices. For the common use of the pueblo or town each community was to have the free use of government lands for pasturage, wood and water, also a number of certain animals for breeding purposes, a few swine, a forge, blacksmith and carpenter tools, and various other implements such as crowbars and shovels. Moreover, all were to be free from tithes and taxes on condition that each settler performed certain community work, such as constructing irrigation canals and dams, making roads, building a church and necessary town structures, and tilling the pueblo lands from the product of which municipal expenses should be defrayed.

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[23] Dwinelle and Bancroft, locis citatis.

[24] Bancroft, i, 334.

[25] See vol. i, 560-561.

In return for this aid, the colonists were required to sell to the presidios exclusively the surplus products of their lands at prices to be fixed from time to time by the governor in accordance with the market rates of southern provinces. Each settler had to keep himself, horse and musket in readiness for military service. The Pobladores, as the settlers were called, had to take their farms within the limits of the four square leagues allotted according to Spanish law and custom. They could not sell or alienate their land, nor encumber it with mortgages. The land had to pass from father to son, but the father might designate one of several sons, or in certain cases a married daughter who should succeed to the ownership. He might also divide the land among several children. The houses had to be kept in repair, and each settler had to maintain a certain number of animals; he could not kill or otherwise dispose of the live stock, except under certain regulations, in order to insure its increase; neither could one person own more than fifty animals of a kind and thus monopolize the pueblo wealth.[26]

All this looked very well on paper, and might have been successfully carried out, if the right kind of colonists had taken up the work, and if the rights of the Indians had been respected. Bancroft, of course, to a large extent, blames the missionaries for the failure. For the present it will be enough to state the regulations.

The last section of the Reglamento legislated for the missions which were doing fairly well under the laws enacted by Spanish kings before they came under the influence of Voltairians. The missionaries had never complained of those laws, but they had frequent occasions to object to their disregard on the part of meddling officers. The governor now went much further; he would overthrow the whole missionary system under which the Franciscans and other religious had succeeded in making quiet and useful subjects out of degraded savages. Had Neve taken any interest in the spiritual and temporal welfare of the natives, and had he not been imbued with anti-monastic notions, he would have consulted with the friars, and then, if necessary, some regulations could have resulted which might have been beneficial or at least not disagreeable to all concerned. That is just what the governor purposely avoided to do, because he intended to legislate against the missionaries. It was hard work enough to make these Indians realize that they were human beings, and to teach them to adopt civilized habits to some extent. The Fathers had a right to expect a degree of sympathy and encouragement, or at least no opposition from a coordinate department of the Spanish government in California; for the missionaries were not, in the control of the spiritual and temporal affairs of the neophytes, subject to the governor,[27] but only to the king or viceroy, who had laid down the regulations to be observed. No encouragement ever came from Felipe de Neve. Thus it was that in the end he succeeded in putting a number of unjust and impracticable regulations upon the statute books, which, as far as the missions were concerned, were bound to come to naught, except that the attempt to enforce them hastened the death of the venerable Fr. Serra, drove the intrepid Fr. Palóu out of the country, and disheartened the self-sacrificing friars generally.

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[26] Dwinelle, *Colonial History of San Francisco*, Addenda iv; Nar. Arg., 26-29; Bancroft, i, 335-337; Hittell, i, 522-524.

The missionaries, indeed, looked for no worldly compensation; they nourished their zeal for souls at the altar daily, and expected retribution from above; but they were human, and it would have helped the service of the king and government to accord them the meed of cheer which good Viceroy Bucareli never denied them, instead of seeking to humiliate and victimize them under false pretenses. Had the Franciscans not been as loyal as they proved to be, and had they not had hopes of seeing the iniquitous designs of military and political schemers against them come to nothing, and had they not felt a really motherly affection for their dull, wayward, almost idiotic wards, these religious would simply have left the ungrateful task to the selfish adversaries, who so coldly and relentlessly hampered every missionary effort for the well-being of the Indian.

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[27] De Croix and Neve claimed as much, but their pretensions, as we have seen, were not admitted. See also vol. i, 458, on the *Exhorto.*

The Reglamento attacked the Fathers and their work in the very vitals. Neve's plan would have only eleven missions, including the three to be located on the Santa Barbara Channel, along the coast from San Diego to San Francisco, whose protection was secured, he thought, by four presidios. He then proposed a similar line of missions inland. Each of these missions was to be as far as possible equidistant from two of the old ones, and from fourteen to twenty leagues farther east. This would have made no difference with the friars, provided the requisites, Indians, land fit for cultivation, water, and timber existed on the second line. So far the plan had no objectionable feature; but Neve now manifested the spirit that controlled him with regard to the missionaries and the work of conversion. The three new missions on the Channel and all the missions farther east were to be conducted in an altogether different manner. Each mission was to have the church and priest's dwelling where the missionary might assemble the savages for instructions, and then he was to dismiss them to their hovels. A thousand dollars were to be provided from the Pious Fund, as heretofore, with which he might erect and furnish the buildings. He was to receive from the same fund annually $400 for his maintenance, but he was not to have anything wherewith to attract the savages, and there was to be no more agriculture, no stockraising, and no teaching of mechanical arts for the benefit of the neophytes. The Indians were to be permitted to live as they pleased, to come to the instructions if they pleased, and to execute the lessons imparted, or laugh them to scorn, which was more probable, since the missionary could neither clothe nor feed, neither divert nor protect them. As the missionary was to be confined to spiritual matters, there would be no need of two missionaries; thus $400 could be saved to the Pious Fund, for what purpose is not clear.

Neve also would limit the number of Indian servants for the Fathers at each mission to four, and then only for two years.[28] It thus appears that the governor intended to isolate the missionaries entirely, surely not for their comfort and encouragement, nor for the efficiency of the missionary service. Life at an Indian mission under favorable circumstances, from a worldly point of view, was not an enviable lot. Kipling in one of his stories depicts the situation so well that we quote a few paragraphs for the sake of illustration. "Do you know," he writes, "what life at a mission outpost means? Try to imagine a loneliness exceeding that of the smallest station to which the government has ever sent you—isolation that weighs upon the waking eyelids and drives you by force headlong into the labors of the day. There is no post, there is no one of your own color to speak to you, there are no roads; there is, indeed, food to keep you alive, but it is not pleasant to eat; and whatever good or beauty or interest there is in your life, must come from yourself and the grace that may be planted in you. You must be infinitely kind and patient, and, above all, clear-sighted, for you deal with the simplicity of childhood, the experience of man, and the subtlety of the savage. If to the cure of souls you add that of bodies, your task will be all the more difficult. As the day wears and the impetus of the morning dies away, there will come upon you an overwhelming sense of the uselessness of your toil. This must be striven against, and the only spur in your side will be the belief that you are playing against the devil for the living soul. It is a great and joyous belief; but he who can hold it unwavering for four and twenty consecutive hours, must be blessed with an abundantly strong physique and equable nerves." [29]

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[28] "que la gracia de peones se limite á solos cuatro, y por dos años no mas." Fr. Pángua to Fr. Serra, April 20, 1781. *Sta. Barb. Arch.* How this and many other things concerned the governor, particularly when the wages or rations were not paid by the royal treasury, but from the Pious Fund, it is difficult to see. It was veritable kitchen legislation by a man who knew nothing about cooking.

[29] Rudyard Kipling, *The Judgment of Dungara.* See also vol. i, 428; Bancroft, *History of Texas,* i, 729.

It will have been observed that the Franciscan friars came to California with the "great and joyous belief" that they could "play a winning game against the devil for the living souls" of thousands of savages. Some held that "joyous belief" for four and twenty consecutive years and more, but the sustaining power came to them through the channels of the Sacraments coupled with the practice of prayer, meditation and mortification. They indeed knew in advance the hardships inseparable from missionary life among savages; but they did not expect opposition and interference from government officials; nor were they prepared to be doomed to a life of isolation. The friars volunteered under the supposition that they would have at least one companion of similar aims and priestly powers. The Lord had sent out His disciples by twos; St. Francis had inculcated the same practice; and the Constitutions of the Order, especially the regulations of the College, prescribed that the friar on the mission must be provided with at least one companion. With what right and reason, then, could a government official aggravate the dreary lot of the missionary by attempting to deprive him of the only companion with whom he could confer intelligently, and from whom he could receive advice and consolation? Even the missionary priest is human. Why should he be deprived of the grace and encouragement that come through the Sacrament of Penance administered to him by a fellow priest? Neve's Reglamento on this point was not only inconsiderate; it was brutal. Must the missionary be left in a more precarious state than even the lowliest Indian, because, forsooth, it so pleased a religiously indifferent official? The dying Indian could count on having a priest at his bedside and receive from him the consolations of Religion. Why did Neve want to expose the missionary to the danger of dying without the last Sacraments?[30] That, in effect, is just what the hostile governor was planning from the beginning to the end of his administration. He was therefore singularly out of place in a missionary country. His place was among the enemies of Religion in France less than a decade later or with the illiberal "Liberals" of Mexico and France at the present day.

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[30] One of the most learned and most saintly Fathers, Fr. Sarría, who had been at the head of the California missions, at a later date died without the Sacraments at Soledad. Fr. Oliva at San Juan Capistrano likewise passed out of the world without the last Sacraments. Both had been forced to live alone among their Indians; in both cases the priest came too late. For the infidel this is a matter of indifference, but to the Catholic and the priest above all it is everything. In this light the historian must judge Neve's action.

In the beginning Neve would allow each of the three new Channel missions two missionaries. The older establishments could for one year supply a missionary for other missions that might be founded; but in the case of death or retirement of any friar his place was not to be refilled. Every mission, he determined, should have only one missionary, except those near a presidio, where there should be two, one to look after the Indians, and the other to attend to the spiritual needs of the soldiers and their families. Here Neve impertinently assumed the duties of a bishop or religious superior, in that he dictated how many priests and for how long a time they should be at a mission, and what duties they should perform. He seems to have concluded that, as the king in the Spanish dominions was the vicar-general of the Pope, the governor must be the vicar-general in California. When a new mission was to be founded, according to the new Reglamento the old missions must contribute animals and seeds, for what purpose is not clear, unless Neve supposed the missionary should work a field for himself. There would thus be no necessity for an increase of the military force, since the temporary pueblo guards and the additional force at San Buenaventura and Purisima would provide for at least four new guards without weakening the presidios.[31] "It will be noted," Bancroft naively or sarcastically remarks, "that this section of the regulation shows less indications of missionary influence in its shaping than did Echeveste's;[32] but we shall see that most of the present provisions were of no practical effect until modified by Franciscan influences."[33]

What surprises is that José de Galvez, then prime-minister of Spain, in the face of his action in behalf of Mission San Buenaventura,[34] should consent to have such a destructive measure issued. Yet Mission San Buenaventura was the very first place where Neve intended to put his scheme into practice. That he failed is due to the Colorado disaster, which was the direct result of a like scheme inaugurated by De Croix. When four missionaries and a company of soldiers, including Capt. Rivera y Moncada, fell victims to the stupid plan, Neve discovered that it would be prudent to let the missionaries and the work of conversion alone.

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[31] Fr. Pángua to Fr. Serra, April 20, 1781. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[32] Hardly. The Germans have a saying, "Nur die allerduemmsten Kaelber waehlen ihre Metzger selber."

[33] Bancroft, i, 338.

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[34] See vol. i, this work, 376.

CHAPTER XX.

Indian Alcaldes.—Origin.—The Fathers Object.—Fr. Serra's Dispute with Neve.—His Nocturnal Struggle.—His Decision.—Disastrous Results of Neve's Plan.—Indian Alcaldes Not Exempt in Mexico.—Fr. Serra Justifies Flogging.—Cortés's and Neve's Treatment of Missionaries.—Neve Desists.—Final Arrangement.—Fr. Serra's Protest About Produce.

IT would seem that Neve for some occult reason had determined to provoke quarrels with the missionaries. Even before he had received orders to draw up a new plan of government for California, and about the time that he refused the customary rations to the Fathers of the last three missions, he was big with another scheme which he knew must embarrass the friars. He demanded that the neophytes at every mission should from their own number elect two alcaldes[1] and two regidores or councilmen, in order to accustom the natives to self-government. These neophyte officials were to have a certain measure of control and were to be exempt from corporal punishment. When it is remembered that at San Carlos the first Christian Indian had emerged from the most degraded barbarism only eight years before, and that all the other missions, save one, dated since then, one cannot but feel amazed at the proposition. As a piece of boys' play it might have passed, and the Fathers would have enjoyed the antics of the childish Indians; but to broach it seriously was folly; for the neophytes as yet were no more capable of governing themselves, much less a whole community, than a band of overgrown, unruly schoolboys. Nor was there any likelihood that they could for some years to come be allowed to manage their own affairs like white people.

The governor proposed nothing new, it is true. In 1549 Emperor Charles V. gave orders that the Indians of New Spain should dwell together in communities, and should be governed by Indian alcaldes and regidores elected by the natives; but these regulations had in view such Indian villages as had already ceased to be neophyte missions, and had been surrendered to the Bishops. This was not the case in California. There Neve's plan was premature and not in accordance with the laws governing missions. Furthermore, the Indians of Mexico had already reached a certain degree of civilization, and they possessed some kind of government before the arrival of the Spaniards; whereas the natives of California in their habits and aims stood on a plane which was but little above that of the brutes, and they knew of no organized government. To thrust self-government upon them before they had realized its meaning could result only in turmoil and in contempt for the missionaries. The Fathers objected that this measure would lessen their own authority over the neophytes, destroy their efforts at harmony and order, retard conversions, and scatter the Christians through the jealousies that must arise, in short it would create disorder and was absolutely unnecessary and uncalled for. The Indians were contented, the Fathers were keeping exemplary order, far better than was observed among Neve's own soldiers or among the colonists. These considerations, however, had no weight with the obstinate official. He would have the Indians enjoy their rights and govern themselves like white people, and they should begin to practice self-government immediately.

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[1] An alcalde exercised the duties of a mayor and justice of the peace combined.

If at this late period, after one hundred and thirty years, the United States Government still finds it necessary to employ agents for the purpose of upholding law and order among the Indians in their reservations, one can imagine what must have been the result of Neve's foolish plan among the early Californians. When Fr. Lasuén and Fr. Figuer of San Diego heard of the new assault on the authority of the missionaries, they promptly asked the Fr. Presidente for permission to retire to the College. As they had served far more than ten years, they were entitled to the permit. The much worried Fr. Serra accosted the governor on the subject, and then wrote to Fr. Lasuén one of his longest letters. It is far too long to be reproduced, but the following characteristic extract tells what occurred at Monterey. It likewise illustrates Neve's "courteous and respectful manner," and Neve's "moderation and cool-minded patriotism which," as Bancroft asserts,[2] "prevented a scandal which would have been unfortunate for the country."

"I have pleaded," Fr. Serra writes to Fr. Lasuén on March 29, 1779, "for the rations [3] and for the suspension of the elections. Yesterday, Palm Sunday, which I celebrated at the presidio,[4] we exchanged a few words before holy Mass, when the governor said to me something so far from the truth that I changed my attitude and grew indignant. I told him that no one had ever said such a thing to me, because no one could have said it to me. He replied with a faint smile that he too was a logician, thus giving me to understand that what he said to me was inferred, though it was not true in itself. To this I retorted that it was very bad logic, since not by a great stretch of imagination did it allow such an inference. With some irony he said that I should not be aggrieved, because it would remain between us two. I told him that this was too much for my feelings, even though it remained with only one. Finally the dispute ceased. Such was my preparation for the holy Mass on such a solemn day. I had great difficulty trying to compose myself before the altar. I celebrated holy Mass, and after a short talk on indifferent matters, I came here to sing the Passion [5] with my companions as they expected of me.

"The dispute was about the alcaldes. The rest of the day I was in distress unable to remove the impression, and I was making thousands of plans as to what was expedient to do. I set to work writing a letter to the said Señor, and I intended to include the one from Your Reverence as well as the one from Fr. Juan Figuer, in which you ask me for permission to retire in case the elections were held, though I had already told the Señor in person along with many other things. In every clause which I wrote something inexpedient would appear; so

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[2] *History of California,* i, 327; *Solórzano,* tom. ii, libr. ii, cap. xxiv, No. 13; cap. xxvii, No. 12.

[3] See chapter xvii.

[4] The Fathers lived at San Carlos, about five miles distant. Fr. Serra must have come into the presidio early in the morning.

[5] Probably as deacon. That was quite a feat for a man of his age and with his ailments, for the ceremonies at San Carlos would require about two hours.

I stopped, thought and thought again. After struggling with that wretched letter till about midnight, and attributing the failure to my internal agitation, I took a new sheet of paper and went to work writing a letter to Fr. Sanchez,[6] in order to see whether I could become myself again. This letter did not turn out to be a short one. I finished, closed, addressed it, and put it in its place. Then I returned to the struggle, but with the same result; yet when I reflected that the night had already far advanced, and that unless I gave myself a little rest, though I did not feel drowsy, I should be unfit for anything the whole day, I resolved to put the letter off till morning. When I had entered the bedroom, and thought of lying down for the needed rest, I tried to raise my mind upwards, but found myself unable, so that in desperation I exclaimed, 'What is it, Lord!' It seemed to me that my interior responded with perfect distinctness, 'Prudentes sicut serpentes, et simplices sicut columbae.'[7] I sat up, and much relieved said, 'Yes Lord, yes Lord, so it shall be with Thy grace.' I then fell asleep, and at the accustomed hour rose to recite the Office. Soon after I sang the High Mass in thanksgiving for the birth of a daughter to the Prince of Asturias.

"Well, what I have thought out is that what the caballero demands should be executed, but in such a way that it cannot cause the least commotion among the natives, nor in the government which Your Reverence has established. Let Francisco with the same baton[8] and coat which he has be the first alcalde. It is nothing more than a change in the name. Let the chief of one of the rancherias which come from fifteen to fifteen days[9] be the other alcalde. With regard to the regidores, who as such carry no staff, let the one be of the mission and the other of any rancheria, whether he is a chief or not, though it will be more expedient that he be a chief, and thus the things will remain without creating wonderment. The method which the lieutenant[10] explained when he gave Your Reverences possession may assist very much in the matter. For my sake and for your sakes I entreat Your Reverences in the name of God, without omitting a dot of the governor's instructions, make the arrangement in such a manner that the neophytes behold in the Fathers no less authority than they have observed before. I hope to God that thus the difficulties may not ensue which otherwise, it is almost morally certain, will result. We all have reason to lament; but speaking of these missions it may be said: 'Miscebatur lamentatio matrum et ad coelum transibat oblatio parvulorum.'"[11]

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[6] Fr. Francisco Miguel Sánchez at San Gabriel.

[7] "Wise as the serpents and simple as the doves." Matt. x, 16.

[8] This Indian seems to have been the fiscal or police officer, who as a mark of his authority wore a uniform and carried a baton.

[9] Owing to the scanty harvests obtained at San Diego, a great many neophytes were permitted to live in their ancient rancherias. They came for the catechism every fifteen days and stayed two weeks.

Alcaldes and regidores were accordingly instituted at all the missions, but, notwithstanding the precautions taken by advice of Fr. Serra, the result was even worse than had been feared. The moment these Indians saw themselves clothed with a little authority and exempt from the punishment to which all other neophytes were subjected for misdeeds, they availed themselves of their privileges to gratify their inclinations without thinking of their responsibilities. Writing to Fr. Lasuen, less than five months after the innovation, Fr. Serra reported that "the Indian alcalde of San Luis Obispo utilized his office to work mischief. The alcaldes are much puffed up and regard themselves as lords. The alcalde of this mission of San Carlos has not yet gone out of his cotton pants and his blanket, nevertheless he already complains to His Honor."[12] Neve had disregarded all the objections and warnings of the missionaries. He assured them that these alcaldes would keep order; that they would make the rounds of the village at night, and that they would take the people to church, so that the Fathers would have an easier life. Before a year had elapsed there was trouble at every mission except San Antonio.[13] Neve had to acknowledge, to himself at least, that the Indians were incapable of holding a position of trust independently of the missionaries, or even of having an election without a guide.

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[10] Probably Lieutenant Francisco Ortega.

[11] "The lamentation of the mothers commingled, and to heaven ascended the offering of the little ones." St. Augustine in Nocturn ii, Octave of the feast of the Holy Innocents. Fr. Serra to Fr. Lasuén, Monday in Holy Week, 1779. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[12] That was shrewd Indian fashion. When discontented he will tell what he suspects or perceives is acceptable. See Appendix H, vol. i.

At San Carlos, Fr. Serra's mission, in the very neighborhood of Neve's headquarters, the experiment proved disastrous. A certain Baltazar had been chosen alcalde. "No sooner had he realized his privileges, especially his exemption from chastisement," Fr. Serra wrote to the governor, "than he did what he pleased. He seduced his own sister-in-law. He also beat with a stick a Lower California neophyte because the latter executed an order of the Fathers, as I reported to Your Honor at the time. Besides the neglect of his duties, the whole population now sees that he is a runaway, lives in concubinage, sends messages to the people here, communicates personally with those who leave without permission, and exerts himself to increase his gang in the mountains by new desertions of natives from this mission. . . . Your Honor says 'That with the elections in these parts the intention of His Majesty will be accomplished, and that in time these natives will become useful subjects of Religion and the State.' That is what we desire, Sir, and hope, not because of our ability and labors, but through the help and grace of God to whose Majesty be all glory. This was accomplished in the former missions of the Sierra Gorda which it pleased His Majesty to entrust to our apostolic College of San Fernando. The king knows it well and the court knows it. Of the religious that toiled there not a few years, seven are today in these new conversions. We who were there know that the moment an Indian ran away, a religious would go after him. There were soldiers there, simple militia-men without wages. With regard to the correction of the Indians, though we introduced enough distinctions of gobernadores, alcaldes, and fiscals, nevertheless, when it seemed to us any one deserved it, he was given the punishment of the lash or of the stocks, according to the guilt. This practice resulted in having the work accomplished. In all the regions of the dominion which I have traversed, I have observed such officials subject to the orders of the missionaries or parish priests. I was witness to the fact that an Indian gobernador at Acayucán in the diocese of Oaxáca received the rod at the hands of the alcalde mayor. No difference was made in that particular, and I doubt not that in other parts the same practice obtains.

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[13] Fr. Serra to Neve, January 7, 1780. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

"The punishment of the lash which the spiritual Fathers of the Indians inflict upon the Indians as upon children, seems as old as the conquest of these dominions, and so general that it does not seem that even the saints departed from this manner of correction. In the life of San Francisco Solano, who was solemnly canonized, we read that, notwithstanding that the saint enjoyed the special gift from God of taming the ferocity of the most savage by his mere presence and sweet words; yet, if in the mission of the province of Tucuman, Peru, they did not do what was commanded, he ordered them to be chastised by the fiscals. The alcaldes themselves are children mentally and as such in charge of the Fathers. They are not less in need of education, correction and support. I do not know what law or reason there could be to exempt them. In truth, when the illustrious Fernando Cortés allowed, or rather commanded, himself to be whipped by the Fathers in the presence of the Indians, he did not wish to set an example for those who generally received the rod, but for all; for no matter how high stood the Indian chiefs, never could they reach the position of him whom they beheld so humiliated. For these and other reasons it has always appeared strange to me that Your Honor should deem it a personal slight that here the lash is applied under the direction of the assistant missionary upon an Indian of this mission, who has but recently become a Christian, just because he is an alcalde.[14] No doubt, in the chastisements of which we speak disorders and excesses have occurred on the part of some Fathers; we are all liable to some of them; but that militates equally against chastising those who are not alcaldes. Withal, the confidence is probably well placed, when it is remembered that when we came not a Christian existed here; that we regenerated all in Christ; and that we have come and we are all here for their welfare and salvation. At all events, I believe it is well known that we love them.

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[14] The reference to Cortés contained a stinging rebuke, which Fr. Serra hardly intended. In his simplicity he pointed to the fact that such punishment from the hands of the priest was not regarded as degrading persons much higher than an insignificant Indian constable. As to the Indians, they thought no more of it than that it hurt more than the lockup, and for this reason they feared it more. Cortés's treatment of missionaries was, of course, widely different from that bestowed by Neve. The former sought to inspire lofty ideas about the Gospel by honoring the messengers of the Gospel. Neve endeavored to lower such messengers in the eyes of the natives, surely not out of respect for the Gospel.

"However, Señor, if what I said is of no avail, be it so that in this mission the correction of the alcaldes shall not be entrusted to us under the supposition that Your Honor is near and can apply it; but what shall be done in a mission like San Gabriel forty leagues from the nearest presidio? What at San Luis Obispo fifty leagues from this one, the nearest? From the former they write that its alcalde Nicolas provided women for as many soldiers as want them. The missionaries turned him over to the corporal, who chastised him; but afterwards they were informed that this action was reproved by Your Honor; that the corporal could not inflict such punishment, and that only in case of revolt or murder could he arrest the alcalde, when he had to report to the governor. If this is to be the practice in the case of an Indian who lives in scandalous concubinage, or is a thief, or tyrannizes the people, or answers the Fathers as well as the soldiers insolently, then neither the missionaries nor the corporal can punish him.

"At San Luis Obispo the alcalde seized another Indian's wife, fled with her and staid with her some time until he was caught. The Father, like the missionary of San Gabriel, turned him over to the corporal. The latter inflicted such a slight punishment that he himself confessed it was not in keeping with the crime; but as the Father asked nothing more the officer released the culprit. I have not learned what the consequence was; but it is quite likely that the corporal has the same instructions as the one at San Gabriel, and that the Father without knowledge of them may again have recourse to him, only to find that he is repulsed. Only at San Antonio, it seems, there is no trouble with the alcalde and regidores; but they are human, and so we know not what will happen tomorrow. Of San Diego I say nothing. There is much about which they have lamented concerning the alcaldes; but it is of some value that they have the presidio near by. May God help them. I entreat Your Honor to be pleased to dictate to me what instructions I must give the Fathers of said missions of San Luis Obispo and San Gabriel. As for the rest, I hope that all may be remedied. Above all, I conform myself to the most holy will of God."[15]

When the governor saw that his plan resulted in nothing but disorder, and that the Fr. Presidente was forcing him to shoulder the responsibility, he thought it prudent to keep silent. With Fr. Serra that was sufficient answer. He accordingly wrote to Fr. Lasuen: "With regard to the alcaldes, inasmuch as we are permitted to govern in our own way, I do not perceive much inconvenience. It may be that we shall be permitted to be at peace in this matter, for since the governor received the dose[16] he said nothing. Thus I am without reply, and according to the rule 'Qui tacet consentire videtur,' etc.,[17] I have written to San Luis Obispo and San Gabriel that they should give them what they deserve.

"I called the attention of the governor to the manner of electing the alcaldes. Here, where he from his chair better observed the capacity of this people, and where he constantly managed them, he said to Fr. Crespi, 'Your Reverences may see to it that they assemble and elect their alcaldes and regidores like the Spaniards, and so they will be trained, etc.' The first day of the new year came. One alcalde was wandering a fugitive and is still roving about. The governor anxiously waited for the election returns; but neither on that day nor the following feast day were there any elections. He could wait no longer, but wrote to me that it was strange, etc. I replied that, as I had not troubled myself about the matter, it was enough for me to have said that they had to hold them, and that they could hold them when they pleased. I merely adverted to the fact that the voters were in a bad condition, as I said before. Then he wrote to me that with regard to the elections he had always placed confidence not in them, but in our prudence; then he used some flattering words, and begged that what could be done should be done, etc. The tenor of my answer to him then was that, if we were so good, and if we were trusted with the elections of the alcaldes, as we had desired, then he could also trust us to rear them, correct them, chastise them, etc. This was the letter to which he made no reply."[18]

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[15] Fr. Serra to Neve, January 7, 1780. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[16] The letter contained several pills. Neve must have noticed that his plans as well as the animus were understood. The said letter and the next are the only ones that exhibit anything frosty in the ardent Fr. Serra, but the inconsiderate action of the governor certainly called for a firm stand, for Neve was nullifying the work of the zealous friars.

[17] "He who remains silent appears to consent."

The question caused more or less friction for many years until November 2, 1796, when Fr. Presidente Lasuen in a circular instructed the Fathers to this effect: "Let the election be held at a convenient hour, because His Honor so directs, but only in the manner in which it is possible to have it in missions for which there is no law to determine it.[19] In these missions we are preparing the neophytes for the fulfilment of the laws; but the being governed by such laws should be left for the time when they cease to be missions, and when they shall be declared pueblos or doctrinas by the king, our lord.[20] Then we must leave them. Meanwhile, the said election may be held in a preparatory and instructive manner, but by no means after the formality of the law which is quoted, because said law does not speak of missions. Your Reverences may tell the governor in the report which you send that you have obeyed him."[21]

Thereafter two alcaldes and two regidores were elected at every mission on the eve of New Year's day, or on the first of January of every year, as the reports still extant show.

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[18] Fr. Serra to Lasuén, April 25, 1780. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[19] No Spanish law prescribed such elections for missions properly so termed. It was merely a whim of Neve and De Croix. Fages later agreed.

[20] That is to say, when the missions had been declared parishes, and the property was turned over to the Indians to be managed by themselves, in other words, when the missions had been secularized.

[21] Fr. Lasuén, *Circular*, November 2, 1796. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

In connection with the foregoing, as showing Neve's disdain of the missionaries in another direction, a significant incident may as well be mentioned here because it occurred about the same time. It called forth a very long letter from Fr. Serra to Governor Neve, the following portion of which explains the difficulty: "I doubt not," he writes from San Carlos on April 18, 1780, "that Your Honor has been informed by your lieutenant at San Diego of the new annoyance inflicted upon the religious of the three missions of that district by the new regulations. They have been told that the wheat which they respectively have furnished as rations to the guards, when it was demanded, will not be computed at a higher price than corn; and even more, that if they wanted to take supplies in return, sixteen fanégas of new wheat, fresh from the field, without a kernel of spoiled grain, would not be valued at more than an equal amount of worm-eaten and spoiled corn, like that which is in the warehouse, and which came in the ship last year. I am not surprised that this has amazed their Reverences." Fr. Serra then goes on to show that the ridiculous charge that Fr. Lasuen demanded ten dollars for the fanéga of wheat is false, as well as another accusation concerning the furnishing of supplies from Mission San Carlos. As to the charge that the Fathers at San Gabriel furnished the guards with wheat instead of corn with a view to receive more revenue, Fr. Serra disproves it by including the certificate of the corporal of the San Gabriel guards.

"If our solicitude," the Fr. Presidente concludes, "for the welfare of the missions appear excessive, as well as our demands that their products shall be paid equitably, it should be remembered that these products represent the sweat of poor and helpless Indians. If being solicitous in their behalf with some energy have the mark of greed, many saints that preceded us were not devoid of it, and even surpassed us considerably. If the clothing and the provisions which we solicit are intended to satisfy the hunger and to cover the nakedness of the Indians, must exacting these things not seem charity? We seek the welfare of these poor people, but without prejudice to others, and without duplicity which it seems it has been tried to impute to some of the Fathers."[22] This protest induced Neve to formulate a new price list for all the products of the land as well as for the live stock. It went into effect on January 1, 1781.[23]

It would seem that Neve could not rest unless he annoyed the missionaries for something. One of the first demands which he made upon Fr. Serra concerned the mission property. "I have in the year 1775 asked Fr. Presidente Junipero Serra," he writes to De Croix,[24] "to remit the inventories of the missions under his charge. He excused himself by saying that he would send them directly to Mexico; and that he was under the precept of obedience from the Fr. Guardian not to give any information whatever about the missions to the governor of the peninsula." It will be observed that in 1775 Neve was governor of California, but had his headquarters at Loreto, whilst Fernando Rivera was military commander in Upper California and only nominally subject to Neve. Rivera had merely to send reports to Neve. The governor even then imagined to have absolute control over the Fathers as well as over the soldiers, and therefore demanded the inventories. The friars hitherto had reported to the viceroy directly, and had received no orders to report to the nominal governor down at Loreto, much less furnish inventories to him. Hence Fr. Serra quite properly answered as he did, even though we must take Neve's verdict for the fact. The governor seems to have made nothing of the matter at the time, but four years later, June 4, 1779, he remembered the case, and then utilized it to persuade De Croix that Fr. Serra and the friars as a body despised the secular authority.[25] Thus it will be seen that the one dominant aim in Neve's whole administration was absolute subjection of the missionaries in spiritual as well as temporal matters. The idea of Liberalism.

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[22] *Sta. Barb. Arch.* Fr. Serra spoke the truth. The Fathers had no personal interest in the temporalities. They were serving without compensation, save for the food they ate. It ought to be superfluous to repeat this; but there are ignorant or malevolent writers who persist in publishing calumnies of Mariano Vallejo and his kind.

[23] See Appendix H for complete list.

[24] Neve to De Croix, June 4, 1779. *Cal. Archives, Prov. Rec. i*, 270-271.

[25] Bancroft was well aware of this difference of time and circumstances; but he suppresses it in order to create the same impression that Neve meant to make on De Croix.

A passage in Neve's same report on the subject would seem to emphasize what has been said. The governor complains to his patron that the natives are taught that the Fathers are supreme, and that the secular officials are to be regarded with indifference. Evidently either Bancroft, from whom we take this information, or Neve garbled what the missionaries really taught. The Fathers gave the same instructions to the Indians that Catholics always and everywhere received, namely, that in religious matters the Church, in secular things the State, is supreme. Each is supreme in its sphere. There can be no clash until one encroaches on the domain of the other. That in California[26] discord between the representatives of the spiritual and the secular power never originated with the former, but always with the meddlesome governors and other officials must be evident from what has already been said, and it will become more evident as we proceed. The friars strictly attended to their work of conversion and civilization, they never interfered with the business of the civil or military officials. They scrupulously adhered to the laws and ordinances of the king or viceroy, whereas times without number we find the governor and his subordinates disregarding them. It was only love for the souls of the poor Indians which kept the missionaries at their post. Any other motive would not have been strong enough to endure the impertinence of the military in California.

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[26] or elsewhere, for that matter. The Church to which these friars belonged nowhere encroached on the domain of the civil power. There are endless accusations, we know very well; but they can all be traced to ignorance, or infernal hatred for Christianity in general, or chiefly to the fact that the Catholic Church refuses to eliminate the Sixth and Seventh Commandments from the Decalogue. The loudest declaimers usually are moved by the last named reason. History on the subject, from the Middle Ages down, is being thoroughly overhauled by the new school of historians who are not satisfied with anything but documentary evidence. The result is that many popular notions are found to have no basis in fact. It has gone out of fashion, too, with those who think, to blame an organization for the faults of unfaithful individuals.

CHAPTER XXI.

Fr. Garcés Urges Missions for the Yumas.—De Croix's Unwillingness.—His Novel Plan.—Bancroft's Opinion.—Pueblos Established.—Helplessness of the Fathers.—Distress.—Destruction of the Settlements.—Massacre of Fr. Garcés and His Companion.—Rivera's Death.—Ensign Limón.—Expeditions.—Neve Supplanted.—Neve's Want of Bravery.—Bancroft and Hittell on Neve.—Memorial of the College.—Neve's Tactics Exposed.—His Animus.—The Franciscans.—Neve's Treatment of the Missionaries.

WE have seen how hard Governor Neve, in full accord with Comandante-General Teodoro De Croix, labored to overthrow the mission system established by the Franciscans, in order to introduce a novel plan which the Fathers predicted would destroy their work and make the conversion of the savages impossible. As yet he had not succeeded in the coast region, but we now have an opportunity to learn how the governor's system worked on the Rio Colorado, where De Croix, equally as headstrong as Neve, forced it upon Fr. Garcés and his companions in spite of their protests.

From the time that Fr. Francisco Garcés in 1768 first visited the Indian tribes on the Rio Gila, he urged the viceroy and the college of Santa Cruz to found missions in that region. He was more insistent after Viceroy Bucareli, upon the advice of Fr. Serra, had directed Captain J. B. de Anza to open communication between Sonora and Monterey overland. Anza had recommended Fr. Garcés's plan, but warned the government that, owing to the large number of warlike savages, a strong garrison would be necessary to safely accomplish the purpose. Meanwhile the King of Spain had received a copy of Fr. Garcés's journal, and of the Yuma chief's memorial to the viceroy in which Palma asked for missionaries. His Majesty instructed De Croix to attend to Palma's wishes as the viceroy had done, and to have the missions and presidios established as proposed by the friar. Had these commands been carried out, the missions would have been placed on a firm basis, and paganism on the Gila and Colorado would have disappeared instead of flourishing for more than a hundred years later; hostile savages would have become peaceful neophytes, many lives would have been spared, and millions of dollars would have been saved to the governments of Mexico and the

United States. De Croix was in no hurry to execute the royal will, much less to comply with the urgent request of Fr. Garcés and the Yuma Indians. Finally, he resolved to do what he could not avoid without displeasing his sovereign, but at the smallest cost possible and according to an altogether new plan, in the devising of which no friar should have a voice. Instead of two missions protected by a garrison of soldiers, like those on the coast, De Croix determined to establish two mission pueblos or towns among the Yumas on the Colorado River.

Bancroft, who follows Arricivita and Palóu, lucidly enough explains the remarkable project as follows: "There was to be no presidio or garrison, mission, or pueblo proper, but the attributes of all three were to be in a manner united. The soldiers, under a sub-lieutenant as commander, were to protect the settlers, who were to be granted house-lots and fields, while the friars were to act as pastors to attend to the spiritual interests of the colonists, but at the same time to be missionaries. The priests were to have nothing to do with the temporal management, and the native converts were not to be required to live in regular mission communities, but might receive lands and live in the pueblos with the Spaniards. Each pueblo was to have ten soldiers, ten settlers, and six laborers."

"This was certainly a change in the mission system. Palóu italicized it as a *nuevo modo de conquistar,* and passes on without further comment to relate results. Arricivita denounces both the system and its author, charging Croix with having been influenced by *politicos arbitristas* (political schemers) who knew nothing of the subject, and by false notions of economy; and further with having paid no heed to the advice of the only men who were qualified to give it; with giving instructions to the friars in matters entirely beyond his jurisdiction; with direct opposition to the laws of Spain, especially in uniting Spaniards and Indians in the same pueblo, and with having in his stupid pride and ignorance exposed over fifty families to sure destruction. It must be admitted that Croix acted unwisely. The time and place were not well chosen for such an experiment. Anza, a warm advocate of the Colorado establishments, a man of great ability and experience, and one moreover who had seen the Yumas and their neighbors at their best, had expressed his opinion that the missions could not safely be founded in this region except under the protection of a strong presidio. At the time of Anza's return it would have been hazardous to try the experiment, but in the light of the friars' reports it was a criminally stupid blunder."[1]

Fr. Garcés repeatedly protested that the result would be disastrous. His entreaties were in vain. De Croix ordered the soldiers and colonists to proceed to the Colorado River. The expedition consisting of twenty colonists, twelve laborers, and twenty-one soldiers, all with their wives and children, arrived at the Puerta de la Concepcion[2] in the fall of 1780. House-lots and lands were assigned, and the first town was erected under the title Purisima Concepcion on the site of the present Fort Yuma, California. The settlers took possession of the fields in the fertile lowlands without regard to the rights of the Indian owners, and despite the royal law which forbade appropriating land belonging to the Indians. The missionaries could not prevent the encroachments, because they were restricted to the purely spiritual needs of the Indians and colonists. With deep pain they saw that there was not to be as much as a semblance of a real mission for the conversion of the savages, and that all the promises which they had made to the Yumas could not be redeemed. With a heavy heart Fr. Garcés and the youthful Fr. Juan Barreneche took possession of their quarters at Purisima Concepcion. The second pueblo, San Pedro y San Pablo de Bicuñer, of which Fathers Juan Diaz and Matias Moreno were the missionaries, was founded at another rancheria of Yumas about eight miles southwest of Concepcion. The same disregard for the rights and feelings of the natives was practised there.

Inasmuch as their jurisdiction was confined to giving catechetical instruction, celebrating holy Mass, and administering the Sacraments, and as the Fathers had nothing wherewith to attract the savages, nor gifts of food or clothing to bestow, without which it was next to impossible to win converts, the missionaries succeeded in gaining only a few Indians. Owing to the fact that these had to continue to live with their pagan relatives and friends, exposed to ridicule and temptation, without the safeguards which the converts of the coast missions enjoyed within the sound of the mission bells, most of them soon apostatized. The converts, after all, were under no obligation to listen to the missionaries. In case the Fathers saw their exhortations or reproofs despised, they might complain to the sergeant, who could decide for himself whether the missionary or the accused was at fault. If the officer himself happened to be the guilty one, the missionaries had no remedy. De Croix's regulations issued on March 20, 1780, organizing the two white settlements upon Indian land, were practicable at towns in the heart of Christianity and civilization, but out of place in the midst of a savage people wholly unused to self-restraint.

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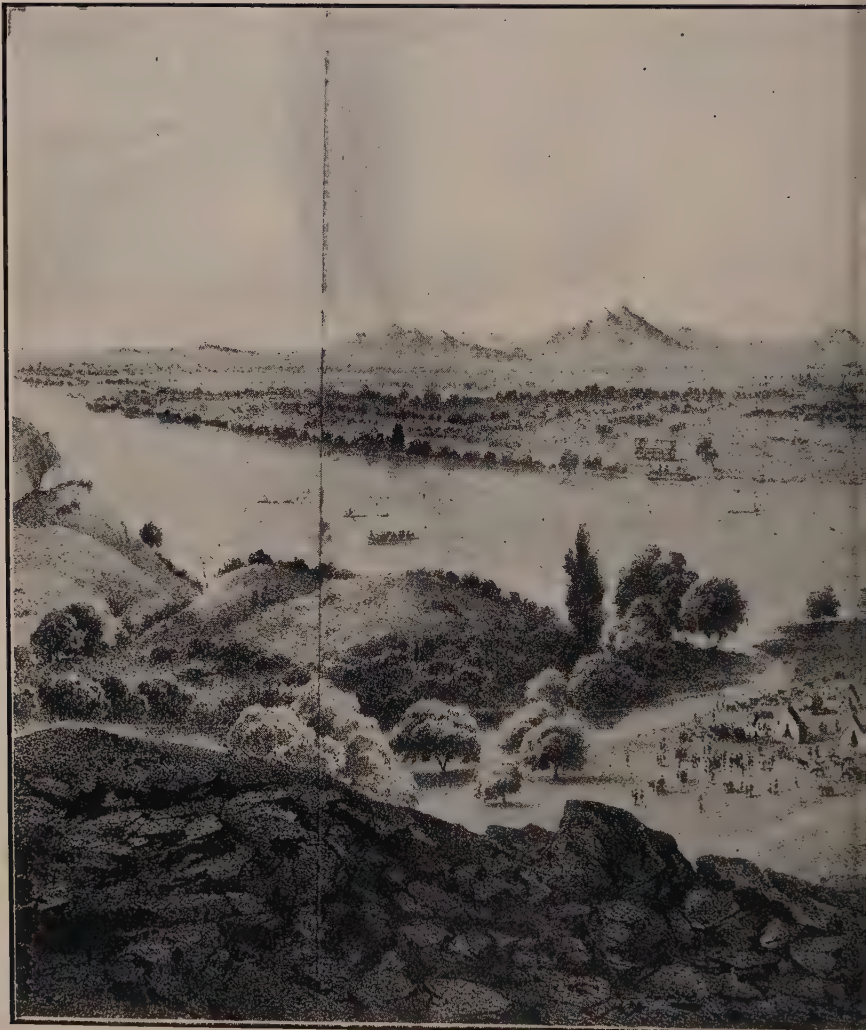
[1] Bancroft, i, 357-358; Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. iv, cap. xxxvii, 228-229; Arricivita, *Cronica Seráfica,* 497-499.

[2] Near the junction of the Rio Colorado and the Rio Gila.

About June, 1781, the provisions brought from Sonora were almost exhausted. The colonists therefore sent a party of soldiers with money and clothing to Mission San Gabriel to purchase provisions and cattle. The Fathers were informed that unless the aid were sent, the pueblos on the Colorado would have to be abandoned. They accepted the clothing, because their Indians needed it, but they would not take the money. The party returned to the Colorado well supplied with provisions. This assistance was of little use, however; for only a few days later, July 17, the Yumas of both rancherias, goaded to madness by the insolence of the Spaniards, rose in rebellion. They massacred soldiers and settlers, murdered the friars, not excepting the universally beloved Fr. Garcés, set fire to the buildings, and carried away women and children as captives.

Late in June Captain Rivera y Moncada had arrived from Sonora with a company of about forty recruits and their families bound for Los Angeles and the Santa Barbara Channel. From the Colorado River he sent back most of his Sonoran escort, and after a short rest, he despatched the main body to San Gabriel in charge of Alférez Cayetano Limon and nine men. Rivera then recrossed the Colorado with eleven or twelve



FORT YUMA ACROSS THE RIO CO
Site of Yuma City, Arizona, at the Bottom. 'T

AT THE TIME OF FR. GARCES

ila, Not Visible, Immediately to the Right.

men, including Sergeant Juan José Róbles and five or six men sent to meet him from the California presidios, and encamped near the eastern bank of the river opposite Mission Concepcion. There he proposed to remain for some weeks to restore his horses and cattle to a proper condition for the trip to San Gabriel. He only added to the number of victims of the revolt; for he and his party were attacked by the infuriated savages, overpowered and massacred on July 18, 1781.[3]

One of the colonists escaped and brought the news to De Croix at Arizpe. The comandante-general directed Lieutenant-Colonel Pedro Fages and Don Pedro Fueros to rescue the captives and to capture the ringleaders of the revolt. Fages recovered the prisoners, but failed to get possession of the rebel leaders. He also recovered the bodies of the four martyred missionaries, had them placed in a chest and taken to the first mission in Sonora where they received temporary burial. The remains of Rivera and his men were interred on the scene of their last struggle. Fages returned to the Colorado to make another effort at seizing the chief murderers, but again failed. Though he lost not a man in the two expeditions, his men killed many of the savages in one or two skirmishes with the Yumas. The Indians then retired to the jungles whence it was impossible to drive them.

Meanwhile Ensign Cayetano Limon with nine soldiers escorted the Sonora colonists, about forty in number besides their wives and children, and a long train of horses, mules and cattle, to the number of one thousand head, to San Gabriel. He then started back for Sonora with his nine men. When he reached the vicinity of the Colorado, some friendly Indians informed him that a massacre had taken place. Doubting the report, he left two men in charge of the animals and went forth to reconnoitre. The blackened ruins of Concepcion and the bodies of the slain convinced him. On August 21st he and his party were driven back by the Yumas, one of whom wore the uniform of the dead Rivera. Limon and his son were wounded, and the two men left to guard the horses were killed. Limon and his seven survivors therefore retreated to San Gabriel. There the intrepid soldier asked Neve for only twenty additional men with whom he declared he could punish the murderers; but the governor, instead, ordered him and his companions back to Sonora by way of Lower California.

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[3] Captain Fernando Rivera y Moncada came to Lower California about the year 1750. He succeeded Bernardo Rodríguez Lorenzo as commander of the troops and governor of the peninsula until 1767, when he was relieved by Portolá. Clavijero, *Historia*, lib. iv, sect. 3, says that Rivera was a worthy successor of Lorenzo. Pride and envy seem to have unsettled his mind so that he had to be relieved of command in both Californias.

When Pedro Fages returned a second time without having arrested the leaders in the rebellion, De Croix ordered him to join Governor Neve and together with him to start on a third expedition for the punishment of the Yumas. The lieutenant-colonel set out early in 1782. The Indians had abandoned the locality. He therefore left the majority of his troops on the Colorado, and hastened to San Gabriel which he reached on March 26th. Neve with Fr. Serra had just departed to found Mission San Buenaventura. On receiving Fages's message the governor returned to San Gabriel, but after a consultation it was decided to postpone the expedition to the month of September when the river was fordable. Fages marched back, sent Captain Pedro Fueros and his soldiers to their Sonora presidio to wait till August, and with his own troops recrossed the desert to await the appointed time at San Gabriel. To while away the interval he went to San Diego. From there he visited each mission in turn until he arrived at the new presidio of Santa Barbara, where he met the governor. After a few days of rest Fages expressed a desire to visit the rest of the missions. When Neve had given his approval, he continued on his way and reached San Francisco Port about the middle of June. After three days of rest and sight-seeing, Fages made his way back to San Gabriel.

Leaving Nicolas Solér in charge of the California affairs, Neve, as commander of the troops, Fages with his leather jacket soldiers, and the regulars brought from Sonora, in all about sixty men, on August 21, 1782, set out from San Gabriel. Captain José Antonio Roméu, who had accompanied Captain Fueros to the Colorado before, with a force of one hundred and eight men started out from Sonora about the same time and reached the scene of the proposed activity in due season. When Neve and his party had come within three days' journey of the river, a courier arrived with despatches for both the governor and Pedro Fages. Neve was informed that he had been appointed inspector-general of the troops under De Croix, and that Fages would succeed him as governor of California. On September 10th, in the camp at Saucito, Neve formally turned the office over to Fages. Whilst the latter retracted his steps to take charge of the governmental affairs of both Californias, Neve continued on his way to the Colorado, but refused to carry out the object of the expedition, which was to give the savages the lesson they needed. This inaction provoked the ridicule of the Yumas. They grew insolent, wounded some of the Indians that accompanied the troops, and even ventured out into the open to taunt and challenge the Spaniards. A captain of the Sonora regulars, apparently Roméu, unable to bear the effrontery any longer, asked Neve for permission to take the field against the audacious natives. When it had been granted, this officer with his men for three days chased and hunted the savages, and killed a great many of them without losing a man. Only one soldier was slightly wounded. The new inspector-general and his troops finally reached Arizpe without mishap.[4]

Thus the whole campaign, owing to Neve's unwillingness to prosecute it,[5] was a failure, "since," as Bancroft acknowledges, "the Yumas were not subdued, peace was not made, and the rebel chiefs were not captured. The nation remained independent of all Spanish control, and was always more or less hostile. Neither presidio, nor mission, nor pueblo was ever again established on the Colorado; and communication by this route never ceased to be attended with danger. Truly, as the Franciscan chroniclers do not fail to point out, the old way was best; the innovation of Croix had led to nothing but disaster; the *nuevo modo de conquistar* was a failure."[6]

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[4] Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. iv, 229-234; 239; 247-248; *Vida,* cap. li, 240-253; Arricivita, *Crónica Seráfica,* 499-515; *The Franciscans in Arizona,* capp. xi-xii; Bancroft, i, 354-371; Hittell, i, 424-433; Revilla Gigedo, *Informe,* 50-51.

[5] Neve displayed far more valor when there was question of impressing defenseless missionaries with his power.

Hittell, in whom Neve's hostile attitude towards Catholic religious awakened kindred sympathies, with unnecessary emphasis endeavors to impress the reader that the ex-governor was promoted in order to reward him for his services in California. To us the removal from a post of almost absolute jurisdiction, where he could lord it over inoffensive friars, to a subordinate position under De Croix, seems to have been effected for the purpose of preventing further damage to the country.[7] His officiousness and his open dislike of the missionaries, had begun to embarrass the government. Neve himself appears to have felt that his "promotion" was largely brought about by reports from the Fathers, for, before leaving the territory, he issued instructions against the missionaries to both Fages and Solér which even Bancroft considers somewhat severe.[8] Bancroft, too, has his doubts about the nature of a reward in the promotion of the ex-governor, and therefore finds it incumbent upon him to say in defense of Felipe de Neve that "there is nothing in Neve's preserved writings, or in the annals of his time, to show dislike to the friars, disinclination to aid them in their work of conversion, or a tendency to overlook immorality on the part of his subordinates. He favored a change in the mission system because he believed the missionaries were inclined to abuse the powers given them under the old régime, and this to the prejudice of the royal authority which he represented in California."[9] In the face of all that has been stated on the preceding pages, and in view of all that Bancroft himself related, the foregoing assertions, for a historian, are most remarkable; they are the reverse of truth.

Let us examine the facts. On April 19, 1781, more than a year before Neve's removal, Fr. Francisco Pángua, the Fr.

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[6] Banc., i, 370-371.

[7] Whatever the secret anti-religious power behind the throne may have been, Neve was further promoted to the place of Teodoro De Croix, but a merciful Providence prevented more damage to the missions. Neve died at Chihuahua in November, 1784, only three months after Fr. Serra had passed away. Hittell, i, 525-527.

[8] Banc., i, 384.

[9] Bancroft, i, 382.

Guardian of the College, in behalf of the California friars addressed a long memorial to Viceroy Mayorga. It was countersigned by the five other Fathers who constituted the College discretory. After stating their attitude towards Neve's plan to overthrow the mission system, and their inability to send any more missionaries, the discretory proceeds as follows: "Another point of no less consideration, Your Excellency, it is necessary to expose. This concerns the irregular manner with which in those establishments the missionaries are regarded and treated. . . . Many specific cases could be enumerated of the bad treatment which the missionaries suffer; but in order not to weary the attention of Your Excellency only the following are specified.

"The aversion which said governor has for the religious is general, and so pronounced that he tells the soldiers and almost commands them not to be *fraileros,*[10] nor to be intimate with them.[11] He has given them to understand that they should not take charge of any work whatsoever, nor to take anything pertaining to the missions from one place to another. What is more keenly felt is that when Indians run away from the mission, he strictly forbids the guards to go in search of them[12] in order to bring them back, even if the missionary supplicates out of solicitude for the fugitives.

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[10] From "fray," friar. "Frailero" means one who is friendly or devoted to the friars. In the eyes of Neve and of the enemies of the Church this is a crime. The term is on a par with "clerical," also used in derision. To be friendly or devoted to the clergy, without whom the Church could not exist, to recognize in the clergy the messengers of the Gospel, the representatives of Christ and his Apostles, in a word to be a sincere Christian, in the mind of the "Liberals," deserves ridicule. Hence the terms "fraileros," "clericales," etc. These illiberal "Liberals" are great in discovering nicknames. It is remarkable that such rabid anti-Christians do not perceive that they condemn themselves. Thieves have nicknames for the judges and the police, but that does not militate against the worth of either, nor against the integrity of the citizens who uphold law and order rather than abet criminals.

[11] "ni se intimen con ellos." Fr. Mugártegui of San Juan Capistrano, March 15, 1779, reported that the instructions to the soldiers were, "Nunca sean fraileros, ni se metan en complacer, ni dar gusto á frailes." *Museo Nacional,* Mexico, Doc. Rel. á las Mis. de Cal. Qto. ii.

[12] This had been the sensible course before and it was resumed later.

"From such instructions result very pernicious and wicked consequences which it is well to point out. One is that in such a state of things, not only the Indians, but the soldiers, from whom the neophytes learn the bad example, think less of the missionaries and in no way respect them. They rather disregard and despise the exhortations and requests which the Fathers think they have a right to make. The other bad result is this: When the runaways see that the missionaries cannot follow and bring them back, and knowing that the governor does not want the soldiers to go in search of them, they remain wretched apostates scattered among the heathen savages. Worse still, the gentiles are rendered more and more unwilling to be converted. Ways and means are even contrived for them to destroy and annihilate the mission, since they already know the entrances and escapes, and the times and opportune occasions which they can use for such action. Behold, Sir, how, in place of advancing, the aforesaid orders and method of the governor cause absolute damage in spiritual and temporal matters. Under such circumstances there can be no growth nor stability for the missions; for what is effected through the missionaries is destroyed by others because of their aversion for the friars. Many times the soldiers are idle; they would lose nothing, but would produce much good if they went in search of apostate fugitives and brought them back.

"Another consequence is that the subordinates, knowing the little regard the governor has for the friars, live very libidinously in unrestrained and scandalous incontinence, as they use at will Indian women of every class and station. Neither respect for the missionaries nor the representations of the priests stop them, because they fancy themselves immune, and absolutely independent of the missionaries. . . . The soldiers see that their chief (Neve) connives, and that he even tolerates that they detach themselves, as it happened on a certain occasion, when a company went with him from one mission to another. One of the soldiers separated himself in order to gratify his lewdness whilst the rest waited for him, and in the end he was allowed to go unpunished.[13] On the other hand the soldiers see the missionaries vilified. It is left to the prudent consideration of Your Excellency to infer into what an abyss of criminal excesses those men must fall under such circumstances, and by what abominable example the Indians are contaminated. Why should not the Indians run away as indeed they do? They fear the correction of the missionaries, and leave their wives and children absolutely deserted.

"All this, Your Excellency, is very painful, and it is keenly felt by the missionaries. It is not possible that they should suffer and tolerate it at the expense of their own conscience and ministry; they desire its removal at the expense of their life rather than permit it and live so despised. This is another one of the just reasons why the friars do not so cheerfully and readily offer themselves for the conversion of the gentiles as they have done before. In order that they may again make this glorious application and voluntary sacrifice [14] for the honor and service of God, our Lord, and of our Catholic monarch, this discretory most humbly supplicates Your Excellency that, in the form and manner which is possible and agreeable, you deign to intimate all this to the comandante-general of the Provincias Internas, in order that he be pleased to make the governor of the territory in which our missions exist, and the other officials who guard them, preserve the harmony, veneration and respect which is due the missionaries, and to have the subordinates without distinction conduct themselves accordingly; that for the temporal and spiritual progress of the missions, the willing and effective solicitude for the fugitive Indians, and the correction of the incontinent and criminal, they lend every help and protection which may be asked; and that they be made to respect and obey the missionaries as ministers and soldiers of God in spiritual affairs."[15]

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[13] "uno de ellos se separó para ir á sus liviandades, esperandole los demas y quedandose al fin sin castigo." Bancroft, i, 381-382, in the face of this terrible indictment asserts, "It is impossible to arrive at any other conclusion than that these charges against Gov. Neve, resting on the bare assertion of the authors, were in part exaggerated, and in part false." When we are placed before the alternative of having to believe the bare assertion of Bancroft, or the statements of six conscientious priests who based their complaints upon the reports of Fr. Serra and his fellow sufferers, the decision cannot be difficult. There is abundant documentary evidence that Neve treated the Fathers just as is represented in this memorial.

[14] St. Francis would have only volunteers sent to such dangerous missions as those among pagans; hence no one was coerced.

Viceroy Mayorga reported the difficulties to the king with the result that De Croix doubtless received instructions to promote the impolitic governor to the office of inspector-general under the comandante-general. Three days before he resigned his office to Fages, September 7th, Neve presumed to leave secret instructions[16] to his successor. Don Pedro wisely disregarded them. In his paper the ex-governor once more demonstrated his hostility to the friars. He repeated the advice already given to Adjutant-Inspector Solér to take every precaution to *maintain friendly relations with the gentiles,* but not to allow the mission guards to bring back fugitive neophytes. Why this solicitude for pagan friendship and disregard for the Christians, if not that one of the chief objects for which the conquest of California had been undertaken,[17] namely the Christianization of the gentiles, was nothing to him? If this was not betraying his trust, we know not what to call it.

The guards were placed at the missions to protect the lives of the missionaries, to escort them on their journeys and sick-calls, and in general to aid the Fathers in converting the savages and in keeping order.[18] Neve's instructions throughout his term, and now at the very last, discouraged all this, and put obstacles in the way of the Fathers as much as he dared, besides treating them with contempt. He would have the Christians neglected, but the pagans flattered! It would almost seem that he had just emerged from the anti-Christian school of French philosophers, and that he aimed at the destruction of Christianity as they did. At any rate, designedly or not, his administration could have no other result. Hence it is no wonder that the Fathers found the savages daily more unwilling to join the missions. The gentiles fared better at Neve's hands than the Christians!

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[15] Fr. Pángua to the viceroy, April 19, 1781. *Sta. Barb. Arch.* The document was countersigned by Fathers José García, José Velez, Sebastian Ynestrillas, Fernando Parrón, and Juan Sancho, discretos of the College. Fr. Parrón had been in California before.

[16] Bancroft, i, 384, footnote.

[17] See vol. i, 52; 173-174; 377-378; 506; and chapter i, this volume Galvez had declared Christianization the chief object of the conquest.

[18] See vol. i, 168-174, 378-379.

Bancroft himself confesses [19] that "in this last of his official papers Neve shows more opposition to the friars than ever before," but blames the missionaries in that he concludes that, "if the governor was somewhat (?) severe at the last, it must be admitted (?) that his patience had been sorely tried." It would tax the ingenuity of even a prevaricating Bancroft to furnish historical foundation for such a charge. From the historian's own admissions, and from all that has been said before, it is clear that it was Neve who sorely tried the patience of the helpless friars to the verge of heroism, so that once even the mild Fr. Serra indignantly resented the governor's imputations. Bancroft in his endeavor to wriggle out of the dilemma entangles himself still more when he declares [20] that "without doubt another motive quite as powerful was a desire on the part of the governor to put a curb on missionary authority." Precisely, but with what right and justice? Yet Bancroft claims that "there is nothing in Neve's preserved writings or in the annals of the time to show dislike to the friars, disinclination to aid them in their work of conversion, or a tendency to overlook immorality on the part of his subordinates!" [21]

The Franciscans were sent to California for the purpose of converting the Indians to Christianity in order to insure the territory for the Spanish Crown, a task which the military had ever failed to do. The method of bringing this double result about was left entirely to the missionaries, but it had repeatedly received the approval of the kings, viceroys, and Inspector-General Joseph de Galvez, and withal proved most successful as long as the friars were allowed to do their work unmolested. The Fathers confined their efforts to the duties assigned to them under the Spanish laws. There is no instance that they interfered with the duties or the authority of the governor or his subordinates, or abused their authority over the guards. They were not causing any expense to the government treasury, for the cost of founding and maintaining missions was covered with funds donated by benefactors.[22] The friars, moreover, were sacrificing every comfort, every worldly prospect, and their very lives for the welfare of their dusky wards and for the Spanish honor without any worldly compensation whatever. To attempt to "curb" these men in their sufficiently laborious position was nothing less than insufferable conceit and arrogant abuse of power. It was the more audacious since kings and viceroys, and Galvez, had commanded that the missionaries should be treated with respect in consideration of their inherent dignity and in view of the many sacrifices they were making to secure the royal objects. Neve himself had received such instructions.[23] If any one needed curbing, it was this overbearing, meddlesome Felipe de Neve.

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[19] *History of California*, i, 384.

[20] *History of California*, i, 375.

[21] *History of California*, i, 382.

Granting the absence of malice, the ex-governor must have possessed a very obtuse mind if he could not perceive that humiliating and degrading the missionaries must render their very teachings less desirable and acceptable to the savages. What exalted idea could the heathen Indians form of the divine message of Christ, the Gospel, when they observed that the very messengers were subjected to the whims of generally indifferent and frequently immoral military officials and soldiers? Fortunately for the country and its people, Neve's notions as to what was due the messengers of Christ were not those of the Spanish rulers or people as a whole. From the days of the discovery the Spanish kings and viceroys really took an interest in the spread of the Gospel. They accorded the missionaries every assistance and privilege with a view to facilitate the work of conversion. Like Cortés, for instance, they realized that to insure dignity and welcome to the Divine

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[22] See vol. i, for Pious Fund.

[23] See vol. i, 555-557.

Message in the eyes of the pagans, it was right and necessary to dignify and hold sacred the messengers. That is how it became possible to Christianize whole Mexico. Had the friars been treated by Cortés and the early viceroys with the disdain that Neve showered upon Fr. Serra and his patient companions, the Mexicans would have met the preachers with frigid contempt. They would have concluded that a doctrine which permits the highest military officers to disrespect its representatives, deserved nothing but contempt. Hence it was that Cortés made it clear to the heathen inhabitants of Mexico that such as he, and even those higher than he, were bound to reverence those barefooted friars because of the divine truths which they announced and the mysteries which they dispensed. Neve, in effect, by his disregard, not to say contempt, for the priests showed how little he respected Religion itself.

CHAPTER XXII.

Missions for the Santa Barbara Channel Region.—Rivera's Recruits.—Founding of Los Angeles.—Founding of San Buenaventura.—Founding of the Santa Barbara Presidio.—Fr. Serra Disappointed.—Grave News from the College.—Controversy About Neve's Reglamento.—Viceroy Mayorga Asks for Missionaries.—The College Refuses.—Determined Stand of the Discretory.—Mayorga Offers a Compromise.—The Discretory Declines.—The Fr. Guardian Memorializes the Viceroy.—Shows Necessity of the Mission System.—An Appeal for Fair Treatment.—Movement of the Ships.

THROUGHOUT the years of strife with the governor the zealous Fr. Presidente never forgot his pet project—the filling up of the gap in the "procession of missions from San Diego to San Francisco." He repeatedly urged the viceroy to establish missions on the Santa Barbara Channel. Bucareli held out some hopes that in the near future the plan would be realized; but the unfortunate withdrawal of California from the immediate jurisdiction of the viceroy and the appointment of Teodoro De Croix as comandante-general caused more delay. De Croix at last directed Fernando de Rivera, lieutenant-governor of Lower California, to recruit soldiers for the proposed establishments and settlers for a pueblo near Mission San Gabriel. Rivera received further instructions at Arizpe on December 27, 1779, and then proceeded to Sinaloa in pursuit of his task. The bounty and privileges promised to recruits and colonists were similar to those enjoyed by the settlers of the pueblo of San José established near Santa Clara. Rivera was to obtain twenty-four settlers and fifty-nine soldiers. All were to be married men and to take their families along. The settlers must include a mason, a carpenter, and a blacksmith, and all had to bind themselves for a service of ten years.

By the 25th of August, 1780, Rivera had nearly completed the full number of soldiers who assembled at Rosário, Sinaloa; but he obtained little more than half the number of settlers. These colonists and seventeen married soldiers with their families were sent from Guaymas to California by way of the gulf. The whole party under Lieutenant José Zúñiga embarked at Loreto on March 12, 1781, and arrived at Bay San

Luis on April 24th. Two settlers, however, had deserted and one remained at Loreto. From Bay San Luis Zúñiga led his charge overland and reached San Gabriel on August 18, 1781. In the meantime Rivera with forty-two soldiers, thirty of whom were accompanied by their families, started out from Álamos, Sonora. From above Tucson a company of presidio soldiers escorted the party and a train of about a thousand head of cattle as far as the Colorado River. From there the married soldiers with their families, five single soldiers and the greater portion of the live stock, all in charge of Lieutenant Diego Gonzáles, Ensign José Dario Argüello, Ensign Cayetano Limón and nine regular troops made their way through the desert and over the mountains to San Gabriel, which they reached on July 14th. A few days before Neve had sent Sergeant Robles with six men to meet Rivera and escort him to the mission; but they arrived there only to be massacred four days later, as already stated.[1]

"This deplorable disaster," says Fr. Palóu, "delayed somewhat the founding of the Channel Missions; for the governor, fearing that the bad example of the tribes on the Colorado River might lead the savages residing between said river and the missions to rise in revolt, had not the courage to begin establishing these missions. He therefore took steps to fortify himself with all the troops at Mission San Gabriel, and to await the outcome. Meanwhile he made preparations to found a Spanish pueblo on the Rio Porciuncula, which was so named by the first explorers in 1769. He collected the people that had come as colonists, and marked out the site and lands on the banks of the river four leagues to the northwest of Mission San Gabriel. There under the protection of a corporal and three soldiers they at the end of the year 1781,[2] established the town under the title of Nuestra Señora de los Angeles de Porciúncula.[3] There

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[1] Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. iv, capp. xxxvii-xxxviii, 234-238; *Vida,* cap. li, 242-243; Fr. Vergér to Fr. Lasuén, January 14, 1780. *Sta. Barb. Arch.* Bancroft, i, 339-343.

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[1] Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. iv, capp. xxxvii-xxxviii, 234-238; *Vida,* cap. li, 242-243; Fr. Vergér to Fr. Lasuén, January 14, 1780. *Sta. Barb. Arch.* Bancroft, i, 339-343.

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The governor now informed Fr. Serra that they would proceed to establish the presidio. Thinking that the mission would follow immediately, the unsuspicious Father left Fr. Cambón alone at San Buenaventura and set out with the main body about the middle of April. Fourteen soldiers were detailed to guard the new mission. Towards evening the expedition came to a spot which the first explorers had named San Joaquin de la Laguna, ten leagues northwest of San Buenaventura. Here on April 21, 1782, the presidio of Santa Barbara was founded. Writing to Fr. Lasuén on April 29th, Fr. Serra relates the event as follows: "On the feast of the Patronage of St. Joseph,[8] occurred the blessing and erection of the great Cross, the blessing of the locality, the first holy Mass and sermon, and the founding of this mission presidio of Santa Barbara, Virgin and Martyr, on the land of *Yamnonalit.* I was and am alone, and therefore the holy Mass was a Low Mass, and in place of the *Te Deum* we had the *Alabado,* which is equivalent to the *Laudamus.* May God bless it. Amen."[9]

Next day the soldiers went to work erecting a chapel, dwellings for the priest and officers, barracks for the soldiers, houses for their families, and a warehouse. Fr. Serra anxiously expected to see orders issued for the founding of the mission. Instead, Neve, after some days, told him that he would not begin work at the mission until the presidio was finished. "Well, Señor," the Fr. Presidente replied, "since you are not going to found the mission, I am superfluous here. I shall pass on to Monterey, for the ships cannot delay much longer in coming. From there I shall send the Fathers, and meanwhile, lest so many people be without holy Mass and without any one to administer to them, I shall call one of the missionaries from San Juan Capistrano." With this the Father departed, after he had confirmed all who had not yet received Confirmation. He probably set out for the north on May 1st, for we find him giving Confirmation at Mission San Luis Obispo on May 12th. He likewise administered the Sacrament at Mission San Antonio, and then returned to San Carlos about May 17th.[10]

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[8] Third Sunday after Easter.

[9] Fr. Serra to Fr. Lasuén. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

A few days before the Fr. Presidente's return, May 13, 1782, the two long-expected frigates arrived at San Francisco Bay.[11] One was *Nuestra Señora de los Remédios,* or *La Favorita,* in charge of Captain Augustin de Echeverria and his mate José Tobár. The chaplain was the Rev. José Villaverde, a secular priest of the diocese of Guadalajara. The other vessel, *La Princesa,* arrived in command of Captain Estévan Martinez and Mate Juan Pantoja. Rev. Miguel Dávalos of the same diocese accompanied her as chaplain. Both ships brought supplies for the presidios of San Francisco and Santa Barbara and the missions in the north, but nothing for the three missions contemplated for the Channel. The mail intended for the Fr. Presidente was forwarded to Monterey and reached him on the road from San Antonio. They contained sad news for the good Father; they not only crushed all his fond hopes of exercising his insatiable zeal for the conversion of the pagans in new missions, but threatened the destruction of all that had so far been achieved. We have already adverted to the new Reglamento which described Neve's plan for the overthrow of the mission system, though this method of the Fathers not only Christianized but civilized the savages. Fr. Serra and his companions as yet were unaware to what length the hostility of the governor had gone; but the venerable Fr. Presidente now received a copy of the whole controversy which had been carried on in Mexico. It exposed the iniquitous scheme of Neve and De Croix, and withal showed with what firmness and prudence the College battled for the rights of both the Indians and missionaries. For the time being the schemers were silenced by the arguments of the Fr. Guardian. What the outcome might be only Divine Providence could tell. Owing to Bancroft's garbled presentation of the case, we shall let the documents speak for themselves.

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[10] Palóu, *Vida,* cap. liv, 254-260; *Noticias,* tom. iv, cap. xxxviii, 238-241. Hence it was due to Neve's animosity that Mission Santa Barbara was not founded along with the presidio, but had to wait nearly five years more. To use Bancroft's words with more justice than that author did against Fr. Serra, Neve "was happy in the thought that he had snubbed" the Fr. Presidente. See Brancroft, i, 326.

[11] "El dia 13 de Mayo dió fondo la fragata, etc. . . . Despaché al Rev. P. Presidente las (cartas) que venian." Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. iv, cap. xxxix, 242.

First the Fr. Guardian informed Fr. Serra that the king had bestowed especial honor on the apostolic colleges in that he had named Fr. Antonio de los Reyes of the College of Santa Cruz, Querétaro, Bishop of the newly-established diocese of Sonora and California, Fr. Juan Rámos de Lora of San Fernando College Bishop of the new diocese of Macaraybo, Venezuela, and Fr. Rafael Verger, twice guardian of San Fernando College, Bishop of Linares in Nuevo León. Fr. Pángua then went on to say that Viceroy Martin de Mayorga, on December 7, 1780, had addressed him as follows:

"For the three missions which are to be established in California under the titles of Santa Barbara, Purisima Concepcion, and San Buenaventura there are needed, as the comandante-general of the Internal Provinces, Don Teodoro De Croix explained to me, six religious from this Apostolic College to the end that they should administer them. I ask and charge Your Reverence to name those who appear most suitable with the understanding that four of them must travel to the port of San Blas, and that the other two must go to the province of Sonora in order that from there they march in company of the expedition which goes by way of the Colorado in command of Don Fernando de Rivera. I hope from the well known zeal of Your Reverence that you will proceed to execute this order with all dispatch, and believe that I am ready to grant you the assistance which you for that purpose may ask of me." [12]

In Mexico the Fathers had some knowledge of Neve's and De Croix's aims, or at least they strongly suspected from the course taken on the Colorado, and from Neve's treatment of the Fathers on the question of rations, alcaldes, Fr. Serra's faculties, etc., that the two were framing laws against the missions and missionaries. The Fr. Guardian, therefore, determined to force them to disclose their schemes through the viceroy. In the name of the College Discretory he on December 18, 1780, replied to Mayorga's order in this well-worded communication: "To establish the two missions of Purisima Concepcion and Santa Barbara on the Channel, there are needed the same aids that the predecessors of Your Excellency have furnished to found the missions of San Diego, San Gabriel, and the others in that new territory as far up as the port of San Francisco, and which assistance is described in the accompanying invoice which I offer. It is not possible to duplicate the contents with the $2,000 [13] which Your Excellency released [14] from the Pious Funds of California in favor of our Brother [15] Síndico, Don José González Calderón; nor has the síndico ever covered the expenses with those means. I therefore most humbly supplicate the generosity of Your Excellency to be pleased to name another person to furnish said invoice, and that he take care to send the effects in duplicate to the places destined for the missions.

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[12] *Sta. Barb. Arch.* Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. iv, cap. xxxix, 242-246; cap. xli, 250.

"With regard to the one of San Buenaventura nothing is asked for either the church or house or field, because they already have them for a long time,[16] besides the $1,000 for clothing, beads, and other little things with which they may attract the gentiles to the holy Faith and clothe them at Baptism. All is necessary, Your Excellency; the things for church as a matter of course; for what purpose would it serve to catechise and baptize the heathen Indians, if afterwards it be not obligatory upon them to live and die as Christians? This cannot be done without the church building, bells, vestments, etc.

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[13] One thousand for each mission. See vol. i, 430; 492; 411.

[14] "libró," a significant expression. The money was not taken from the royal treasury, but from the fund that belonged to the missions which the government administered, and from which contributions were doled out to the missionaries.

[15] So called, because he doubtless was a Tertiary and managed the alms for the Franciscans. See vol. i, 8; 430.

[16] See vol. i, 376.

The aid for the house and field is indispensable for the same reason, because, if they do not sow grain useful and necessary for human sustenance, the missions will have little or no basis. For this same end likewise all the implements and tools are needed to which the said list refers, and at least one blacksmith's forge to repair and renovate the tools that need it. Besides this there is wanted for the mission a sufficient number of cattle and all kinds of animals, even chickens, in order that in time the missions may develop into pueblos proper,[17] which cannot be done without said assistance. I presume the comandante-general has issued the proper orders on the subject; but if my supposition be incorrect, an appeal will be necessary in order to make it manifest that, if the conquest does not advance as is desired, it is not through the fault of the missionaries.[18]

"Likewise it is necessary that one year's stipends for the six religious, who are to be put in charge of the three missions, be paid in advance so that they may take along whatever is needed during the first year. For this reason Your Excellency will please deign to command that they be turned over to our Brother Sindico; for we have not wherewith to procure anything,[19] and in those lands there is no other resource than the transport ships that annually go from San Blas. We now have the sorrow that by August 28th the frigate, which carried the goods of this year, had not as yet reached the port of San Diego. If, which God forbid, she has perished, the hardships

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[17] The Fathers here openly point to the ultimate purpose of their work. It shows that they very early contemplated delivering their wards to the secular clergy, as they had done with the Sierra Gorda missions of Mexico, and allowing the Indians to manage their own temporal affairs, as soon as the latter were capable of such a trust. Hence the assertions of malevolent writers, as well as of the mission despoilers, that the Franciscans intended to hold on to their power indefinitely, fall to the ground. See vol. i, 438.

[18] It was the request for tools and implements which forced the government to disclose its real aim. Fr. Pángua evidently would brook no quibbling. It was a question of life or death for the missions.

[19] Neither the College nor the individual friar possessed or could possess any funds; hence the statement was strictly true. See vol. i, 729-732.

IX. MISSION SAN BUENAVENTURA, FOUNDED MARCH 31, 1782

to all the missions will be considerable, and their want and that of the presidíos which guard them will be most serious.[20] If we are to wait until she returns next year before sending the supplies, delay in the departure of the friars is unavoidable.

"I know not, Your Excellency, if at present there be opportunity at San Blas to despatch other ships that may take everything for the four presidios, the two colonies, and the eleven missions; but if perhaps not for all, I humbly supplicate Your Excellency to be pleased to provide first for the establishments that already exist, and that the new foundations be postponed to another year. The latter will cause much difficulty, because of the multitude of gentiles on the Channel who are more fearless, cunning, and able than all the others of those regions, and therefore, unless the other missions and presidios are well protected, the undertaking is very dangerous. In any case, Your Excellency, shall we undertake to add in one year three missions, if on the other hand those already founded perish or at least notably decline?

"Finally, I propose to the consideration of Your Excellency that the journey to Sonora and thence to the Channel will extend to eight hundred leagues. We are not accustomed, nor know we how to travel by horseback, and therefore to oblige the religious to make the journey in that manner is placing them in manifest danger of falling sick and of being incapacitated before they reach their destination. With the most profound respect I therefore entreat Your Excellency to be pleased to excuse them from this hardship, and to decree that all the Fathers named and selected, Fathers Antonio Asnár, Diego Nóboa, Juan Riobó, Manuel Arévalo, Mateo Benavídes, and José Estévez,[21] may embark at San Blas."[22]

Viceroy Mayorga found it wise not to insist upon the execution of his orders, but seems to have consulted with De Croix;

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[20] A previous chapter shows that in 1780 the missionaries and soldiers stood on the verge of starvation.

[21] Of the Fathers named only Nóboa and Riobó ever reached California.

[22] Fr. Pángua to Viceroy Mayorga, December 18, 1780. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

for he took no action until nearly four months later. He then endeavored to conciliate the College Discretory by conceding some of the demands without relinquishing the main point at issue. Under date of April 5, 1781, he wrote to Fr. Guardian Pángua: "Neither the list of vestments and other articles pertaining to church and sacristy, which Your Reverence on December 18, 1780, has solicited may be furnished for the three missions . . . nor what you ask for house and field can be purchased absolutely. . . . What in the first place prevents acceding to the petition of Your Reverence is the point that only that which contributes to facilitate these missions, and made known by the comandante-general of the Internal Provinces, should be provided and forwarded to San Blas. This is the point which is entirely closed, and upon which there must be no doubt whatever.

"With regard to the second part the reason that no delay ought to be made consists in this that neither the comandante-general himself, nor the governor of California has said a word about sending household goods or field implements, notwithstanding the knowledge they possess of the territory and of the circumstances in which the missions are to be founded; but when the religious, who are to have charge in virtue of the orders of Your Reverence, shall have been there and prove the necessity of those goods, then the steps that are expedient will be taken.

"To each one of the friars $200 is to be paid in order to cover the expenses of their journey to San Blas where all embark, as Your Reverence desires, wherefore I have decided that the royal officials of this treasury shall pay them $1,200, and I have directed the Administrator of the temporalities of the Pious Funds of California to advance them the stipends which are coming to them. I hope that Your Reverence, in view of the importance of those establishments will see that the six religious march without delay, and take as is usual the ship at San Blas in which they are to be conducted to their destination. I ask and charge Your Reverence that they lose not a moment to accomplish this just object." [23]

Fr. Pángua, however, having forced the officials to expose their designs, refused to be entrapped or cajoled into accepting the proposition. On April 7th he informed the viceroy that there was no need of waiting for the six religious to ascertain whether the assistance asked for house and field in the missions were necessary or not. All the missionaries had already found that they were indispensable. "These aids assist us not a little, and even to a very great extent, towards the advancement, reduction, and perseverance of those heathen Indians, who are attracted more by what they receive from the missionaries than by what is preached to them." [24]

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[23] Mayorga to Fr. Pángua, April 5, 1781. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

Two days later, April 9th, the Fr. Guardian wrote to the viceroy, "After I informed the six religious destined for the Channel Missions regarding Your Excellency's order of the 5th of the current month, they addressed to me a written remonstrance which accompanies this, and which I have thought necessary to transmit to the hands of Your Excellency as soon as possible, and to let Your Excellency know with the greatest veneration and respect that I doubt that there are other religious who would want to go unless they are given the aid of what is necessary for house and field. Without this all declare that it would not be possible to found a mission, gather the heathen savages, nor catechise, instruct, and maintain those that subjected themselves to the Christian doctrine. If they are not able to obtain that much, the labor of the Fathers would be in vain, and expenses to the royal treasury would be without fruit. I do not now expose to Your Excellency the disdain and absolute want of appreciation which the missionaries in those establishments suffer until I shall have discussed that subject with the Rev. Fathers Discretos. On account of the holydays which keep us occupied I shall refrain from speaking of it until after Easter." [25]

On April 19, 1781, the Fr. Guardian sent the promised Memorial to the viceroy. It dealt in a fair and exhaustive manner with the mission system and the treatment which the missionaries received at the hands of the governor and his subordinates. It made the Neve-De Croix plan stand out clearly as an iniquitous scheme to tie the hands of missionaries and reduce them to the level of curates. "Your Excellency," this document begins, "the Discretory of the Apostolic College of San Fernando of this city, with all the esteem due Your Excellency, submits that through the Fr. Guardian it has communicated to Your Grace the remonstrance of the six religious who had freely and piously offered themselves for the new foundations on the Santa Barbara Channel, but who now are not of the same mind because the accustomed aid is denied them which the missions have always enjoyed, namely the utensils and mechanical articles which are indispensably necessary for the respective houses and fields of those missions, and the Discretory further submits that it has closely examined and considered the grounds on which the said religious decline to go.

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[24] "que mas se atraen por lo que reciben del Padre Misionero, que por lo que se les predica."—*Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[25] *Sta. Barb. Arch.* The subject to which Fr. Pángua refers was treated in chapter xxi.

"Laying aside our own view of the matter, and proceeding in the case with the purity of intention and the sincerity which the gravity and character of the subject demand, this Discretory cannot do less than say and declare candidly and conscientiously to Your Excellency that the religious are entirely at liberty and free of constraint to go and labor in the missions among the infidels, so that in this matter they cannot be compelled against their will. This is in accordance with the Bulls instituting our College, which have been authorized and passéed by the Royal and Supreme Council, in accordance with the doctrines of the holy Fathers and Doctors of great weight, and of other learned authorities who have written on Indian mission affairs. Therefore in every way the said reason of said six religious for excusing themselves and of withdrawing seems just, prudent, and approved by long experience.[26] Indeed, unless they are provided with the aforesaid goods and implements for which the Fr. Guardian has petitioned, these religious certainly expose themselves to labor in vain, as they would soon be pounding cold iron. Experience has taught that the reluctance of the heathen savages is not overcome save only when they actually see that the missionary concurs with them in directing the planting of grain and working the piece of land, and that they receive the fruit of their labors and eat it from the very hands of the missionary so much so that, if this is not the case, the Indians will neither be converted nor will those remain who have to some extent been converted. They will run away, and there will be no means to detain them. Those articles are the only bait with which they can be attracted in a shrewd and gentle manner. Once gained in the way indicated they continue this kind of mere material life until they have obtained some knowledge of spiritual things and are grounded in the doctrines of our holy Faith.[27]

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[26] Indian missions were considered extra hazardous to the life and morals of the missionaries. Only volunteers were, therefore, allowed to go, and of these only those who were of tried virtue, sufficient knowledge, and robust health. It was not fear of violent death which deterred the friars; in behalf of Religion they courted martyrdom; but they objected to be victimized to gratify the whims and personal interests of indifferent politicians without any benefit to Religion or to the savages, as was done on the Colorado River.

"For that purpose, only for the purpose of being able to furnish the Indians with food and clothing, and in order to have wherewith to entice them and induce them to love the Doctrina and Christian submission, those trifles are indispensably necessary as well as the mechanical tools and farm implements. This is the only object for which they are urgently solicited; for they are, as we have said, the bait and means for spiritul fishing.[28] We do not demand these things for the sake of the friars. The religious have no personal interest in the matter and profit nothing by them, because they know very well that such intent must be foreign to them. It is well proved and it is notorious that they have always labored disinterestedly and always will so labor. It will not be possible to demonstrate that they conduct any trades, do any trafficking, enjoy worldly profit, have any granaries or barns for accumulating field products for themselves, or possess any effects for their individual or private commodity or interest; but they have control of these things in order to give and dispense them to the Indians, lest the neophytes leave for the mountains and return to paganism as unhappy apostates. The Indians do this as soon as the missionary ceases to give at once what they need; and also, when they perceive that he has it not, they will not obey, nor respect, nor even care to listen, no matter how much he may labor and tire himself for their sake.[29]

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[27] Bancroft himself acknowledges as much. See chapter xv.

[28] "Es el único fin por que se solicitan con exigencia, por ser (como decimos) el anzuelo y medio de la pesca espiritual."

"Inasmuch, therefore, as the character and condition of those people are such that they will not persevere nor listen nor exhibit submission to any other voice than to that from which the gifts come to them (for only thus are they won and will they obey), and in order that they may fondly come to listen to the apostolic voice of the missionaries, and may not be diverted by other voices that never will make them true Christians, these religious require the means referred to before. With them it will be seen that the spiritual fruit of their labor will be abundant. What good would it do, after all, supposing that the pagans subjected themselves but continued their pagan way of living without any knowledge of the Christian doctrine? They would not obey nor love that which is preached to them, since they are attentive with their whole heart to those only from whom they receive temporal benefits.[30] It will be seen that all this would serve no good purpose. It would be entirely contrary to the royal and pious mind of our sovereign, who does not want this kind of reduction, but that the pagans should become true Christians. It is for this purpose that expenses are allowed from the royal treasury.

"In truth, we are firmly persuaded that our Catholic king would abandon and postpone any temporal interest for the sole success of perfect Christianity among the savages. This being so, as indeed it is, he would much less hesitate to grant the aforesaid articles as means to win the Indians through the instrumentality of the missionaries. Hence it is plain that, in any event, it will be considered quite proper and in accordance with the royal pleasure, the more so as the expense would not deplete the royal treasury, which is manifest in itself.[31]

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[29] "á fin de que no se ausenten á las serranias, y se vuelvan infelices apostatas á la gentilidad, como lo hacen luego que el misionero prontamente no les da lo que han menester, y por el mismo caso, viendo que no tiene, ni lo obedecen, ni lo respetan, ni aun lo quieren oir, por mas de otra suerte se desude y fatigue para ellos."

[30] That is to say, the Indians would remain savages and as such always a menace to law and order, and therefore not useful subjects.

"Your Excellency, the soldiers and officers of the military department are granted not only what is necessary in the way of food; not only are they furnished with the weapons of war, powder and ball, for their temporal warfare; for their sake, and with reason, all the expenses are paid that are necessary for ordinary and extraordinary operations, stratagems, and incidentals which they may employ for the better attainment of the victory and for the defeat of the enemy. Inasmuch as the missionaries, too, are soldiers and officers[32] in the spiritual conquest which our Catholic monarch desires so much, it seems that they should be assisted in the same way, not only with the absolutely needful for their maintenance, but also at any cost with what they require for the better success of the spiritual warfare. They must not be inferior to military men, and therefore must not be regarded as of lower quality or standing. Hence, like the military men the missionaries should be provided with the things they solicit in order to attract the savages. This we hope from the most prudent consideration of Your Excellency, so that the religious may cheerfully prepare themselves for the holy task of giving Christian instruction equally well equipped, whether they journey by land or by water, until they reach their destination."[33]

Fr. Fran.co Pangua

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[31] A broad hint. The money came from the Pious Fund.

[32] Under the peculiar ecclesiastical conditions prevailing in the Spanish dominions at the time, the friar could truly say that he was as much directly in the service of the king, albeit not in the pay, as Neve and his soldiers.

[33] Fr. Pángua and the Discretory to Viceroy Mayorga, April 19, 1781. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

These arguments evidently proved unanswerable, and left Neve and De Croix no ground for contention save in conflict with the king himself. Viceroy Mayorga, at all events, found himself compelled to report the matter to the Court of Madrid. What the result was will appear later. Meanwhile Fr. Guardian Pangua communicated to Fr. Presidente Junípero Serra the tenor of Neve's Reglamento concerning the missions,[34] which it seems down to that date had not yet been published in California, together with copies of the letters that had passed between the viceroy and the College. He then closed with this instruction: "Though I suppose that this year not a single religious will go from here, unless the viceroy avails himself of his whole authority,[35] I fear that the governor will have to attempt the founding of all, or at least of one of the three missions; but here all uniformly feel that there must be no yielding unless all the assistance required is granted, the missions are established on land suitable for agriculture, and all the conditions and everything else that Your Reverence knows very well to be necessary harmonize therewith; for there is no reason why the work of the missionaries should be destroyed, and the honor of Your Reverence and of the College outraged, or lessened because of his caprice." [36]

Hence if, notwithstanding Neve's and De Croix's machinations, the nine existing missions continued and the subsequent twelve missions became such great schools for agriculture, horticulture, mechanical arts and stockraising, and were not mere catechetical centers, it is due to the firm stand taken by the Franciscan College of San Fernando, Mexico. Fr. Guardian Francisco Pángua and his councillors, the Fathers José García,

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[34] See chapter xix.

[35] That is to say, as quasi spiritual superior in virtue of the patronato. In that case Fr. Pángua might have appealed, as he intimated.

[36] "Aqui uniformemente sienten todos, que no se debe condescender, sino da todo el auxilio necesario, y se establecen en sitio proporcionado para siembras, concurriendo asi mismo las circumstancias y demas, que sabe muy bien V. Rev. ser preciso; pues no es razon se pierda el trabajo de los Ministros, y el honor de VV. RR., y. del Colegio quede ultrajado, ó menos cabado por su capricho." Fr. Pángua to Fr. Serra, April 20, 1781. *Sta. Barb. Archives.*

José Velez, Sebastian Ynestrillas, Fernando Parrón, and Juan Sancho, should therefore be remembered as real benefactors of California. One of these Fathers, Fr. Fernando Parrón, had been stationed in Lower California and San Diego.

The two frigates which brought the news that made Fr. Serra very unhappy, because they destroyed all his hopes of founding any more missions, discharged the goods billed for the presidio of San Francisco and the two northern missions, and about the end of June, 1782, sailed for Monterey. Here the freight belonging to the presidio and the three missions of San Carlos, San Antonio and San Luis Obispo was unloaded. The ships then proceeded to bring supplies to the Santa Barbara presidio. The remainder of their cargo was left at San Diego, and about the middle of October they set sail for San Blas. Fr. Serra sent along the reports of the founding of San Buenaventura and of the disaster on the Colorado. He also begged for at least two supernumeraries, because for want of a substitute he was unable to leave his mission in order to make the required visitations. Nor was there any one to replace a missionary in case of sickness or death.[37]

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[37] Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. iv, cap. xxxix, 242-243; 246; cap. xl, 248; *Vida,* cap. liv, 256.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Difficult Position of the Friars.—Some Ask to Be Retired.—Fr. Serra's Letter to Fr. Juan Figuer.—The Effect.—Fr. Guardian Verger's Letter to Fr. Lasuen.—War Contributions.—Public Prayers Asked.—Bishop Reyes Tries to Organize Two Custodies.—Opposition of the Friars.—The Result.—Movement of Governor Fages.—Statistics.—Arrival of Two Friars.

THE information received from Fr. Pangua grieved the zealous Fr. Presidente exceedingly, yet the disappointment was only an incident, though one of the most distressing, in his long missionary career which abounded in anxieties, disappointments, contradictions, bodily ailments and adversities of every description to which a missionary can be subjected. At this period seventeen Franciscan Fathers were laboring in the eight missions under his supervision. Some of these friars had replaced others who through illness, or discouraged after ten years of service, had retired to the motherhouse in Mexico; for no one who was disabled or had served ten years could be detained against his will. Two had thus far died at their post, one of them as a martyr. The friars were willing enough to suffer all manner of hardships and adversities, knowing them to be so many stepping-stones to eternal glory, whenever such difficulties arose from the nature of the work in which they were engaged; but they were not willing, in return for their disinterested service, to be subjected to the interference, insolence and opposition of the very ones whom the king and viceroy had deputed to guard and foster the work of conversion and civilization in every way possible. The prevailing conditions at all times taxed the patience of the missionaries, but under Governor Neve they grew disheartening. Occasional changes therefore need not surprise us.

It must be remembered that the friars came to California as messengers of Christ. They were trained to impart their message to the savages. They were not farmers, mechanics, or stock-breeders. Those, who perhaps had been engaged in such pursuits, had abandoned them for the higher occupation of the priest of God, and they had no desire to be further entangled in worldly business.[1] In California, however, the messengers of the Gospel had to introduce, teach and supervise those very arts, trades, and occupations before they could expect to make any headway with the truths of salvation.[2] This was arduous enough, inasmuch as it forced them to spend most of their time in worldly pursuits whereas they longed to devote themselves entirely to the extension of the reign of Christ in the ordinary way. As an absolutely necessary means to win the souls of the savages these unworldly men accepted the disagreeable task of conducting huge farms, teaching and supervising various mechanical trades, having an eye on the live stock and herders, and making ends meet generally. This uncongenial charge, however, became utterly loathsome when in behalf of their wards the friars had to contend with malicious government officials for the retention of this feature of their missionary activity. Some of them would plod along under the burden as well as they might, silently undergoing a slow martyrdom in order to save as many souls for Christ as possible under such adverse circumstances. Others, particularly when Governor Neve insisted on foisting offices of trust upon uncouth Indians over the heads of the missionaries, resolved to leave a country where time, energy and health were wasted to no purpose.

It was difficult enough to teach dull and vicious savages the rudiments not only of Religion, but of decent living, to learn the language, and to procure wherewith to feed and clothe many hundreds of unappreciative Indians. It was worse to have to suffer the presence of immoral and insolent soldier guards; but in addition to be hampered by an unfriendly governor was intolerable. Hence we need not wonder that some of the very best missionaries longed rather to fill their places in the peaceful stalls of their monastery choir, or to exercise their vocation in the confessionals and pulpits of Mexico. It taxed the ingenuity of Fr. Serra to reconcile these Fathers to the adverse conditions surrounding them and to prevent a general abandonment of the undertaking. His letters to that effect never contained a harsh word. He sought to induce the friars to sacrifice themselves for the cause of Christ and the welfare of the poor Indians, and to bear with the haughtiness of the officials from the Governor down as long as they could without jeopardizing their conscience. Two of the missionaries who had become thoroughly disheartened because of the everlasting interference and opposition of Governor Neve were Fathers Fermin Francisco de Lasuen and Juan Figuer of San Diego. Both had asked leave to retire to Mexico. To Fr. Figuer the Fr. Presidente wrote a characteristic letter, which pictures the situation and his manner of dealing with his subjects so well that it is reproduced here entire.

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[1] "No man, being a soldier of God, entangleth himself with worldly business." II Tim. ii, 4.

[2] "Degraded as was the Indian, the whole theory of the Spanish conquest required, and the first principle of the missions was, that he should be trained in the simple arts." Tuthill, *History of California*, p. 98. The mission system naturally grew out of this theory.

Va Jhs Ma Jph.[3]

"Rev. Fr. Juan Figuer,—Dearest friend. When I placed before me Your Reverence's letter of the eighth of the current month in order to answer it, the first thing that occurred to me is a little story which I read years ago in La Floresta Española. One of our communities had entered the choir for Matins.[4] A little while after the Office had begun, one of the friars approached the Fr. Guardian and said to him, 'Father, I pray you give me permission to retire to my cell, for I am not in a proper mood.'[5] The Superior replied, 'Brother, stay in your place for God's sake. I assure you that if we all who are in the choir here in a poor mood should have to leave, there would be no Matins, because we should all march out, and I should be the first one.'

"This little story must not be taken literally, but by way of illustration on account of some little analogy which I consider it to have with our case. Your Reverence tells me that by this time the stay at the mission has become most burdensome to you, and that if the offices which have lately been proposed are effectually introduced,[6] it must render your stay unbearable, and for said cause you ask permission to retire to the cell. With regard to the point in question Your Reverence as yet has had no experience, and perhaps (as I hope to God), by means of what I write on the subject to my dear Fr. Lasuén, no inconvenience whatever may result.[7] What now, therefore, vexes Your Reverence are the difficulties at your mission, the annoyance from the presidio, and the fears of disturbance on the part of the Indians. It is certain that, as far as the presidio is concerned, the conditions are the same at this mission of San Carlos, at Mission San Francisco, and at Mission Santa Clara by reason of the latter's adjoining and troublesome pueblo.[8] In this particular, I assure Your Reverence, it is everywhere the same, to say nothing more.

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[3] Viva Jesus, Maria, Joseph! Live Jesus, Mary, Joseph! Usual beginning of Fr. Serra's private letters.

[4] Part of the Divine Office chanted at midnight in the old monasteries.

[5] Buena gana.

"A few days ago, when the governor spoke to me about the new presidio which is about to be established on the Santa Barbara Channel, I told him that my greatest concern were the religious who should have to be stationed at the mission of the saint in its immediate vicinity, owing to the molestations, insolences, and scandals of the troops which I presupposed would occur there at once, since they (if not worse) prevail near the rest of the missions which have such neighbors, and among which I mentioned in the first place this mission of San Carlos. Under the new administration [9] there are enough similar drawbacks which at this mission are experiences already. In the poverty of provisions and of commodities, I not only know and acknowledge that your mission of San Diego suffers most, but I have always preached it by word and in writing to the College, the viceroy, the governor, and to all to whom I could speak about the missions. Likewise I confess that, as far as the temporal hardships of those are concerned that aspire to the ministry, there are none that equal yours. Nevertheless, Your Reverence perchance has heard the question ventilated as to which is the worst affliction? to have an appetite to eat, but to have nothing to eat, or to have much to eat, but no appetite? Up at Mission Santa Clara and at Mission San Francisco, when there was nothing to eat they blamed said want for the fact that they effected no prodigies of conversions and Baptisms; and now that they have enough to eat there is no one to eat it. In addition to this at the former mission the river which they idolized (so to speak) has overflown and it was necessary to flee. Fr. Peña with the youths and the movables which it was possible to save withdrew to a place a quarter of a league distant which they call El Roblar. Fr. Murguía amidst the mire, not being able to remove the provisions, maintains himself in the little place which he found less disagreeable. The people of the pueblo,[10] whom the Fathers served the whole year, have refused him any guard. He appealed to the governor, but told me that he would stay alone there even if no guard were given him.[11] They have but one chalice, so when one celebrates holy Mass, the other is without one.[12] Poor Fr. Peña has erected his huts there. What is worse, though convinced and acknowledging that it is necessary to move the mission, they know not whither.

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[6] Alcáldes and regidores mentioned in chapter xx.

[7] See Fr. Serra's letter to Fr. Lasuén in chapter xx.

[8] San José.

[9] Neve's rule.

"Thus it is that more or less hardships are not wanting in any place. In these difficulties your mission excels all others, but it is compensated by one happiness, in which it is not equaled by any other. This is the many souls that it has brought together and is constantly collecting in the bosom of our holy Mother, the Church. For this, since I overlooked it in my letter to Fr. Lasuén who informed me of those that had lately been baptized, I send thousand congratulations to both you Fathers; also for the mass of merits which you will have accumulated along with the succor which in the midst of your poverty you have bestowed upon those poor hungry ones in their extreme necessity, inasmuch as it is to be believed that you will have surpassed some of those that have their granaries filled, in accordance with what Christ said of the widow who had *put two mites into the treasury.*[13]

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[10] San José.

[11] "me dice que aunque no se la den allá se quedará solo."

[12] This was annoying only because both Fathers lived in different places.

"My friend, let us therefore continue our Matins to the *Sacrosanctae*,[14] because He that sends or permits the adversities provides as much patience as is necessary. Whither will the ox go that does not plow, if not to the slaughterhouse? Some of those that departed for similar causes would now gladly take up anew what they then left in such disgust; or at least it might be better for them if they had not gone. If I should have to speak of the value of the hardships it would not be proof of ability to say much and well, for much has been written about it; may it suffice to read a little in St. Bonaventure's book or library, Christ Crucified.[15] However, I say with another, 'Predicatoribus non est predicandum, etc.'[16] Still, is it possible that, seeing how effectively you are winning souls to God, you want to turn back, withdraw from the undertaking, without considering who could fill your place better, whether the souls be gained or whether they perish, and that you want to let things go as they please?

"I have drawn out this letter so long because I remember that Your Reverence has petitioned me for the third time, and for the same reason. I conclude with the remark that if what has been said carries no force: *Salvetur Sacrosancta Libertas.*[17] Our regulations do not bind Your Reverence longer; but Your Reverence please see whether you are included in the saying of St. Paul, *Charitas Dei urget nos.*[18] Justice does not oblige you, let Charity do so. Have this charity for the poor Indians, Your Reverence, whilst God gives you health, for the labors His holy grace will not fail you. In any event, notify me as to what, when calm and after mature deliberation, you finally may resolve, assured that you speak to one who esteems you and wishes effectively your welfare and your consolation, and prays God to guard Your Reverence many years in health and in His holy grace. The Fathers, my companions, recommend themselves to Your Reverence with tender affection. Mission San Carlos de Monterey, March 30, 1779. Your Reverence's affectionate friend and servant, Fr. Junípero Serra."[19]

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[13] See Mark xii, 42.

[14] Indulgenced prayer said at the close of the Divine Office.

[15] St. Bonaventure called the crucifix his library.

[16] "One must not preach to preachers."

[17] "Your liberty shall remain intact."

[18] "The charity of God urgeth us." (II Cor. v, 14.)

As might be expected, good Fr. Figuer had not the heart to set aside this appeal of his gentle Superior. He remained at his post, and survived Fr. Serra only four months. Fr. Lasuén, it seems, was not quite so sanguine as Fr. Serra that things would improve under Neve, but on August 27, 1779, pleaded with the Fr. Guardian of the College to be retired. Fr. Rafael Verger, however, also argued in the spirit of Fr. Serra, as we see from the letter which he under date of January 14, 1780, sent in reply. "I feel," he writes, "in my soul the affliction and hardships of Your Reverence; but, my friend, the consolation for it all must be that you are toiling for the glory of the Lord and for the welfare of souls, hoping from His Divine Majesty the help which creatures deny us, and the reward for our labors. Even though what we wish does not come to pass, God Himself will provide.

"The same Lord in His inscrutable judgments permits that the enemy impedes the accomplishment of our good wishes which He inspires. Great undertakings have always encountered great contradictions. What we have in those missions is of ample magnitude, and therefore I do not wonder at your anxieties; but, my friend, you must not imagine that we here fail to do what we can, and that we leave all to God. Your Reverence is very necessary in that service; even though your modesty will smile somewhat, it is necessary to tell you. Your Reverence has more experience, more deliberation in thought, etc., and so you will sacrifice yourself for the Lord. Here we do, and will do, whatever is possible, as well for the consolation of Your Reverences, as for the advancement of the missions. To my way of thinking and to that of others it has been a great mistake to withdraw the California government from the viceroyalty;[20] but those who brought it about will think differently. It does not pertain to us to judge this, but to respect the arrangement and to ask God for the remedy." [21] Fr. Lasuén also yielded and remained at his post.

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[19] Fr. Serra to Fr. Figuer. *Santa Barbara Mission Archives.*

[20] By placing California under the comandante-general.

We have already adverted to the fact that Spain in 1779 declared war against England. It was published in Mexico, August 13, 1779.[22] On August 17, 1779, King Carlos III. issued a decree appealing to his subjects in his western dominions for contributions to pay the expenses of the war. He directed "that for once, and in the nature of a donation," [23] every free Indian should contribute one dollar, and every Spaniard should give two dollars.[24] Fr. Serra thought that the Fathers might make the contribution for their respective neophytes from the mission temporalities; [25] but some of the missionaries in both Lower and Upper California pleaded poverty. Thereupon General De Croix, on August 18, 1782, decided that poor neophytes should be exempt lest bitterness be aroused in them, a result which the king would avoid by all means.[26] The sums contributed in Upper California were as follows: Presidio of Monterey, $833; San Francisco presidio, $373; San Diego presidio, $515; Santa Barbara presidio, $249; Mission San Carlos, $106; San Antonio, $122; San Luis Obispo, $107; San Gabriel, $134; the missions of San Juan Capistrano, and San Diego, $229; Los Angeles, $15; Ignacio Vallejo, mayordomo of San Carlos, $10. Total, $2,693. General De Croix on December 7, 1782, gives the total as $4,216, which excess over the former total amount was contributed by Neve. Bancroft says that Neve contributed $2000. That may account for the honors he received subsequently.[27] On June 24, 1779, Minister José de Galvez announced that, "animated by his piety, and desirous above all to obtain the protection of the Omnipotent upon Whom depend all destinies of empires and the outcome of the war, the king commanded that in the whole do-

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[21] *Santa Barbara Archives.*

[22] Fr. Vergér to Fr. Lasuén in preceding letter.

[23] "que por una vez, y con calidad de Donativo."

[24] *Santa Barbara Archives.*

[25] Fr. Serra to Fr. Lasuén, December 8, 1781. *Sta. Barb. Archives.*

[26] *Santa Barbara Archives.*

[27] Bancroft, i, 428.

IMMACULATE HEART

minion of Spain and America public prayers should be offered up for the good and successful issue of the Catholic arms."[28] Fr. Serra received this decree through General De Croix on June 13, 1780. On the 15th of the same month in a circular he ordered that in place of the Litany of the Blessed Virgin, which was recited every Sunday after the principal Mass, on alternate Sundays the Litany of All Saints with the responses and prayers should be said by the priest and the whole congregation. The priests were to add the respective prayers during the holy Mass whenever the rubrics permitted. In his circular the Fr. Presidente tells the missionaries that this war must be considered as waged in defense of the Catholic Religion against the enemies of the Church. For this reason he directs that after the Litanies the priest should three times recite the Credo aloud with his people.[29]

A matter which at this time created considerable anxiety among the missionaries was the project of separating them from the College and organizing them into an independent custody.[30] Strange to say, the foolish plan originated with the new bishop of Sonora who had jurisdiction also over California. Custodies and provinces are organized by the heads of the Order with the approval of the Holy See and at the petition of the religious of the respective countries. Neither the College of San Fernando, nor the Fathers in California, had ever thought of such an impossible scheme. If carried out the custody must die of inanition, because it could not recruit itself in California for want of candidates. Fr. Antonio de los Reyes, the new bishop, who had been nominated by the king, and approved by Pope Pius VI., returned from Spain with nineteen friars for his new diocese. He was consecrated at Tacubaya, September 15, 1782. The Fr. Guardian and the Discretos of San Fernando had assisted at the ceremonies, but he did not then broach the plan to them. Without consulting either the College of Santa Cruz, Querétaro, whose subjects managed a number of missions in Sonora, nor the College of San Fernando, the bishop had obtained a decree from the king[31] and a Bull from the Pope empowering him to establish the Custody of San Carlos in Sonora, and the Custody of San Gabriel in both Californias. Whilst the Fernandinos merely protested and appealed to the viceroy, his own brethren of Querétaro openly charged the bishop with having misrepresented the situation in Sonora, and with having obtained the Bull surreptitiously.[32] Nor could he persuade any other friar, besiders Fr. Sebastian Flores, ex-lector of theology and twice guardian of Santa Cruz College, to accompany him and the nineteen[33] Franciscans procured from Spain. With these and the unwilling friars already in Sonora, whom in fear of the king the superiors had directed to submit, the bishop as apostolic delegate on October 23, 1783, formally organized the Custody of San Carlos. It existed until August 17, 1791, when to the great relief of the friars it was dissolved by decree of the king, and the old order of things restored.

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[28] De Croix to Fr. Serra, February 18, 1780. *Sta Barb. Arch.*

[29] As England for two centuries and more had persecuted the Catholics in her own dominions, Fr. Serra had good reason for his declaration. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[30] For the explanation of this and other ecclesiastical terms see vol. i, 326, 335.

In California the bishop failed to establish the Custody of San Gabriel, or rather he abandoned the plan when he saw what little success accompanied his interference with the friars in Sonora. The difficulty was greater, too, in that he had to remove the Dominicans from Lower California before he could reestablish the Franciscans there. When the Dominicans heard of the bishop's project, they sought to escape it by supplanting the Fernandinos in Upper California. A Dominican Father broached the subject at the Court of Madrid, but Prime-Minister Joseph de Galvez took the proposition so ill that it was dropped.[34] Fortunately for the peace of all, nothing came of the bishop's plan as far as California was concerned. The Dominicans on the peninsula and the Franciscans in Upper California retained their respective territories under their legitimate superiors.[35]

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[31] The decree is dated May 20, 1782. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[32] Fr. Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. iv, cap. xli, 251.

[33] Bancroft, *History of Texas,* vol. i, 719, has fourteen. We follow Fr. Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. iv, 250.

[34] "Sobre el punto de los PP. Dominicos de quienes se hablaba tanto de que iban á ocupar esas nuestras misiones, me han asegurado que al presentarle un P. Dominico al Primer Ministro Galvez la pretencion del ilustrisimo Reyes, la tomó muy á mal." Fr. Guardian Sancho to Fr. Lasuén, February 7, 1785. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

Before closing this chapter it will be necessary to note the movements of the new governor, Pedro Fages, now lieutenant-colonel. When he, about the middle of September, 1782, had bid farewell to Neve in the Colorado Desert he traveled straight to San Diego. His object was to warn the savages in the mountains that they must attempt no assaults on the mission. As he had been there before, the Indians remembered that they could not dare to trifle with him, and therefore kept quiet. He likewise cautioned the neophytes of the mission against turbulence of any kind. Fages arrived at the presidio in October, just as the two ships mentioned before weighed anchor to sail for San Blas. From San Diego he journeyed north, and visited every mission on the way, in order to acquaint himself with the needs of all. Everywhere the new governor exhorted the neophytes to be mindful of their duties, to avoid disturbance, and to remain faithful. He also directed them to notify the runaways to go back to their missions, as they would be pardoned their past misdeeds; but if they did not return, he would go after them and punish them. This timely and sensible instruction, which entirely ignored Neve's ill-natured commands on the subject, produced a most salutary effect. The fugitives returned to their missions far less inclined to resume their wild habits than was the case under Neve's rule, whose indifference towards the missions the Indians had been shrewd enough to interpret and abuse. At the end of October Fages reached San Francisco, whence he turned back to take up his residence at Monterey.[36]

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[35] Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. iv, cap. xli, 250-252; Arricivita, *Crónica Seráfica,* 564-571; *The Franciscans in Arizona,* 170-177; *Representacion* or Protest of the Colleges of San Fernando, Querétaro, and Zacatécas, February 3, 1783; *Dificultades,* by the same Colleges; Fr. Pangua to Fr. Serra, January 8, 1783; Fr. Guardian Juan Sancho to Fr. Lasuén, February 23, April 12, 1785. *Sta. Barb. Arch.* See also vol. i, this work, 567-568; Bancroft, *History of Texas,* i, 719-720; *Hist. Calif.,* i, 420-422.

[36] Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. iv, cap. xl, 246-249.

In January, 1783, the governor again went to San Francisco to punish some savages who had killed a few mares that belonged to the colonists of San José. When the Indians made armed resistance the Spaniards killed two of them in a skirmish. This terrified the heathen people so that they voluntarily offered some of their boys for Baptism in token of submission. In March Fages left for Lower California to welcome his wife, Doña Eulalia de Callis, and his son Pedrito, who in April arrived at Loreto from Sonora. In July he set out with his family for Upper California, and arrived at Monterey about the middle of January, 1784.[37]

Before continuing the narrative we may as well here, at the beginning of Fages's activity and towards the close of Fr. Serra's earthly career, see what the devoted band of missionaries achieved since their arrival in 1769 to the end of 1783. According to the mission records, the Fathers during that period established nine missions. They baptized, in round numbers, six thousand Indians of whom about four thousand five hundred were still at the missions, whilst the rest had died. The live stock consisted of six thousand head of cattle, six thousand sheep, three thousand goats, nine hundred horses, two hundred mules, and three hundred swine. The average yield of grain annually amounted to eight thousand bushels of wheat, seven thousand bushels of corn, fifteen hundred bushels of barley, besides one thousand bushels of beans, lentils, peas, and garbanzos. Twenty Franciscan friars attended to the temporal and spiritual welfare of the neophytes.[38]

There were only two white settlements in California, San José and Los Angeles. The combined population varied between two hundred and two hundred and twenty men, women, and children. They possessed about seven hundred and fifty cattle and horses, and about one thousand sheep and goats. The field product in 1783 altogether amounted to three thousand seven hundred and fifty bushels. The military force at the four presidios, which included the guards stationed at the missions, did not exceed three hundred men.[39]

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[37] Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. iv, cap. xl, 249; Bancroft, i, 389-390.

[38] *Informes Anuales. Santa Barbara Archives.*

[39] Bancroft, i, 388.

On June 2, 1783, the Philippine packet boat *San Carlos,* in command of Captain Estévan Martínez and Pilot Juan Pantoja, cast her anchor in the harbor of San Francisco. Her chaplain was the secular priest José Nava of Guadalajara. With her came Fr. Juan Antonio García Riobóo of San Fernando College. On the same day the frigate *Nuestra Señora de los Remédios,* or *La Favorita,* arrived there in charge of Captain Juan Bautista Aguírre and Mate José Tobár. Rev. José Villaverde acted as chaplain. This vessel brought Fr. Diego Nóboa. He like Fr. Riobóo had been sent in compliance with Fr. Serra's petition for two supernumeraries.[40]

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[40] Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. iv, cap. xli, 249-250; *Vida,* cap. lvi, 262. With this information Fr. Palóu closes the fourth and last volume of his most valuable *Noticias.*

CHAPTER XXIV.

Fr. Serra's Illness.—His Last Confirmation Tour.—His Zeal Unabated. —Visit to Mission Dolores.—Fr. Murguía's Death.—Fr. Serra Dedicates Santa Clara Church.—His Last Illness.—Receives the Last Sacraments.—His Death.—Fr. Palóu Presidente Pro Tempore.—Fr. Fermin de Lasuén Appointed.—Fr. Palóu Retires.—Reasons Therefor.—His Writings.—Appointment of a Vice-Presidente.—Idleness, the Cause of Military Persecution.—Governor Pedro Fages.—His Complaints.—His Domestic Troubles.—Letter Postage.

WHEN the two Fathers Juan Riobóo and Diego Nóboa presented themselves at San Carlos to receive the blessing of the Fr. Presidente, they found him suffering from grave asthmatic troubles and from a running sore on the breast. He had contracted the malady many years before while preaching missions in Mexico. "Though he never said that he felt the pain and the suffocating spells," Fr. Palóu writes, "or that they molested him, I think he must have suffered from them, because I remember what his paternity practised in many of the mission sermons which he preached among the faithful in order to move his hearers to weep for their faults and to be sorry for their sins. In addition to the chain, which in imitation of San Francisco Solano,[1] he would seize, and with which he would cruelly scourge himself in the pulpit, he would more often take a big stone, which he was accustomed to have ready in the pulpit. At the conclusion of the sermon, at the act of contrition, he would hold the crucifix with his left hand, and with the other he would mercilessly pound his breast with the stone during the whole time of the long act of contrition, so that many of the audience feared that he would crush his breast and fall dead in the pulpit.

"In order the better to excite his audience to repentance, especially when preaching on hell or eternity, the Father would also employ another violent device to punish his body. It was not only painful, but dangerous. In order that the people might picture to themselves the condition of a soul condemned for sin, he would on concluding bare his breast (for which purpose his habit and tunic opened in the front), and then apply a burning torch to his flesh. This caused the people to shed copious tears, some out of sorrow for their sins, others out of compassion for the fervent preacher, as they believed that he must have injured his body. The Father, however, would descend from the pulpit as if nothing had happened to him, though it is but natural that he suffered, and that his breast must have remained sore. Yet he never complained, nor would he use any remedy. He paid as little attention to it as to the sore on his left leg. When we asked him to apply some remedy he would say, 'Let us leave it alone; we might lose all; it is well enough as it is.' He would moreover quote the words of St. Agatha, 'Medicinam carnalem corpori meo nunquam exhibui.'"[2]

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[1] Apostle of Peru; died July 14, 1610; canonized by Benedict XIII in 1726.

The venerable Father received the two religious with thanks to God, though he had expected more to arrive. One of them, Fr. Nóboa, he stationed at San Carlos. Thus released from local duties, and feeling that his end was approaching, Fr. Serra resolved to visit all the missions once more, and to administer Confirmation in all the churches for the last time before his faculties expired. He first wrote an affectionate letter to Fr. Francisco Palóu, instructed him with regard to the office of presidente which he would ere long have to assume, and closed with these words: "I tell you all this, because the next thing you may receive concerning me may be the notice of my death, so oppressed do I find myself. Recommend me to God."[3]

Meanwhile the *San Carlos* on July 5, 1783, and *La Favorita* on the 6th, sailed from San Francisco to Monterey, in order to unload the supplies intended for the presidio and its three missions. In the month of August the Fr. Presidente with Fr. Juan Riobóo took passage in the *San Carlos* for San Diego, and arrived there in September. After confirming all who had been baptized since his last visit, he encouraged

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[2] "Earthly medicine I have never applied to my body." Palóu, *Vida*, cap. lvi, 261-262.

[3] "Todo esto digo, porque mi vuelta puede ser en Carta, pues tan agravado me hallo; encomiendeme á Dios."

Fathers Lasuén and Figuer, and began the long journey of one hundred and seventy leagues up the coast region to Monterey. At San Gabriel he appeared so exhausted that the Fathers thought he would succumb to his infirmities. Nevertheless the venerable man celebrated holy Mass and gave Confirmation, though evidently with much pain, as the little Indian boys noticed who served him at the altar. With tears in their eyes they said to the missionaries, "The old Father wants to die." [4] With heavy hearts the Fathers bade him farewell, because they feared that he might expire on the road to San Buenaventura which was thirty leagues distant. Almighty God, however, gave his servant sufficient strength, Fr. Palóu remarks, and so he traveled through the country inhabited only by savages until he reached the mission which he had founded the year before. When Fr. Serra beheld the goodly number of Christians whom but nineteen months previous he had met as pagans, he joyfully gave thanks to God. The sight lent him more courage and strength, and after he had confirmed the neophytes, he continued the journey much improved.

On the way the Fr. Presidente passed twenty Indian villages which lay scattered over as many leagues along the Santa Barbara Channel. At each one "his heart melted through his eyes," Fr. Palóu writes, "because he could not irrigate that soil with his blood in order to convert it. As it was not in his power, he would irrigate it with the tears that were generated by his fervent desire, and he gave vent to his feelings by exclaiming, "Pray ye therefore the Lord of the vineyard that he send laborers into his vineyard." [5] "It is the belief," Fr. Palóu continues, "that the dearth of missionaries shortened his life on account of the anxiety which he felt for the conversion of the gentiles; for since the time that he received notice that no missionaries would come to the missions of the Channel, his heart was heavy." We know that the reason why no missionaries could be sent was Neve's determination to overthrow the mission system. It was this that disheartened the venerable old man.

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[4] "Padres, ya el Padre viejo se quiere morir."

[5] Matt. ix, 38.

After Fr. Serra had given Confirmation at San Luis Obispo and San Antonio, where as at the other missions he consoled the Fathers and bade farewell for life, he arrived at San Carlos in January, 1784. He appeared much stronger in health than when he embarked for San Diego, so that the Fathers, who had already resigned themselves to read the notice of his death, were very much surprised. Though seventy years of age now, the servant of God would allow himself no rest. He instructed the new converts, confirmed them in time, looked to his own sanctification in scrupulously observing the monastic exercises, and attended personally to all the duties of his offices of presidente and local missionary. He once more celebrated Lent, Holy Week, and Easter time according to custom, and afforded all an opportunity to comply with their Easter duty.

There were two more missions where he desired to make the farewell visit. When at last he found himself at liberty, he set out for the two northern establishments. The Fathers of Santa Clara had invited him to be present at the dedication of their new church,[6] the date of which had been fixed for May 16th. The venerable Father accordingly began the laborious journey on April 30, 1784. As he intended to dedicate the new edifice on his way back, he would not tarry at Santa Clara, but hastened to San Francisco where he confirmed from May 2nd to 4th. A few days later he was notified that Fr. José Murguía, the principal missionary and the builder of the new church of Santa Clara, was grievously ill. Fr. Palóu hastened to the sick Father's bedside, whilst Fr. Serra prepared those to be confirmed, and then administered the Sacrament to them. Fr. Murguía passed to his reward on May 11th, before he could witness the dedication of the structure which he had reared, and which was the most imposing church building in California at that period. Fr. Serra reached Santa Clara on May 15th. In the afternoon of the same day he blessed the church, and on the following day, fifth Sunday after Easter, he sang the High Mass and preached to the assembled multitude with his customary fervor. After holy Mass he confirmed all who had been prepared.

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[6] It was the second church building, and situated at some distance from the former on a spot south of the Southern Pacific depot at Santa Clara. The place is now marked by a cross.

Fr. Palóu now wanted to return to his mission on the bay, but Fr. Serra confessed that he felt his strength failing him, and that he wished to prepare for death by making the last retreat at Santa Clara. "He made the spiritual exercises for some days," says Fr. Palóu, "and then made a general confession, or repeated the one he had made at other times, while he shed many tears. Mine were not fewer, as I thought that this might be the last time that we should see each other."

When he had returned to his beloved San Carlos, Fr. Serra sent Fr. Nóboa to take the place of the late Fr. Murguia. Alone with Fr. Noriega he then devoted himself to his apostolic work. By the 16th of July, when his faculty to confirm expired, he had administered the Sacrament of Confirmation to 5307 persons. He might then have exclaimed, says Fr. Palóu, in the words of St. Paul, "Cursum consummavi, fidem servavi;"[7] for on that very day the packet boat landed in the bay of San Francisco with letters from the Fr. Guardian which may be said to have been the messengers of death to the Fr. Presidente, inasmuch as the news cut off all hope of seeing his desires accomplished. The Fr. Guardian informed the Fr. Presidente why it was that no missionaries could be sent just then. Several Fathers had died at the College and others had returned to Spain on the expiration of their ten years of service, so that there were none to spare until recruits could be obtained from the mother country. Resigning himself to the will of the Lord, he appeared to recognize the news as inviting him to lay down the burden of this life, and to leave the future to Divine Providence. He communicated the contents of the letters to all the missions. To the Fathers in the more distant missions he bade farewell and asked them for their prayers. To the Fathers of San Luis Obispo and San Antonio he wrote that he would deem it a favor if one from each mission came to San Carlos for the supplies, as he desired their presence very much. He then requested Fr. Palóu to come and assist him to die.

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[7] "I have finished my course, I have kept the faith." (II Tim. iv, 7.)

Fr. Palóu hastened to San Carlos and arrived there on August 18th. He found his fatherly friend suffering very much from his old maladies, though he continued on his feet, and in the evening as usual recited the Doctrina with the neophytes. Night prayers followed, and then he concluded with the tender hymn composed by Fr. Antonio Margíl[8] in honor of the Blessed Virgin. On the following day, August 19th, Fr. Serra asked Fr. Palóu to sing the High Mass as was customary on the 19th of every month in obedience to Don José de Galvez's orders.[9] The servant of God sang in choir with the neophytes. After holy Mass, which Fr. Palóu celebrated on August 27th, the dying Fr. Presidente desired to receive the Holy Viaticum in church. Fr. Palóu tried to persuade him that such was not necessary; that his little room could be prepared and adorned for the visit of His Divine Majesty; but Fr. Serra replied, that he would receive holy Communion in church, since, as long as he could go there on foot, there was no reason why the Lord should come to him at the house. He accordingly went to the church about one hundred yards away unassisted but accompanied by the commander of the presidio, the troops, and the neophytes, all amazed and edified at the spectacle. "When the saintly Father reached the sanctuary he knelt before a small table placed there for the purpose," Fr. Palóu describes the remarkable scene. "I came vested from the sacristy and went to the altar. While I prepared to put incense into the censer to begin the holy ceremony, the fervent servant of God with his usual natural and sonorous voice, just as he was wont to do when well, intoned the verse *Tantum ergo Sacramentum,* tears streaming from his eyes the while. I administered the Holy Viaticum with the ceremonies of the ritual. When this most edifying function, the like of which under such circumstances I have never seen, was concluded, the holy man remained on his knees in the same posture giving thanks to the Lord. Having finished his devotions he returned to his cell escorted by the whole people as before." During the following night, as he felt worse, he received Extreme Unction at the hands of his old friend Fr. Palóu. In the afternoon of the next day, Saturday, August 28th, he expired, without any sign of agony, at the age of seventy years nine months and four days. He had entered the Franciscan Order at the age of sixteen years, nine months and twenty-one days, and therefore had lived in religion fifty-three years, eleven months and thirteen days. On the next day, Sunday, the remains were deposited in the grave prepared for them in the sanctuary on the Gospel side of the altar close to those of Fr. Juan Crespi.[10]

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[8] Apostle of Texas and Guatemala; he died at the City of Mexico August 6, 1726; declared Venerable by Gregory XVI in 1836.

[9] See vol. i, 377, this work.

At the death of Fr. Serra the office of presidente of the missions passed to Fr. Francisco Palóu whom the College of San Fernando had designated for such an emergency. This was only a temporary arrangement, for Fr. Palóu had permission to retire to Mexico, and only postponed his departure until his friend and Superior had passed away. This we learn from the letter addressed by Fr. Guardian Juan Sancho to Fr. Fermin Lasuén of San Diego. After notifying him that on February 6th he had been appointed presidente, Fr. Sancho writes, "Fr. Lector Palóu since last year is in possession of the license to retire which Fr. Junípero has asked for him; and now an order has arrived from the Most Rev. Commissary-General of the Indies that we should notify said Father to come to the College as soon as possible. For this reason Your Reverence will direct him to execute the command of the Most Rev. Commissary-General, and to use the license which he has from me." This letter reached Fr. Lasuén at San Diego in September, 1785.[11]

We know from his *Noticias*[12] that Fr. Palóu intended closing his life among the Indian neophytes. It is surprising, therefore, to learn from Fr. Sancho's letter that Fr. Serra had procured for his faithful friend the license to retire to the College in Mexico. The disagreeable conditions brought about by Neve's destructive meddling with mission affairs had disheartened both Fathers, and there was no telling what Neve, now comandante-general, might attempt if his plans were not checked. Neve died three months after Fr. Serra, but that was not known till many months later. However, Pedro Fages returned as governor two years before Fr. Serra's death. He might have changed, but was not to be trusted. Hence Fr. Serra argued, and Fr. Palóu agreed with him, that he should return to Mexico as representative of the missions so that in any emergency Fr. Palóu would at the court of the viceroy explain the needs of the missionary establishments, and expose the hostile machinations of greedy and ambitious schemers in and out of California. That the fears of the Fr. Presidente were well founded will appear presently. Fages, indeed, soon resumed his former unwarranted attitude of lording it over the missionaries; but happily Fr. Palóu at the Capital succeeded in defeating his aims.[13]

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[10] Palóu, *Vida,* capp. lvi-lix, 261-279. The biography of Fr. Serra will be given in a subsequent volume. For his signature and likeness see vol. i, 343-386.

[11] Fr. Sancho to Fr. Lasuén, February 7, 1785. *Santa Barbara Mission Archives.*

[12] See chapter viii, page 130, this volume.

There was another motive which justified Fr. Palóu's return. Whether commanded or from love of the work, he had used his spare time to compile a reliable historical narrative of all that had transpired in California from the arrival of the Franciscans at Loreto early in 1768 to June, 1783, in four parts under the title *Noticias de la California*. During his last year in California he also wrote the life of Fr. Serra under the title of *Relacion Historica de la Vida y Apostolicas Tareas del Venerable Padre Fray Junipero Serra, etc.*[14] Of these works Bancroft says, "I have sometimes been tempted to entertain a selfish regret that Palóu wrote, or that his writings were ever printed,[15] yet all the same he must be regarded as the best original authority for the earliest period of mission history." Fr. Palóu may have also wished to see the result of his researches and assiduous labors perpetuated in print for the glory of his College, to which he was very much attached, and for the purpose of forestalling the circulation of any inaccurate or false notions about the work of the missionaries. This probably was the reason which the Fr. Commissary-General had in mind when he recalled the able author and zealous missionary; for there is no other motive apparent. The *Noticias* were transcribed, and a copy went to Madrid, but it was not printed until 1857, when it was incorporated in the *Documentos para la Historia de Mexico.* Mr. John T. Doyle in 1874 published the work in four volumes at San Francisco. The *Vida* found benefactors who had it printed at their expense in 1787.

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[13] See vol. i, second edition, pp. 416-418, 458-460, for examples of Fr. Palóu's unflinching courage.

[14] *Historical Narrative of the Life and Apostolic Labors of the Ven. Fr. Junipero Serra,* etc.

Though there is little on record, it appears that Fr. Palóu returned to San Francisco some weeks after Fr. Serra's death. His last entry in the baptismal register there is dated July 25, 1785. After that he seems to have gone to San Carlos, where his last entry is dated September 7th. He probably took passage at Monterey in the same vessel that brought the news of Fr. Lasuén's appointment and his own recall. On his way from San Blas to Mexico he was stricken with fever at Querétaro, and therefore remained at the College of Santa Cruz until he was able to resume the journey. He finally reached San Fernando College on February 21, 1786, but suffering from a sore leg which made him take to the infirmary.[16] Though he had not yet recovered, the Discretory on July 1, 1786, elected Fr. Palóu guardian of the College.[17]

In order to provide for any contingency, the Discretory on August 16, 1786, elected Fr. Pablo Mugártegui of Mission San Juan Capistrano vice-president of the missions with a certain degree of jurisdiction over the four southern missions. This was an innovation. In notifying Fr. Lasuén of his own election to the office of guardian, and of Fr. Mugártegui's election to the vice-presidency, Fr. Palóu writes, "Forasmuch as Your Reverence, owing to the great distance, is absent and very long absent from the missions of the south, namely, from San Buenaventura inclusive to San Diego, I have determined that said Fr. Pablo as vice-presidente of Your Reverence shall visit them for the consolation of those Fathers; that he shall deal with the governor and the other subordinate officers; and that he shall see that the Fathers afterwards report everything to Your Reverence, so that in this way a large piece of territory will receive the attention of the Superior who is at hand, and who may also be consulted with more facility."[18]

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[15] It was providential that Fr. Palóu provided us with an authentic account. We can surmise what Bancroft and others would have made of that period had not Fr. Palóu's writings compelled them not to deviate from the truth more than they did. Bancroft, vol. i, 420.

[16] Fr. Sancho to Fr. Lasuén, April 1, 1786. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[17] Fr. Palóu to Fr. Lasuén, August 16, 1786. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

That Fr. Serra and Fr. Palóu had read the immediate future correctly, and had chosen the most effective means to protect the missions against military aggressiveness by stationing Fr. Palóu at the capital, will appear presently.[19] To begin with, it was unfortunate that the guards and their commanders had

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[18] Fr. Palóu to Fr. Lasuén, August 16, 1786. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[19] Conditions began to favor the missionaries in Mexico. One of the two chief enemies of the friars, Teodoro de Croix, early in 1783 became viceroy of Peru. (Bancroft, *History of Texas,* vol. i, 673.) The other, Felipe de Neve, succeeded him as comandante-general, but died in November, 1784. José Antonio Rengel assumed charge temporarily by order of the Audiencia of Guadalajara. Rengel to Fr. Lasuén, November 30, 1784. *Sta. Barb. Arch.* Rengel in 1786 was relieved by appointment from the king of Jacobo Ugarte y Loyola. Ugarte to Fr. Lasuén, April 22, 1786. *Sta. Barb. Arch.* Of Ugarte Fr. Guardian Sancho wrote to Fr. Lasuén, April 1, 1786: "es muy afecto á los Religiosos Misioneros." *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

no occasion to exercise their prowess. No foreign power threatened the country, and no internal foe called forth martial qualities. Inasmuch, therefore, as *"jealousy of the cowl had ever been rampant in the military breast, and an uncontrollable desire possessed the military authorities to usurp the temporal power of the Franciscans,"* [20] there is little room for wonder that the rank and file sought to while away the the time that weighed heavily on their hands in waging petty war on the defenseless religious. On a small scale they imitated the "Liberals" of Germany and the Latin countries, who, instead of employing their wits to insure the life, liberty and pursuit of happiness of all, set to work devising schemes to sadden and oppress the most loyal part of the citizens through sheer wantonness, because no personal danger is involved in that kind of warfare.

Don Pedro Fages had not entirely escaped the contagion that prevailed among the Spanish civil and military officials to lord it over the representatives of Religion, especially in time of peace. Besides being of an irascible nature he seems to have been imbued with the notion that he must make the missionaries at every turn feel his superiority, lest they forget the importance of his personality. The result was that he very soon again came into conflict with the Fr. Presidente of the missions. Neve's Reglamento sought to bring about the absolute subjection of the friars, and in new mission ventures relegated them to the position of mere curates. No mission had as yet come into existence under that system, and not even Neve had pretended that his Reglamento in temporal matters referred to the old establishments. Fages must have included the old missions, otherwise his action is unintelligible; for on March 1, 1783, when only five months in office, he petulantly wrote to Inspector-General Neve that "the opposition of Fr. Serra to all the governor's regulations is already manifest, and it is expressed not only in words, but in deed and in writing." [21] Yet, at that time Fr. Serra was ill and attending strictly to his business as heretofore.

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[20] Powers, *Old Missions of California*, p. 67.

[21] *Cal. Arch., Prov. Rec.* iii, 164.

On September 15th of the same year Fages asserts that Fr. Serra "tramples upon the measures of the government, and bears himself very despotically and with total indifference."[22] Furthermore, in writing to Neve, Fages charges the venerable Fr. Presidente with too great severity not only towards the Indians but towards the Fathers.[23] This is ludicrous. In the numerous documents and letters still extant there is not a word of complaint from any of the friars against Fr. Serra. On the contrary, Fr. Palóu affirms that the Fr. Presidente uniformly treated his brethren with the utmost kindness and sympathy. His letters prove as much. On September 26, 1785, the ill-natured governor wrote to the bishop that the friars neglect chaplain duties at the presidio, and averred that they cannot be spoken to on the most trivial matters without showing disdain.[24] On December 7, 1785, he complained to Fr. Cambón of Fr. Palóu's[25] sullen and cold behavior, and of the Fathers at San Carlos who had twice received him with disrespectful cries and stamping of feet, though he had been so devoted to them that he had drawn upon himself the term *frailero*. Several friars had told him to his face that they doubted his word and thus forgot the respect due the governor; that the letters to him are not sufficiently polite, and that he will not endure this longer. Yet inconsistently enough he concludes by saying that he will never cease to venerate them. This would seem to indicate that he felt some remorse at times.[26] Thus it appears that Fages was of a jealous and querulous disposition, and swayed by good or bad humor. If he treated his wife as censoriously as the missionaries, we need not search far in order to discover the cause of his notorious domestic infelicity.[27] It would almost seem that, after in-glorious contests with Doña Eulália, the governor sought to retrieve his wounded dignity by venting his bad humor on any one who happened to show the slightest resistance, and thus the missionaries may have received a large share of the gubernatorial wrath. That Fr. Palóu on such occasions bore himself with silent dignity is quite intelligible.

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[22] Fages gives no instances, and we cannot guess what he means. If, as it seems, he conducted himself like a common scold, the Fr. Presidente probably, and quite properly, ignored his talk. The charge came with poor grace from Fages any way.

[23] *Cal. Arch., Prov. Rec.* iii, p. 164.

[24] Bancroft, i, 399.

[25] Fr. Palóu was then on his way to Mexico.

[26] Bancroft, i, 399.

[27] Those interested in that subject may read Bancroft, i, 390-392; Hittell, i, 529-530.

Despite his protestations of devotion to the friars, Fages certainly annoyed them most seriously even while Fr. Serra lived. It may be that he desired to make the Fr. Presidente feel his latent resentment for the removal from California in 1774. At any rate, the first opportunity which he chose to impress his superiority occurred only two months after his arrival at Monterey. One of the privileges which Fr. Serra in 1773 had obtained for the missionaries was the right of sending official letters to and from the College and to one another free of cost. On January 12, 1783, Fages, however, told Commander Hermenegildo Sal of Monterey that this could not be tolerated. For his decision he referred to a royal decree of October 25, 1777, and to the viceroy's instructions of April 26, 1780. Fr. Serra then told Sal to keep the letters if he would not deliver them free of charge, inasmuch as he had not wherewith to pay.[28] To Gov. Fages the Fr. Presidente wrote that, in addition to being absolutely poor, "I am a servant of the king, my lord, and the discharge of my office is no less important than that of those gentlemen.[29] If those gentlemen, though they are wealthy, do not accept official letters if they must pay for them, how do they expect me and my Religious to do so? However, His Excellency, Viceroy Bucareli, in the viceroyal council held at Mexico on May 6, 1773, determined and by decree of the 22nd of the same month commanded thus: 'As to number 22, that the Fathers of California shall be notified in due time that the mail is ready, and the letters to the College and to the Fathers shall be given free and without charge whatever for the delivery, it was so resolved that so it should be with this modification that the letters should strictly be such as pertain to the new establishments of those missions.' At all events," Fr. Serra concludes, "Your Honor may burden yourself with the responsibility of refusing to deliver or of delaying the letters; for neither I nor the Fathers are obliged to accept letters from the mail for money. We shall communicate news of our life or death by means of unsealed notes when we shall find any one who will forward them, and we shall endeavor to bear this additional hardship with patience." [30]

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[28] Sal to Fr. Serra, March 9, 1783; Fages to Fr. Serra, March 10, 1783. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[29] Gobernadores, Corregidores, Alcaldes, Mayores.

This brought the officiousness of the governor to an end. He consented that the letters should be delivered free until instructions arrived from the viceroy. The Fr. Presidente reported the matter to the College. Fr. Guardian Sancho replied, that "steps have been taken to obtain the free delivery of letters. The administrator of the mails has assured me that the effort would be successful, and that now by the ships he sends notice to all officials of the three ports of New California that the decision of the viceroyal council must be enforced." [31] For missionaries who received no money for their services, whose very stipends of $400 a year were paid in goods minus the freight charges from Mexico, the cost of mailing letters would have been a heavy burden, and an outrage as Fr. Serra intimated when the letters were official. Thus, when Comandante Sal notified the Fr. Presidente that there was a package of letters from Comandante-General De Croix himself, he also informed him that the charges amounted to eleven reales. Letters in those days could not be sent any distance for a few cents. A communication which now passes from California to the City of Mexico or from there to the Pacific Coast for two cents would at the period of which we speak have cost at least fifty times that amount. Comandante José Moraga of the San Francisco presidio on June 5, 1784, drew up an account for letters delivered to Fr. Palóu and Fr. Cambón from the beginning of 1783 to December, 1783. The charges for fourteen ordinary missives and two small packages amounted to twenty-seven dollars and fifty cents.

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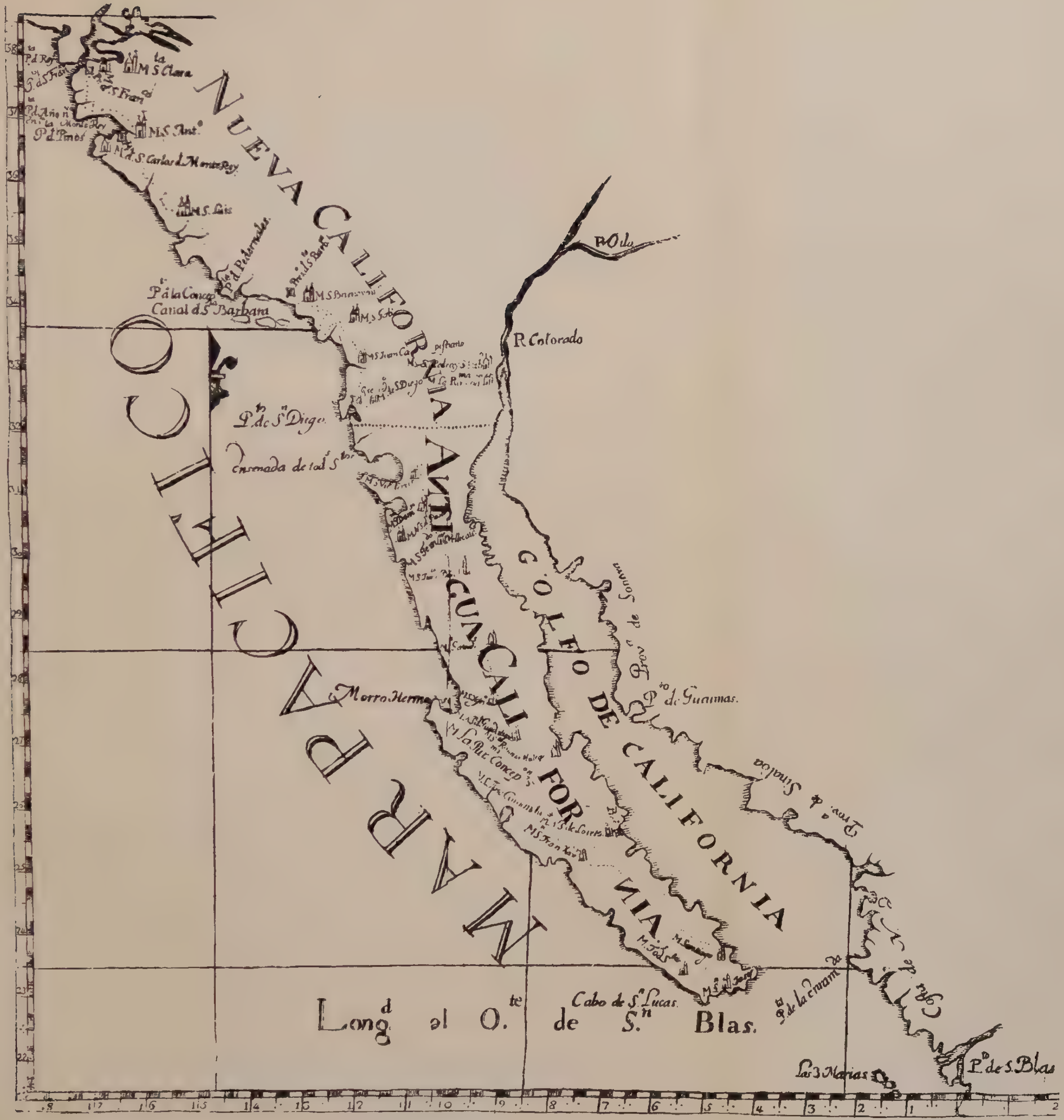
[30] Fr. Serra to Fages, February 25, 1783. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[31] Fr. Sancho to Fr. Serra, February 7, 1785. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*



FR. PALOU'S MAP OF THE MISSIONS

In 1784 the charges for four packages of letters were five dollars and thirty-seven cents.[32] This was far more than the Fathers could afford, for, as we know, they received no money from Mexico. Little could be expected in California, since they could collect no fees. An occasional stipend for a holy Mass was all the ready money given them. Some one else had to bear the cost. The missionaries declared that they were willing to be charged for their personal and private letters, but they would and could not pay for the cost of official communications. As servants of the king, they claimed to be exempt from money payments for official letters as well as other royal officials. This view was finally accepted by the government, and thereafter, it seems, the cost for transmitting letters was paid from the royal treasury. The Fr. Guardian, however, informed the missionaries that their letters must be addressed to the Administrator of Free Delivery. In some instances this regulation had not been obeyed. The result was that in 1790 the College had to pay $18 for letters addressed to it. In a circular Fr. Lasuén, moreover, warned his brethren to include no communications to other persons lest the franking privilege to revoked.[33]

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[32] *Nota de las Cartas,* by José Moraga, June 5, 1784. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[33] Fr. Sancho to Fr. Lasuén, January 3, 1791; Fr. Lasuén, *Circular,* July 22, 1791. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

SECTION II.

FR. FERMÍN FRANCISCO DE LASUÉN, PRESIDENTE.

(1785-1803)

CHAPTER I.

Forgotten Instructions.—Fages Accuses the Friars.—Fr. Palóu in Mexico.—His Reply to Fages's Complaints.—Provisional Decision of the Audiencia.—Fr. Lasuén Requested to Explain the Situation.—His Able Statement.—His Counter-charges.—The King Repeals Neves's Reglamento Concerning the Missions.—The Missionaries Not Subordinate to the Military in Spiritual Things.—Triumph of the Missionary Fathers.

GOVERNOR PEDRO FAGES might have spared himself many vexations if he had remembered and observed the instructions given him by Viceroy Bucareli in 1772,[1] or those issued to his successor Captain Rivera on August 17, 1773.[2] Rivera was told that the "stability of those good mission establishments to a great extent depends upon the good intercourse with the missionaries, and therefore it is very proper to charge him (Rivera) very especially to preserve the best harmony with those religious. As a consequence the disputes which regularly hamper the service will be avoided. Free from them the comandante will be able to devote himself entirely to his own duties, and the missionaries can attend to their respective charges. *The conversion of the Indians is one of the chief cares of the comandante,* one in which the missionaries must spend their best efforts, and *which he must facilitate by furnishing the aid they may need.* In everything the comandante will proceed with the understanding that the aim of those new establishments is directed at the *promoting of the spiritual conquest,* and in consequence the extension of the king's dominions."[3]

Instead of heeding these sensible instructions, the irascible governor not only quarreled with his wife and with his military inspector, but incessantly obtruded himself upon the missionaries, who longed for nothing more than that he let them alone. By the month of September, 1785, Fages had worked himself into such a passion that he on the 26th sent formal charges against the missionaries to the viceroy. Had he waited four days more, he might have postponed and probably destroyed his *Representacion* for on September 30th, or the day before, he received notice that Fr. Fermin Francisco de Lasuén had been appointed presidente of the missions, and that Fr. Palóu would return to Mexico. At it was, Fages's charges reached the viceroy in January, 1786. Viceroy Mayorga referred the document to Fr. Guardian Juan Sancho with the request that he should command the missionaries to abide by the Reglamento approved by the king, and to avoid every occasion of complaint to the government. When a month later Fr. Palóu arrived from California, Fr. Sancho ordered him to reply to the charges point by point.[4] The reply was presented by Fathers Sancho and Palóu to the viceroy in person. Mayorga in turn submitted the document to the Audiencia. This Court was much puzzled. "The report of the religious," say the judges, "is full of counter-accusations and complaints against the governor, many of which he (Fr. Palóu) declares he has stated to the governor personally and in writing."[5] Of Fages's *Representacion,* the Audiencia deemed only the following five points worthy of consideration:

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[1] See chapter vii, this volume.

[2] Bucareli, "Instruccion que debe observar el comandante nombrado para los Establecimientos de San Diego y Monterey." *Cal. Arch., St. Pap., Missions and Colonization,* i, p. 812, numbers 3, 4, 5, 18. Neve, too, should have made these forty-three articles of the "Instruccion" his guide.

[3] "En todo procederá el Comandante bajo la consideracion de que el objecto de los nuevos establecimientos se dirige á adelantar la conquista espiritual, y por consiguiente la extension de los dominios del Rey."

1. "In violation of art. 3, tit. 15, of the Reglamento the holy Sacrifice of the Mass has not been celebrated at the presidio of San Francisco for three years, though the mission of the same name is near by.

2. "The friars refuse to recognize the governor on the points referring to the administration of the temporalities and the vice-regio patronato.

3. "They will not sell the grain and the products of the missions at the prices given in the price list which has been approved by His Majesty.

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[4] Fr. Sancho to Fr. Lasuén, April 1, 1786. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[5] "Expendiente de la Real Audiencia," January 12, 1787. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

4. "They do not furnish timely reports of the exact inventories of the temporalities, nor account for the harvests of the year and use made of the products of the previous years, as is commanded by higher authority.

5. "Some of the friars embark for San Blas without permit from the governor, thus disobeying the orders that subject them to this formality."[6]

Fr. Palóu's reply, as summed up by the Audiencia, is as follows:

1. "The new Reglamento was not published until September, 1784; it is not observed by Fages himself, and in fact it is not in force. After all, the Reglamento framed by order of Viceroy Bucareli is more adapted to the conditions of the country. When the new Reglamento was compiled the missionaries were not told that they should act as chaplains to the presidios and receive no other stipend than what was granted them for their labors as missionaries to the Indians.[7] The acceptance of such an additional burden as that of the chaplaincy to the presidios must be a voluntary act. At any rate, since the king does not want religious as chaplains in his regiments, he wants them less for the presidios. Likewise the missionaries were not told that only one of them should be stationed at a mission. While he (Fr. Palóu) showed the damage which may arise from it to the friars, he likewise explained the difficulties: thirteen friars, as many as the Reglamento allowed, were expected to care for nine missions, two white pueblos, and four presidios! He also declared that the articles which deal with this subject in the Reglamento of Neve have been repealed by the royal cedula of May 20, 1782; for His Majesty there provides for the maintenance of two missionaries at each mission in accordance with the orders of the Most Rev. Fr. Commissary-General of the Indies. The governor wanted to bind the religious in justice to celebrate holy Mass at the presidio of San Francisco, whereas the Fa-

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[6] *Expediente,* ut supra. Expediente meant the collection of all the papers on the subject.

[7] That is to say, the Fathers were not receiving the stipends of chaplains, and therefore they were not in justice bound to act as such.

thers served out of pure charity even after they had been deprived of the rations which had been granted them for that purpose. They never failed to administer the necessary Sacraments. At any rate, the mission was so near that it was easy for the troops to attend holy Mass there on days of obligation.

2. "The temporalities of the Indians are nothing less than the fruit of their labors, yet the governor tries to obtrude himself upon the administration of the missions despotically. He has not comprehended what power the *vice-regio patronato*[8] confers; for he fancied it was his duty to dispense from holy Mass on such days as that of the Most Holy Trinity. He gives not the slightest assistance conducive to the progress of the missions in either spiritual or temporal matters; but he prohibits the guards to go after runaway neophytes among the gentiles, or to accompany the religious to the presidios, missions and rancherias in the exercise of their sacred duties.

3. "There is no evidence that the prices at which the missionaries should sell the grain, products, or live stock have been approved by the king; and, after all, the prices should be fixed in agreement with the Fr. Presidente of the missions.[9]

5. "To embark for Mexico a religious needs to observe no other formality than that he notify the governor that the Superiors granted the license. Such was the decision of Viceroy Mayorga on March 29, 1780."[10]

In view of the contradictory statements in the reports of Fr. Palóu and Governor Fages, the Audiencia referred both documents to Comandante-General Jacobo Ugarte y Loyola with instructions to investigate, and then to propose what should be recommended to the king. Meanwhile the governor was instructed to give the missionaries all the help they needed in order to discharge their sacred duties properly; to furnish them with the necessary guards when they had to travel to the presidio or to other missions; and to consider what compensation or alms it would be proper to concede to the Fathers for celebrating holy Mass at the presidio of San Francisco. On the other hand, as a balm to the governor, the missionaries were instructed to pay due respect to Don Pedro Fages.[11]

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[8] For the Patronato see Appendix G, this volume.

[9] In the summary of the Audiencia there is no answer to No. 4. Whether the Court overlooked it, or omitted it, or whether Fr. Palóu made no reply, we cannot say. It was an unfounded charge any way, as we shall see presently from Fr. Lasuén's reply.

[10] Bancroft, vol. i, 404, asserts that Fr. Palóu does not quote the viceroy correctly. "Permiso á aquellos misioneros para su regreso siempre que convenga sin licencia de aquel gobernador mas que un aviso politico," is what Mayorga says, and it corresponds exactly with Fr. Palóu's version.

Jacobo Ugarte y Loyola

On April 22, 1787, Ugarte forwarded the Expediente, which included Fages's charges and Fr. Palóu's replies, to Fr. Lasuén, and directed him to see that the laws were observed and to make a statement on the governor's complaints. The documents reached him in October. On the 22nd of the same month Fr. Lasuén signed his able and long refutation, which with his own strictures covers thirteen closely written folio pages. In the introduction he says: "I have been under the impression that we Fernandinos are not only not opposed to the observance of some of its (Reglamento) articles, but that if the king himself were here personally he would be fully satisfied when he saw how scrupulously, punctually, and exactly his sovereign laws and his very intentions are carried out. I shall now fully answer the points which the governor raises in his deplorable paper, and then it will be seen that His Honor, owing to his martial activity and ardent zeal, may commit mistakes.

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[11] "Que el gobernador dispense á los Religiosos misioneros los auxilios que necesiten para el mas exacto desempeño de su sagrado Instituto; que en sus transitos indispensables por los presidios y misiones les franquee las precisas escoltas de tropa; y que considere la gratificacion ó limosna que le parezca proporcionada á los Padres Misioneros de la Mision de San Francisco por las Misas que deben celebrar en el presidio inmediato."—*Expediente de la Audiencia,* January 12, 1787. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

"The first accusation is that in violation of art. 3, tit. 15, of the Reglamento holy Mass is not celebrated at San Francisco Presidio. Well, I have for ten years myself served the presidio of San Diego, though six miles distant from the mission. The Fathers of San Buenaventura have attended that of Santa Barbara though it is eight or more leagues away; and those of San Carlos here have attended Monterey, which is two leagues distant, without a word as to compensation. The reason why the Fathers at San Francisco would not go to the presidio to celebrate holy Mass is the same that I reported to you on August 4, 1786,—there is no church there and no decent place to supply the lack of a church.[12] The want of compensation was not felt, but the lack of due appreciation was felt, especially at San Francisco, where officers and soldiers conduct themselves as though the religious were paid chaplains and therefore obliged to serve them in strict justice, whereas it is only an act of charity.

"The second complaint is that the friars refuse to recognize the governor with regard to the administration of the temporalities and the vice-regio patronato. This accusation, it seems to me, should be substantiated by means of specific cases. Your Honor may prescribe the manner of recognition and the time for it. The temporalities are acquired, increased and conserved through the solicitude, vigilance and perseverance of the missionaries and the labor of the Indians almost without any help from the government.[13] Their management, their use, and their distribution is accounted for in the presence of the rightful owners according to justice. Their administration which the king has entrusted to us render our labors and hardships incomparably toilsome, but we submit to it in obedience to the will of the king, and because of the certain knowledge that such burden is necessary. Men without prejudice and partiality have come to that conclusion. His Excellency had to use his whole authority to make us accept the management of the temporalities in Lower California, where the missions at first were delivered to us without that burden.[14] Neither then nor since have we been told that we have in this run counter to any statute.

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[12] General Rengel to Fr. Lasuén, March 24, 1786; Fr. Lasuén to Comandante Joseph Ant. Rengel, "que no ha habido en el (presidio de San Francisco) iglesia, ni lugar decente que la supla." *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[13] "sin casi algun auxilio del gobierno." Really without any help.

"I do not know what to say on the subject of the vice-patronato, save that we are in a country where we are unable of demonstrating to the governor's satisfaction the recognition of the esteemed honor which fell to his worthy person. The king himself would understand the lack of those ceremonies. He would not be displeased, however, but rather edified, I believe, and he would rejoice to witness that what it is possible to do is done. Your Honor knows that we deal with a people whom we must teach to be men, and upon whom the king looks as upon sons. We are fulfilling the obligations which His Majesty imposed upon us, that we so dispose the Indians that later he may govern them as subjects. If you wish, Your Honor may prescribe rules, and you will see us submit to them readily. We know that Your Honor precludes the peril of greed or personal interest in those who are superintending the temporalities of the neophytes.

"In the third place the governor accuses us of refusing to sell mission products at the prices prescribed. In reply I say that I have the satisfaction to know that no one could point out to us such an enormous disorder. I have not done so and I know of no one who did. One Father in need of provisions for his own Indians, when requested by the governor to sell grain to the presidio which was also much in need, remarked to His Honor in respectful terms that under the circumstances the price ought to be raised. I was indignant, and wrote to him that he should help out the presidio as long as he could; that raising or lowering the price depended upon the governor, and that proposing it belonged to me. The governor, however, added two reales to the fanega. It does seem to me that the prices placed on grain are as low as the lowest point to which they can drop in time of abundance.

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[14] See vol. i, 348.

"The fourth complaint says that we do not furnish reports of the inventories of the temporalities, etc., as prescribed by the viceroy. The reports which each year go to the governor are the very same to a letter as those that the missionaries transmit to me and I to the College. They are the same with which Gov. Fages's predecessor, you in the comandancia, and King Carlos III himself were satisfied. The report of what is on hand and of what has been expended is sufficient to understand, with certainty, that in what exists and in what has been consumed the most scrupulous fidelity to the most just and reasonable wishes of the rightful owners, the Indians, has been observed. *We are not plantation overseers. We would not accept such a position.* As for ourselves, there is no distrust of one another. Itemized entries of what has been received or consumed have neither been necessary among us, nor are they compatible with our daily sacred duties.[15] Your Honor may decide, however; for we, who are banished from the rational world to this wilderness in order to increase the children of the holy Church of God and the subjects of the king, yield to everything that does not obstruct our efforts for those worthy ends.

"In the fifth and last place the governor complains that some of the friars embark for San Blas without the permit from him. To this I reply that when Gov. Neve ruled, a religious embarked with no more permission than that of his Superior. According to a decision of Viceroy Martin de Mayorga there exists no regulation prohibiting such action. Fr. Palóu departed in the very presence of Governor Fages without any objection on Fages's part. Later Viceroy Matias de Galvez [16] declared that the viceroy's permit must be procured in order to allow a religious to enter or to leave the territory. He also demanded that in case infirmity or any other just cause should make the change or the relief of a religious necessary, the circumstances or motive of such change must be presented to the viceroy by the Superiors. We have obeyed this instruction of the viceroy; but I must tell Your Honor that there is no religious ready to leave the College for the missions who may not feel seriously embarrassed thereby. Nothing will quiet them more effectually than the confidence that they can return when the climate or occupation does not agree with them.[17] If this liberty is suppressed there will necessarily be little consolation among us who are here, and greater will be the repugnance of those who are to succeed us. The three missionaries who have just arrived here[18] would not have come if this new resolution had not been concealed from them.

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[15] "They were not mere treasury officials to render itemized accounts of what had been done with each bushel of maize." (Bancroft, i, 403.) If Fages held his wife to such minute account, her open revolt is intelligible. Nevertheless, Fr. Lasuén's contention relates only to what was distributed among the Indians. With others and themselves they were exceedingly scrupulous in their accounts, as the books still extant show.

[16] He succeeded Mayorga on April 29, 1783.

"Moreover, what kind of infirmity is it that entitles to the permit? Which are the reasons and just causes that could prevent the granting of the license? Are we to stand lower than the soldiers who secure this comfort without having to depend upon such a distant resort? We who have been twenty and more years in the service, have we become undeserving of the favor which our Holy Father and our king have conceded for less time?[19]

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[17] This statement of Fr. Lasuén, as it stands, seems to reflect little credit on the missionary spirit of the great College of San Fernando. True missionaries for Christ's sake devote themselves to the conversion of heathen nations for life or until recalled. Climatic difficulties are not considered. They are willing to accept all the hardships involved. Martyrdom itself is one of the hopes. With this determination Fr. Serra, the early missionaries, and Fr. Lasuén himself, voluntarily entered upon their task. However, since Neve's rule the conditions had essentially changed. California was ceasing to be a missionary field. The government, in adopting Neve's Reglamento, degraded the friars to the level of mere chaplains, who, besides having to live alone contrary to their rules, possessed no means to attract or retain their converts, and had to submit to the gibes of insolent soldiers. For this kind of life, which was not missionary at all, the friars of San Fernando justly refused to volunteer.

[18] Fathers José Señan, Diego García, and José Calzada, who arrived on or about October 10. Gov. Fages to Fr. Lasuén, October 12, 1787. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

"The other points contained in the Expediente have been treated by Fr. Francisco Palóu, the Fr. Guardian of the San Fernando College. In them my immediate Superior speaks, and so it behooves me to be silent. Your Honor has the satisfaction that a person of the greatest reliability is there informing you on the subject. He merits entire belief because, apart from his character, he was many years occupied in these and other missions, and he has held the presidency of the missions of both Californias. I shall not add anything more than that I oppose and resist for myself especially in every way that I can oppose and resist the project of being alone at a mission.[20] I offer to submit to all manner of penalties, even to die in these parts as soon as my Superior so commands; but I am certain that there is no man who can convince me that I must subject myself to that solitude in this ministry. This plan seems either to have been repealed, or its enforcement has been abandoned. I therefore say no more; but I shall always speak out whenever this touches me."

Fr. Lasuén then continues: "I must not and will not meddle with government affairs,[21] much less inculpate it; but I must give Your Honor the information you ask. It is known that neither we without the troops nor the troops without us can well accomplish the conquest.[22] Be it as it may with regard to what is said about us in this controversy, I see that the troops do not apply themselves to what is serviceable. They occupy themselves with many things that materially turn them away from their chief object, and hinder the active protection of the territory. They are used to peace, and so almost entirely neglect all necessary precautions to preserve it. They have entirely lost the prudent fears of hostility so much in place where we are; and if an enemy should happen to approach, we shall inevitably have to suffer the most deplorable consequences of this unpreparedness. There is hesitation to furnish an escort of even one soldier when the missionary must make a long journey. Soldiers are detailed for the missions who are the least useful, the most disagreeable and poorly equipped; and, what is worse, for long periods they are left one or two men short of the prescribed number. Many of the soldiers who serve as guards at the missions have brought cattle and mules there which cause material damage, etc.

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[19] After ten years of service every missionary might retire.

[20] "Repugno y me resisto . . . al proyecto de estar solo en una mision." It was against their rules; and Fr. Guardian Pángua, writing to Fr. Serra, January 8, 1783, declared that any friar left alone might refuse to serve. *Sta. Barb. Arch.* What intense feeling the mere news of the innovation aroused among the friars may be inferred from the fact that seven or eight religious, nearly one-half of those in California, promptly asked to be retired. "Me han pedido hasta siete ú ocho, licencia para regresarse al Colegio." Fr. Pángua to Fr. Serra, January 8, 1783. *Sta. Barb. Archives.*

[21] in California.

[22] See Rev. Ugarte's opinion in vol. i, 177. Fr. Margíl, the Apostle of Texas and Guatemala, was wont to pray, "A militibus, libera nos Domine!" "From the soldiers, deliver us, O Lord."

"I asked the governor to permit more Indians the use of horses to guard the live stock of the missions. Immediately he replied that—only the viceroy could give that permission (as it was forbidden). It is evident that without mounted men, who in the missions, it cannot be otherwise, must be Indians, the missions lack an indispensable means to care for and utilize all their property and the fields.[23]

"Indians are frequently taken to the presidios when they kill an ox, a cow or a mule, and even for merely running away from the mission. They are held as prisoners, but in reality are peons. The missionaries are not notified of their whereabouts, and thus from cupidity the officials succeed in obtaining laborers without pay, which is to the prejudice of the missionary authority that has charge of them.[24] The same applies to the pueblos, especially San José near Santa Clara. There they employ gentiles of either sex. The conversion of these Indians is materially obstructed through bad example, scandals and by means of positive persuasion not to become Christians lest the colonists lose their services. Many excesses are thus caused which should be remedied.

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[23] Fages had found fault because neophytes were allowed to ride too much, whilst it was the policy of the government to discourage this, lest like the Apaches the Californians might become skillful warriors.

[24] "There is no doubt the military authorities did abuse their power in this direction with a view to get workmen free of cost." Bancroft, i, 406.

"The untimely and too formal introduction of alcaldes and regidores at the missions, and making them independent of the missionaries with regard to punishments and dismissal from office when they deserve it, makes these Indians indolent, insolent, abettors of vice, and accomplices of the vicious. When I was at San Diego the law was quoted to me which directs that the elections of alcades should take place under the supervision of curates. I agreed, but said that, inasmuch as there were no curates here, the law did not apply to missions. Besides, among the Indians there is none who can economically govern his own family, much less the political affairs of a pueblo. Hence at San Diego the nominations thereafter were given to those who had proved capable, but in entire subjection to the missionaries. They were instructed in the duties of their office and thus prepared for the time when the mission village should become a pueblo and should be turned over to the bishop. This method was successfully observed in the missions of the Sierra Gorda, Mexico.[25]

"The grain measure is another matter which is liable to cause much loss and confusion. I doubt not that the full measure as ordered by Felipe de Neve here at Monterey exceeds by one-third. For example, the full measure of a fanega of corn equals one and one-third fanega of wheat.

"Furthermore the government storekeepers generally refuse to furnish, in exchange for what they purchase from the missions, such goods as are useful to the Indians; also the prices charged are too high in proportion to those paid for mission products, etc." [26]

From this lengthy summary the attentive reader will without difficulty understand where the fault lay, and that Bancroft misrepresents the case when, in order to shield his favorite Neve, he tries to make the friars appear blameworthy for not yielding their own rights as well as those of the Indians to usurping officials.[27] The outcome, if justice was to decide, could not be doubtful. When the king was informed of Neve's hostile legislation, and long before he became aware of the present difficulties, he repealed the measures which were calculated to destroy the work of the missionaries. Writing to Fr. Lasuén, shortly after he had been elected guardian of San Fernando College, Fr. Palóu communicated the royal decision. It was as follows: "The point of the Reglamento which determined that the missions should have but one missionary was repealed, because it was unjust; nor was it the will of the king. It is the will of the king that we missionaries should be at the missions by twos.[28] It was likewise decided that both Fathers should have their stipends, and that the Fathers of a mission near a presidio *have no obligation to go and celebrate holy Mass at the presidio,* but that his Excellency would trasmit to me[29] a formal petition[30] which should represent that, since it was not possible to station chaplains at the presidios, the Fathers might go there to celebrate holy Mass when they found it convenient, but that for this service they should be compensated at the expense of the royal treasury.

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[25] See vol. i, 325; 434-435.

[26] Fr. Lasuén, *Informe*, October 20, 1787. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

"The result therefore is," Fr. Palóu closes his most interesting letter, "that in place of decreasing the stipends, as the author of the Reglamento and his heir in the projects, Gov.

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[27] See Bancroft, i, 407-408; 422.

[28] "Que quedaba abolido el punto de Reglamento que ponia que las misiones habian de estar aun solo ministro; que era no justo, ni era la voluntad del Rey, sino que estemos de dos, en dos, como tambien se declaraba que ambos estuviesen con sinodo y que los Padres de las misiones inmediatas á presidio no tenian obligacion de ir á decir Misa á los presidios; pero que me pasaria Su Excelencia un papel suplicatorio, etc."

[29] Fr. Palóu, the Fr. Guardian of the College.

[30] *Papel Suplicatorio.* A letter of communication which passed from one tribunal or judge to another of equal authority. This decision thus secured and emphasized the coordinate standing of the ecclesiastical authority with the civil, and military or secular authority, and repudiated the efforts of Neve, De Croix and Fages which allowed the priests in their sphere only a subordinate or menial existence. See vol. i, 458-459.

Fages, intended, they have been increased, and that there is nothing left him with which to cause you unpleasantness or to threaten you. They tell me that he will see how to behave himself, and that at the least complaint of the Fathers he will be deprived of his office and honors. In consideration of this it will be expedient that the Fathers near the presidios afford his Excellency, the viceroy, the pleasure, in case he should ask it,[31] since he looks so much to the welfare and consolation of the missionaries."[32]

The happy outcome of the controversy was a distinct triumph for the harassed friars in California, inasmuch as the royal decision set aside all that part of Neve's ill-conceived Reglamento which referred to the missions and missionaries. It demonstrated once more that the Spanish sovereigns generally sympathized with the cause of the Indians and their missionary guides, but that they were frequently deceived by their subordinates, who by reason of the great distance from the mother country thought it safe to run counter to the royal wishes. On receipt of the joyful news of their deliverance from the evils that had threatened their missions, the Fathers in California offered the most hearty thanksgiving to Heaven. With renewed courage they set to work trying to improve the Indians spiritually and corporally; and thereafter there was no lack of volunteers ready to devote themselves for life to the conversion of the savages who in great numbers still eked out a poor living in the mountains and deserts of California.

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[31] That is to say, offer holy Mass at the presidios.

[32] Fr. Palóu to Fr. Lasuén, August 16, 1786. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

CHAPTER II.

Power of Governor Fages.—Solér's Idiotic Report.—Fages's Report.—Civil and Military Authority Reunited.—Orders Issued to Found the Channel Missions.—Determination of the College.—Santa Barbara Mission Established.—Mission Purisima Concepcion Founded.—La Pérouse Visits San Carlos.—Trade Restrictions.—Voyages of Estévan Martinez.—Voyages to Nootka Sound.—Malaspina and Bustamante at San Carlos.—Other Sea Expeditions.—Nootka Ceded to England.—Fages Forbids Missionaries to Leave Without His Permit.—The Viceroy's Decision.

DON PEDRO FAGES, although governor of California, at first had jurisdiction over civil affairs only, and his salary was correspondingly lower than his predecessor's; for Felipe de Neve had appointed Captain Nicolas Solér inspector of the troops. Bancroft himself expresses surprise at this arrangement; but when we learn that Solér on the subject of missions thought very much like his former chief, the secret is explained. The inspector justified the confidence of Neve in this regard when in November 1787, at the request of the comandante-general, he gave his views on needed reforms in California. Bancroft admits that "the author was not a man overburdened with ideas, and such as he had were pretty effectually suffocated in a mass of unintelligible verbiage."

Solér began his report by saying, "I confess, Señor, that I have no head to present any project or circumstantial plan."[1] He then went on and proved that he had no head by making the following idiotic recommendations respecting the missions: "The natives have been neophytes long enough; they are fitted for civilized life, and the government has spent all the money on them that can be afforded. Spaniards should be granted lands at the missions, and the military escorts should be withdrawn from both missions and pueblos. Then the gentiles will be attracted by the good fortune of the old converts to follow their example, and the work of the priests would be thus simplified and promoted."

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[1] "which may be taken as a résumé of the whole document with its 35 articles." Bancroft, i, 394, note 13.

Fages also was directed to report. He, however, declared that "the natives are kept in order as neophytes only by the unremitting efforts of the friars, and are as yet wholly unfit to become citizens; . . . and finally that the introduction of Spanish settlers into the missions would interfere with the laws of the Indies which *provided that the mission lands are eventually to belong to the natives when they shall be fitted to profit by their possession.*"[2] Inasmuch as about this time the king himself had settled all questions that referred to the missions in favor of the existing order, no action was taken on the inspector's propositions.

The anomalous relations between Fages and Solér necessarily caused friction between the two, and this may have materially contributed to the irascibility which the governor at times displayed towards the missionaries. In a communication to Roméu Fages on December 21, 1782, writes, "The Reglamento keeps me in a chaos of confusion, since it supposes the government and the inspection united; but as the latter has been separated, I find myself very much embarrassed in my projects and measures in order not to make them impertinent and cause discord with the ayudante." [3] General Rengel on February 12, 1786, removed the cause for disputes by reuniting the duties of governor and of military inspector. When on August 8th the instructions arrived, Solér resumed his former post of adjutant-inspector. Even in this subordinate capacity he ventured to disagree with the governor to such an extent that on one occasion he was put under arrest at Monterey. Fages finally petitioned for the removal of Solér. The result was that the office of adjutant-inspector was abolished, the captain summoned to Arizpe in 1788, and made commander at Tucson, Arizona. He died there two years later. Strangely enough, after all his faultfinding he left California with a deficit of about $7000 in his own accounts. This amount he owed to the presidios. The debt had to be paid out of his half-pay after his death.[4]

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[2] Bancroft, i, 396.

[3] Bancroft, i, 393.

[4] Bancroft, i, 397-398.

Preparations were at last made to establish the oft-mentioned Channel Missions, Santa Barbara and Purisima Concepcion. A month before Fr. Serra passed out of this world, July 27th, he received from Fages the copy of a letter which General Neve had written on April 1, 1784, and which doubtless was the result of viceroyal intervention. It read as follows: "Informed by your communication of December 5th last about the advantages which the site called Montecito offers, and which is but a short distance from the presidio of Santa Barbara, for establishing a mission of the same name, I consent that it be effected in such a way as not to offend the gentile Indians. You will see that they are treated with the greatest gentleness and sweetness lest this foundation be repugnant to them. You will carefully avoid giving the least occasion for pain to them. I give you this information in order that you observe it punctually; and I charge you that the land which may be selected to locate the mission be to the satisfaction of the religious."[5]

Under other circumstances this news would have cheered the venerable old man; but coming from Neve the suspicion was justified that the ex-governor might want to entrap the missionaries into starting the system which he had embodied in his Reglamento. Then this harping on "sweetness and kindness towards the gentiles" was uncalled-for and sounded offensive from that source. Neve himself had not exhibited those qualities towards the self-sacrificing Fathers and their converts from paganism. His sympathy with the work of leading gentiles to Christianity was therefore exceedingly doubtful, inasmuch as he had rendered it so difficult, nay impossible, to accomplish the task, and that, too, in the face of the well-known royal will, and while the friars were actually securing the territory for the Spanish crown. Moreover, the College of San Fernando had as yet not forwarded instructions to proceed, so that in view of the prohibition the Fr. Presidente could take no steps towards realizing his own wishes with regard to Mission Santa Barbara.

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[5] *Santa Barbara Archives.*

The viceroyal government, however, continued to manifest anxiety for the founding of the two missions, lest the king should be offended. General José Rengel, Neve's successor ad interim, on March 9, 1785,[6] directed Governor Fages to proceed at once with the founding of Mission Santa Barbara at the place called Montecito, as instructions had been issued to pay the $1000 required to erect the buildings, etc. On September, 30, 1785, Fages accordingly notified Fr. Lasuén that in company of Fr. Vicente de Santa Maria of San Buenaventura he had explored the Montecito site three-fourths of a league from the presidio, and had found it suitable for a mission; he hoped that the Fr. Presidente would immediately move to establish the mission since two new Fathers had arrived. As the Fr. Guardian had not united in the order, Fr. Lasuén replied that the work as yet could not be undertaken, though that same year the College had sent two more Fathers, Miguel Giribet and Juan Mariner. They merely took the places of others who were retiring.[7]

At last, April 1, 1786, Fr. Guardian Sancho informed Fr. Lasuén that by order of Viceroy Matías de Galvez he had sent six religious who had volunteered in order to make possible the founding of Mission Santa Barbara. "I must remind you, however, that said mission must be established on a site most in accordance with the conditions which the royal instructions prescribe,[8] *and after the method in temporal as well as spiritual things which from the beginning of the conquest has been observed and is observed in the other missions already founded.* If, nevertheless, they proceed in opposition to the said directions, so that they want to establish a new method entirely contrary to that which is observed in the missions already

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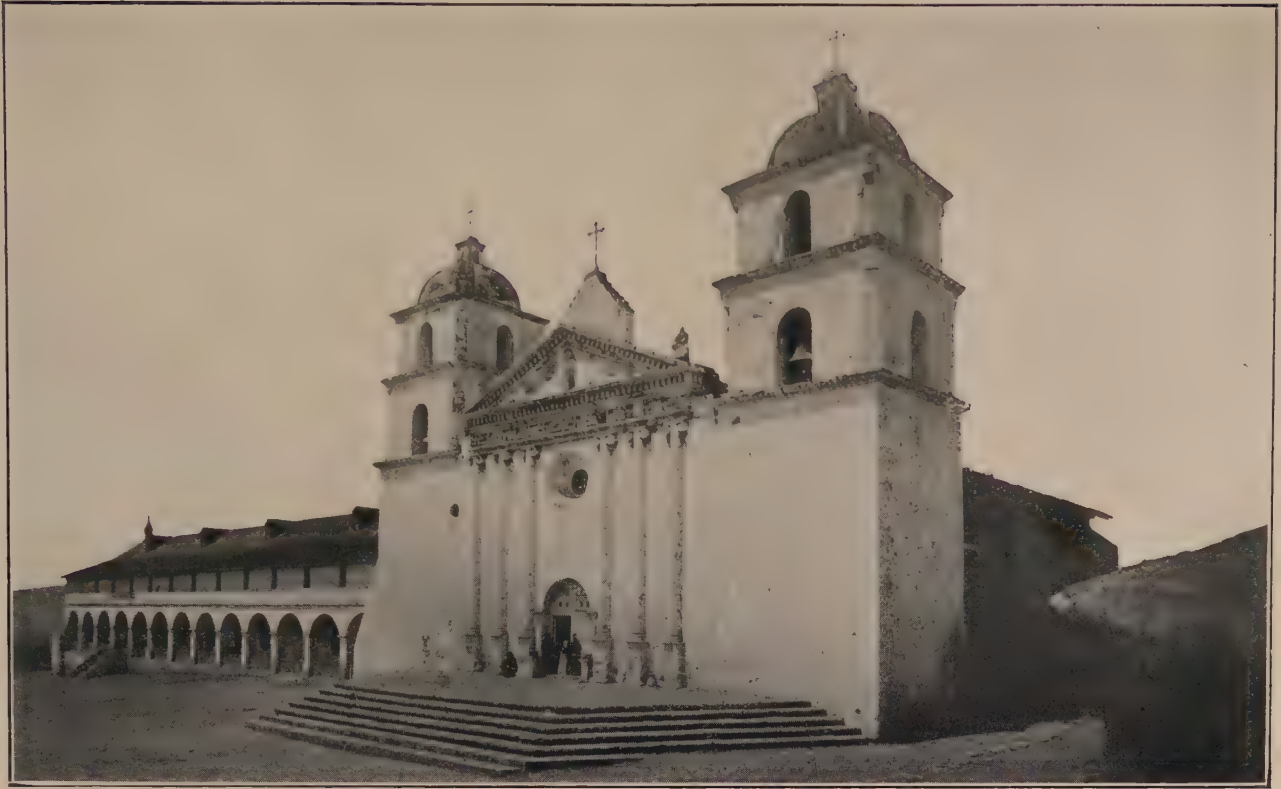
[6] Reluctantly Bancroft, i, 447-488, confesses, "Whether his (Neve's) system or any other possible system could have been successful, considering the character of the Indians, I seriously doubt." Unbiased men have had no doubts about the efficiency of the mission system and the inadequacy of Neve's plan, even supposing no bad faith in the latter.

[7] *Santa Barbara Archives;* Bancroft, i, 422.

[8] i. e. sufficient good land, water, and timber in a populous Indian country.



X. MISSION SANTA BARBARA, FOUNDED DECEMBER 4, 1786

founded, as they have attempted in the two missions on the Rio Colorado, Your Reverence will resist such innovation, and you will not furnish the religious for the founding under the new system until further orders."[9] Eight days later Fr. Sancho wrote, "for the founding of Mission Santa Barbara it is necessary that all the missions willingly aid by donating live stock and all kinds of seeds."[10]

Fr. Lasuén must have received the assurance from the governor that there would be no meddling with the work of the Fathers, for he came down from San Carlos in company of Fr. Cristóbal Oramas and another Father[11] to execute the wishes of the viceroy and of the comandante-general. In the afternoon of December 4, 1786, the feast of St. Barbara, Virgin and Martyr, he raised and blessed the great Cross which marked the site of the future mission. The spot selected was called Pedregoso. Governor Fages on October 17th, had been invited by the commander of the presidio to be present at the ceremonies. He failed to arrive, but sent word that the formal founding should be suspended until he appeared.[12] For this reason Fr. Lasuén refrained from celebrating holy Mass. The governor reached Santa Barbara on the 14th. On the 16th of December Fr. Presidente Lasuén in a brushwood shelter sang the High Mass and preached in the presence of Gov. Fages. The mission was thus formally declared founded, but the 4th of December has always been reported and regarded as the day of the founding. Fr. Antonio Paterna, till then at San Luis Obispo, and Fr. Cristóbal Orámas, a new-comer, were appointed the first missionaries.[13]

The third Channel mission, Purisima Concepcion, was founded near the south bank of the Santa Rosa, now Santa

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[9] "se opondrá V. R. á la tal novedad, y no dará Religiosos para la fundacion con el metodo nuevo hasta otra orden." *Sta. Barb. Archives.*

[10] Fr. Sancho to Fr. Lasuén, April 9, 1786. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[11] Doubtless Fr Paterna of San Luis Obispo.

[12] "El hecho mismo de fundar y la fabrica de alguna habitacion ó resguardo se nos prohibe por Señor Gobernador hasta que venga aca Su Señoria."

[13] Fr. Lasuén to Ugarte, December 11, 1786; Ugarte to Fr. Lasuén, April 12, 1787. *Sta. Barb. Arch.; Santa Barbara Mission Records.*

Inés River. Fr. Lasuén performed the ceremonies on Saturday, December 8, 1787. Fr. Vicente Fuster of San Juan Capistrano and Fr. José Arroita, a new-comer, were stationed there as the first missionaries. The site is within the limits of the present city of Lómpoc, Santa Barbara County.[14]

The next few years were a comparatively uneventful period for the missions. The missionaries, now unmolested by government officials, zealously devoted themselves to the conversion of the savages and the advancement of the converts with much success; but we must leave the details to another volume. In this chapter we have to take note of maritime affairs.

The first intercourse of the Californians with the subjects of a foreign power occurred in September, 1786, when the navigator Jean Francois Galaup de la Pérouse reached Monterey. He had sailed from Brest, France, on August 11, 1785, with the frigate *La Boussole.* He was accompanied by the frigate *L'Astrolabe* in charge of M. de Langle. The object of the expedition was to make scientific investigations.[15] Both vessels entered the bay of Monterey in the evening of September 14th.[16] They had been expected, and, as the Spanish transports *La Princesa* and *La Favorita* happened to be in port, the Frenchmen received a royal welcome. "The Fathers from Mission San Carlos," Pérouse writes, "invited us to dine with them, and promised to make us acquainted in detail with their mission system, the Indian manner of living, their arts, their customs, and in general with everything that might interest the curiosity of travelers. We eagerly accepted the offer." [17] M. de Langle, observing the laborious manner in which the women reduced the grain to meal, made them a present of a hand-mill, by means of which four women might produce the same amount that without the machine required the toil of one hundred. Pérouse also, in return for the hospitality and information accorded him, sent to the missionaries various articles, such as cloth, beads, tools of iron, etc. The gardener belonging to the frigates presented the Fathers with some fine specimens of potatoes from Chile. "They were in a state of perfect preservation," La Pérouse observes, "and are likely to prove hereafter of great utility to the inhabitants of this region." [18] On the 24th of September the French vessels departed directly for China.[19]

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[14] *Records of Mission Purisima.*

[15] La Pérouse, *Voyage,* tom. ii, cap. i, 10.

[16] La Pérouse, tom. ii, cap. xi, 258.

[17] La Pérouse, tom. ii, cap. xi, 260. Fr. Lasuén to La Pérouse, September 18, 1786. *Sta Barb. Arch.* Of Fr. Lasuén La Pérouse writes: "Le Pére Firmín de Lasuén, président des missions de la nouvelle Californie, est un des hommes les plus estimables et les plus respectables que j'yae jamais rencontrés; sa douceur sa charité, son amour pour les Indiens sont inexprimables." P. 267.

The Philippine galleon, which once a year made the voyage from Manila to Mexico,[20] was required to stop at Monterey where she received supplies at the expense of the royal treasury; but all trade with the vessel by the missionaries or by private persons was strictly forbidden by the government. A missionary and other persons in 1784 were accused of having gone aboard and brought away four bales of goods, despite the prohibition. On November 15th Governor Fages made inquiries. Fr. Noriega in December, 1785, however, denied that any trading had been done between the mission and the galleon.[21] Forbes, and many others, bitterly complained of this state of things. "The Spanish system of exclusion and restrictions on all foreign trade with their possessions in America is well known," says Forbes, "but it is remarkable that the duties and restrictions on their own coasting trade were also most oppressive. The reason for this is quite incomprehensible, as it bore only on the subjects of Spain and could hardly be supposed to promote their leading principle, namely, to favor the trade of the mother country." [22] The reasons urged against free trade with the Philippine ship as given by Soler and Fages were, that the soldiers received better goods and at fairer prices by obtaining the goods from Mexico through the regular transports; that as the galleon could not touch at all the ports a monopoly and inequality would result; that the soldiers by becoming traders would neglect their regular duties; that avarice and pride would be engendered in California; that the China goods were not fitted for California trade, and that there was no money to pay for them.[23] There is no doubt, however, that the missions would have been greatly benefited if they could have bartered their products for useful foreign goods.

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[18] La Pérouse, tom. ii, cap. xi, 267; 281.

[19] La Pérouse, tom. ii, cap. xi, 283. With regard to his strictures see Appendix I.

[20] See vol. i, 32-33.

[21] Bancroft, i, 442.

[22] Forbes, *California*, 289.

Every year two of the four transports arrived from San Blas with supplies for the presidios and missions; one usually visited San Diego and Santa Barbara while the other brought her freight to San Francisco and Monterey. *La Favorita* from 1783 to 1790 made five trips; *La Princes*a and the *San Carlos* or *Filipino* each made four trips; the *Aranzazú* made the voyage three times.[24]

As the Spanish government at this period feared danger from the Russians for its dominions, Viceroy Manuel de Flores, determined to send an expedition to the northwest coast for the purpose of ascertaining the truth about the trade and settlements of the Russians and other foreign nations in that part of the continent. The corvette *La Princesa,* commanded by Estévan Martínez, who had been the pilot in the voyage of Juan Pérez in 1774, and the schooner *San Carlos* under Lieutenant Gonzálo de Haro, set sail at San Blas on March 8, 1788. On May 25th they anchored at the entrance of Prince William's Sound. On August 30th they arrived at Unalaska, the largest of the Aleutian Islands. They tarried there until the 18th of September, when they began the return voyage. Haro sailed directly for San Blas and arrived there on October 22nd, whilst Martínez with the *Princesa* entered the port of Monterey for supplies. Martínez reached San Blas on December 5th.[25]

Viceroy de Flores in the following year sent the same officers with the same vessels directly to Nootka Sound with instructions to allow no settlements to be made on the adjacent coasts by other nations. Without touching California Martínez reached Nootka Sound on May 6, 1789, and caused considerable excitement by the seizure of English vessels. Nor did Martínez stop at any of the ports on his return voyage. When he arrived at San Blas in December, 1789, he was deprived of his command. In the spring of 1790 Captain Francisco Elisa was put in charge of a small fleet consisting of the *Princesa* commanded by himself, the *San Carlos* in charge of Lieutenant Salvadór Fidalgo, and the captured sloop *Princess Royal* under Lieutenant Manuel Quimper, with orders to establish a permanent post on Nootka Sound at Friendly Cove. This establishment Spain maintained, and she sent supplies regularly from San Blas until March, 1795, when she abandoned her claim to that part of the coast. The transports often stopped at Monterey. Under Elisa's directions Lieutenant Fidalgo in the *San Carlos* explored the coast as far as Cook's Inlet, where he spent nearly three months engaged in surveying and in visiting the Russian settlements. Owing to a lack of provisions he sailed back and arrived at San Blas on November 14, 1790. Lieutenant Quimper meanwhile made an examination of the Strait of Juan de Fuca to a distance of one hundred miles from its mouth.[26]

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[23] It will be remembered that the government furnished all the goods from San Blas at its own price, and so enjoyed a monopoly.

[24] Bancroft, i, 444.

[25] Greenhow, 183-187; Bancroft, i, 444; 505; Hittell, i, 682-684.

Captain Elisa was still at Nootka when on August 13, 1791, a Spanish expedition consisting of the corvettes *Descubierta* or *Santa Justa* under Captain Alexandro Malaspina, and *Atrevida* or *Santa Rufina* under Captain Joseph de Bustamante y Guerra arrived on the coast between Mount Jacinto or Edgecumbe and Nootka Sound. They had sailed from Cádiz, Spain, on July 30, 1789, and from Acapulco on May 1, 1791. Their main object was to determine the question as to the existence of the Strait of Anian, the supposed passage from their Pacific to the Atlantic. Incidentally they took occasion to make other scientific investigations. On the return voyage both commanders on September 13th ran their vessels into Monterey Bay and remained twelve days. They also paid a visit to Mission San Carlos, but came away with impressions very much different from those that La Pérouse saw fit to report about the missions. The enemies of the friars have made much of this report on the ground that La Pérouse was a Catholic. To what class of Catholics he belonged will appear elsewhere,[27] and with that the argument loses its force.

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[26] Greenhow, 187-222; Bancroft, i, 505; Hittell, i, 682-92.

There is no doubt about the undiluted Catholicity and the sense of justice of Captains Malaspina and Bustamante. In reply to a joint letter of both commanders [28] Fr. Presidente Lasuén could write, "Your Honors and your officers and sailors have conducted yourselves here in the midst of Christians and pagans in a way which surely must contribute towards the spiritual and temporal progress of the Indians, a result which Your Honors desire and which this conquest promises. Your Christian conduct, your incomparable esteem and attention for the poor Friars Minor, of necessity must inspire in all that witnessed it a particular appreciation of that which is preached to them and of that which is taught them." [29]

Alexandro Malaspina

In their letter Malaspina and Bustamante expressed the wish that "we shall have the pleasure that the nation (Spanish) will some day not ignore the good that results to itself, because of the temporal honor and spiritual benefit, from the apostolic zeal with which Your Reverences help to carry out the intentions of the king, and add to the happiness of these barbarous tribes." Thus these gentlemen recognized that the happiness of the savages must be effected through genuine Christianity assisted by industry, and not through inane French philosophic notions as La Pérouse and Neve proposed.

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[27] See Appendix I.

[28] Carta, September 21, 1791. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[29] Fr. Lasuén to Malaspina, September 23, 1791. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

While the Spaniards tarried at Monterey until the 25th of September, the missionaries encouraged the Indians to assist the scientists of the expedition to collect a great many specimens for their respective departments. In token of gratitude the commanders, officers and scientific men, nineteen from the *Descubiérta* and sixteen from the *Atrevída,* signed a paper nothing the office of each person. This they sent to Fr. Lasuén with a substantial donation.[30] The signers were Spaniards with the exception of Malaspina, who was an Italian, one Italian ensign, one of the botanists, Tadeo Haenek, who seems to have been a German or a Bohemian, and another ensign. Jacobo Murphy, who evidently was an Irishman. The latter sailed on the *Atrevída.* As usual with Spanish seafaring vessels, each ship had a chaplain, Rev. José de Mesa on the *Descubiérta* and Rev. Francisco de Paula Añino on the *Atrevída.*[31] From Monterey the expedition sailed south and reached San Blas on October 9th.[32]

Viceroy Revilla Gigedo in 1792 sent three other ships to continue the explorations on the northwest coast. The frigate *Aranzazú* in command of Captain Jacinto Caamaño sailed from San Blas on March 20th. She arrived at Nootka Sound on May 14th and then proceeded in search of the Rio de Reyes. Returning she stopped at Monterey on October 22nd. The schooner *Sutil,* in charge of Lieutenant Dionísio Alcalá Galiano, and the schooner *Mexicana* under Lieutenant Cayetano Valdés put to sea at Acapulco on March 8th. They reached Nootka in May and hastened to make their survey of the Strait of Fuca as ordered. On the downward course they remained at Monterey from September 22nd to October 26, 1792. With one of these vessels went Captain Bodéga y

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[30] *Nota de los Oficiales,* September 20, 1791. *Sta. Barb. Arch.* For Malaspina's map of Monterey Bay, see sect. 1, chap. iii.

[31] Le Pêrouse reports no chaplains on his ships. This of itself is significant, and explains why the Frenchman lauded Neve's system. Religion with that class of men is of not sufficient importance to be taken into account. The United States Government, on the other hand, finds it beneficial for the service to employ chaplains for both the army and navy.

[32] Greenhow, 222-223; Bancroft, i, 490-491; Hittell, i, 690-692.

Quadra [33] in order to treat with the English commissioners for the restoration of lands and buildings claimed by the British.[34]

Chaplains generally accompanied these expeditions. In this capacity some of the friars took passage as far as Monterey, where they were assigned to a mission. One of them, Fr. José de la Cruz Espí, at least once, before 1792, made the voyage to Nootka.[35] In July, 1793, Fr. Espí and Fr. Magín Catalá arrived at Monterey on the *Aranzazú*. Fr. Catalá continued the voyage to Nootka and stayed there until June of the following year, while his companion was given his post at Mission San Antonio. On July 2, 1794, he returned to Monterey on the *Aranzazú,* which entered the bay to procure supplies for Nootka. She was in command of Captain Juan Kendrick, who in 1787 had sailed from Boston in command of the *Columbia,* the first American ship that visited the northwest coast.[36] Kendrick brought a letter from Ramón A. Saavedra, commissioner of transport and exploring ships at Nootka, to Governor Arrillaga. It was dated June 15, 1794, and in it the commissioner asked that another chaplain be procured in the place of Fr. Catalá, who had orders to remain in California. The difficulty was settled in accordance with Fr. Catalá's advice. A secular priest, Rev. José Gómez, who had come up from Mexico on the *Concepcion,* accepted the post of chaplain on the *Aranzazú,* and Fr. Bartolomé Gilí, a retiring Franciscan, took the place of Rev. José Gómez on the *Concepcion* when she sailed for Mexico.[37] Nootka, however, was ceded to the English in March, 1795. This put an end to Spanish voyages to the northwest coast.[38]

It has already been stated that, owing to the rare appearance of the packet boats, it sometimes took a whole year for an official communication to pass from California to Mexico or from the capital to Monterey. That explains how Governor Fages in 1788 could once more attempt to make the missionaries appear subject to his good pleasure in their going and coming, though the question had been settled thirteen months before. He refrained from molesting the Franciscans, but on April 17th instructed Lieutenant-Governor José Joaquin de Arrillaga of Lower California not to permit any Dominican to leave the peninsula without the license from the governor.[39] Arrillaga notified the Dominican Presidente, Fr. Miguel Hidalgo, on June 23rd. Fr. Hidalgo knew his rights and feared not to assert them. On the same day he replied: "Though I needed not the license of the governor, I thought it expedient to send you this communication in order to prevent an outburst of passion or at least a wrong impression. In truth, what other idea do such inconsiderate expressions convey to us than that Your Honor disregards the just reasons which may arise for changing a religious from one country to another? . . . The king prescribes by the laws of the Recopilacion that when a missionary has completed his ten years' service he may retire at pleasure;[40] that if a priest destined to preach peace, in place of leading souls to God ruins them by his bad example, or is altogether useless to the missions, he shall be retired from the service; and that the sick missionaries should be attended and every consolation and relief should be procured for them. Your Honor has sent many soldiers to the opposite shore for the same reasons without scruples. We too may have to face the same predicament. His Majesty has ordained that the missionaries should be accorded all the favors and respect to which their character and apostolic office entitles them; but Gov. Fages in his instructions assumes an authority which he does not possess when he forbids the missionaries to put into effect these and other laws of the monarch. On the contrary, it seems a real abuse of power; for who has the right to prefer the orders of a mere subordinate to the laws of the sovereign? The prudent consideration of our sovereign dissipates the just complaints which frequently arise in these territories against the civil and military chiefs who disregard the royal laws that govern us, and by obtruding their own notions occasion such a variety of regulations on one and the same subject, as I have experienced especially concerning the retirement of missionaries who have served many years, etc." [41]

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[33] The discoverer of Bodega Bay, then commander at San Blas.

[34] Greenhow, 231-232; 239-241. Banc., i, 506-509; 523; Hittell, i, 692-693.

[35] Fr. Pángua to Fr. Lasuén, November 21, 1792. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[36] Greenhow, 179-181; Banc., i, 445; Hittell, i, 543. *The Columbia* reached Nootka on September 17, 1788.

[37] Engelhardt, *The Holy Man of Santa Clara,* 17-21.

[38] Greenhow, 256-257; Bancroft, i, 524; Hittell, i, 709.

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[39] *Archbishop's Archives,* No. 32.

[40] "que cumplido el decenio quede al beneplacito del misionero su retiro."

Arrillaga transmitted Fr. Hidalgo's protest to Governor Fages, who received it on October 22, 1788, and thereupon authorized the lieutenant-governor to grant the license in order to avoid the great delay which application to Monterey occasioned. Perhaps Fages based his former order on the decision of Ramon de Posada, fiscal of the royal treasury in Mexico. This official on April 23, 1787, declared that the governor should know which friars come to or go from California.[42] When notified Fr. Guardian Francisco Palóu once more called the attention of the viceroy to the incongruity.[43] Archbishop Alonso Nuñez de Haro y Peralta, temporary viceroy, thereupon put an end to all future gubernatorial assumptions on the subject by deciding as follows: "This Superior Government, and not the governor of California, is the one authority which must know the religious of this College who go to or come from the missions of the peninsula." [44]

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[41] Fr. Hidalgo to Arrillaga, June 23, 1788. *Archb. Arch.*, No. 32b; see also vol. i, p. 573.

[42] Posada, *Declaracion*, April 23, 1787. *Archb. Arch.*, No. 30.

[43] Fr. Palóu to Viceroy Peralta, May 18, 1787. *Archb. Arch.*, No. 29.

[44] "Este Superior Gobierno, y no el gobernador de California, es quien debe saber los Religiosos de ese Apostolico Colegio, que vayan y vengan á las misiones de la peninsula." Archbishop-Viceroy Peralta to Fr. Palóu, May 27, 1787. *Archb. Arch.*, No. 31.

CHAPTER III.

Mission Reports Demanded.—Fr. Lasuén's Report.—Teaching Christian Doctrine.—Retiring Missionaries Rewarded.—Troops and Colonists.—Death of King Carlos III.—Governmental Changes in Mexico.—Revilla Gigedo Orders Founding of Two Missions.—Fr. Lasuên's Circular.—Missions of Santa Cruz and Soledad Established.—Fr. Lasuén Receives Faculty to Give Confirmation.—Fages Resigns.—Roméu's Arrival and Death.—Arrillaga Succeeds.—California Restored to the Jurisdiction of the Viceroy.

As early as April 30, 1772, the viceroyal council decreed that the missionaries of California should send annual reports on the state of their missions to the governor, who was directed to forward them to the capital, whence they were transmitted to Madrid. For want of a formula these reports lacked uniformity; some were meager others prolix according to the character of the individuals who reported. In order to insure uniformity and clearness Viceroy Bucareli on February 19, 1776, laid down certain rules which formed the basis for all reports down to the end of 1834.[1]

Fr. Presidente Serra on September 6, 1777,[2] sent a sample formula to Mission San Antonio. This was adopted by all the Fathers in Upper California. It called for information under the following heads: Name of the Mission; Geographical Location; Distance from the Next Mission; Names of the Missionaries in Charge; Amount of Annual Stipends; Number of Baptisms from the Beginning, Deaths, Marriages; Number of Neophytes at the Mission; Number of Cattle, Sheep, Goats, Horses, Mules, Swine; Number of Fanégas of Wheat, Barley, Corn, Beans, Peas, Lentils, Garbanzos. The Fathers at each mission filled out the blanks and returned them to the Fr. Presidente. The Fr. Presidente prepared three copies of the general report. One of these went to the governor for transmission to the viceroy, one was sent to the College, and the third was deposited in the archives of the Fr. Presidente. The first "Informe Anual," as the general report after the prescribed method was called, is dated December 31, 1783. The officials in Mexico continued to urge the utmost exactness and completeness in the statements in order to convince the king that the missionaries were doing effective and successful work. The Spanish sovereign wanted especially complete returns on the spiritual state of the missions, such as the number of the Baptisms. On this point the Fr. Guardian instructed the friars to be explicit, "for it is this which sounds best in the Court of Heaven as well as at the Court of Madrid."[3] The Most Rev. Fr. Manuel M. Truxillo, Commissary-General of the Indies, finally commanded under holy obedience and in severe terms that the College of San Fernando should furnish exact reports about itself and the state of its missions for the information of the royal court.[4]

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[1] *Sta. Barb. Arch.* See vol. i, 461, 583-585.

[2] *Santa Barbara Archives.*

A royal decree of March 21, 1787, in addition demanded biennial reports. In these the king wanted information about the number of missionaries at each mission, the amount of stipends they received from the Pious Fund or from elsewhere, the number of male and female Indians, and the whole number of neophytes at each mission. At the close of the report the difference between the preceding returns was to be stated. Also the number of boys and girls under nine years of age was to be given. The Fr. Presidente was requested to draw up a summary, describe the newly-erected buildings and other improvements and note everything of interest at each mission, including the names of the friars who arrived and departed.[5] Whatever may have been the cause of the delay, the viceroy's first call for this biennial report was not issued until October 22, 1794, and it reached California early in 1795.[6]

In obedience to the demand for minute statements, Fr. Lasuén on December 31, 1789, reported in the following manner:

Missions. There are these eleven from south to north: San Diego, San Juan Capistrano, San Gabriel, San Buenaventura,

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[3] "pues esto es lo que mas suena en la Corte asi de Gloria como en la de Madrid." Fr. Palóu to Fr. Lasuén, July 12, 1786. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[4] Fr. Truxillo to the College, November 26, 1788. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[5] *Santa Barbara Archives.*

[6] Viceroy Flores to General Ugarte, September 9, 1787; Ugarte to Fr. Lasuén, March 14, 1789. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

Santa Barbara, Purisima Concepcion, San Luis Obispo, San Antonio, San Carlos, Santa Clara, and San Francisco.

Missionaries. There are two at each mission, except San Francisco, which has three. The name of each one is given.

Converts. Seven thousand three hundred and five neophytes live at the eleven missions. San Antonio with 1064 stands at the head; Purisima Concepcion, the last established, has the fewest, one hundred and fifty-one.

Children, boys and girls under nine years of age, number 2176. Santa Clara with 439 holds the first place; Purisima with thirty-five takes the last place.

Names of Tribes Reduced. "Among the tribes discovered there is not one from which there are not some converts," Fr. Lasuén writes. So far the proper name of the nation has not been ascertained. With regard to languages, seventeen or eighteen seem to be spoken between San Francisco and San Diego.

Names of Adjoining Tribes. "The country to the interior has not yet been much explored; but the savages there in their habits correspond to the Indians of the coast. It seems they speak different languages."

Location. The latitude is given for each mission from San Diego in 32 degrees and 42 minutes to San Francisco in 37 degrees and 56 minutes, a distance of five degrees and fourteen minutes.

Distance from the College. From Mexico to San Blas overland two hundred leagues; from San Blas to San Diego by sea three hundred leagues; and from San Diego to San Francisco by the road first discovered about two hundred and ten leagues; but now by a shorter road about 180 or 190 leagues.

Stipends Allowed by the King. The king assigned two missionaries for each mission, and allows for each one $400 a year, which for the twenty-two Fathers amounts to $8,800.[7]

Aid Furnished by the College. The College receives the stipends for the missionaries, and with them purchases the Memorias or list of articles desired by the individual friar, and attends to the transportation of the goods to San Blas and thence to California.

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[7] About one-third must be subtracted for freight charges.

Baptisms. From the year 1769 to this year 1789 as many as 11,650 persons were baptized.

Deaths. During the same period 4180 persons died.

Marriages Blessed in the Church. During the same period 2479 marriages were blessed. San Carlos with 393 couples stands at the head; Purisima, the last mission founded only two years ago, recorded thirty-seven couples.

Indians Living at the Missions. At the close of December, 1789, the eleven missions cared for 7305 neophytes. The difference between the number of baptized persons and the number of those living at the missions, after subtracting the dead, accounts for the runaways and for the white people who received Baptism at the missions.[8]

In a special report Fr. Lasuén at the end of 1790 informs Comandante-General Ugarte that the number of Baptisms had reached 12,877, and that 8528 neophytes made their home with the missionaries. "Of these all five or six years old and more," he continues his interesting report, "are every day instructed in church on the Christian Doctrine, one of the missionaries, or in his presence a well trained Indian, reciting the Doctrina with them. This is done once in the morning during holy Mass before their breakfast, and again in the evening before supper. On many days the Doctrina is recited twice more with the boys and girls at the parlor of the mission, that is to say, once in the morning and once in the afternoon at a convenient hour. This instruction is given alternately in their respective idiom and in Spanish. The young learn the instructions well; those of middle age acquire what is sufficient; but those of advanced age barely learn the rudiments with much difficulty.

"All attend holy Mass every day, and they are already aware that he who absents himself on days of obligation deserves punishment. Most of the adults[9] confess once a year; many receive holy Communion, and there are always some who receive the Sacraments twice and three times a year. They also assist with fair devotion at the other religious functions, at the Rosary on Sundays and other feast-days of the year. In the frequent disagreements, which necessarily happen at all hours among so many people entirely dependent upon the care of us missionaries in spiritual and temporal things, we fail not to instruct them in their Christian duties. We already note that these neophytes gradually appreciate their Faith and baptismal character, and that they are making the progress that could be expected from their capacity and from the time since which they have become Christians. The sick, even when they happen to be very far from the mission, as a rule, show much concern and anxiety to make their confession. At the hour of death, generally, they manifest very good and even admirble sentiments regarding our holy Religion. Thanks be to God! Likewise many pagans, who live far from the mission, when they are sick, are accustomed to send for the missionary in order to be baptized. Since the 14th of July, 1790, to this day, February 28, 1791, 4329 persons have been confirmed.[10] With those confirmed before 1788 by Fr. Serra the number of all confirmed in California is 9638."[11]

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[8] Fr. Lasuén, *Informe,* 1789. *Santa Barbara Archives.*

[9] Those nine years old and over were regarded as adults.

Touched by the numerous proofs of self-denial which the missionaries evinced in their efforts to convert and maintain the Indians, the king thought it proper that those who retired after a service of ten years should receive some mark of appreciation. "His Majesty," Fr. Lucas de Córdoba, Secretary-General of the Indies, writes to the Fr. Guardian of San Fernando, "after consulting with the Supreme Council of the Indies, on October 29, 1789, commanded that all the religious who labored in the apostolic ministry of the Indies, shall be rewarded and distinguished in a very particular manner as soon as they retire to their mother provinces. The prelates of these provinces will have to qualify and admit their merits as though they had actually attained them within the limits of the provinces of this dominion."[12] This apparently just measure was of very doubtful value. For the missionary colleges it was not beneficial, because it would tempt those friars, who had not yet succeeded in smothering ambition, to return to the provinces instead of devoting their lives to missionary work. There were other drawbacks which will be pointed out in their place.

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[10] Fr. Lasuên had received the faculty to confirm.

[11] Fr. Lasuén, *Informe,* February 28, 1791. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[12] Fr. Córdoba to the Fr. Guardian, Madrid, December 23, 1789. *Sta. Barbara Arch.*

As this chapter brings us to the close of Governor Fages's term, we may here also cast a glance at the state of the troops and colonists in California at this period. There were four garrisons, San Diego, Santa Barbara, Monterey, and San Francisco. San Diego from the year 1781 was in command of Lieutenant José de Zúñiga, who as habilitado also kept the company accounts. The presidial force consisted of the lieutenant, one alférez or ensign or sub-lieutenant, one sergeant, five corporals, and forty-six soldiers. Six of the men were assigned to duty as guards at each of the three missions in the district, San Diego, San Juan Capistrano, and San Gabriel, while four served at Los Angeles. This left the two higher officers, one sergeant, and about twenty-five soldiers to garrison the fort, care for the horses and small herd of cattle, and carry the mail. The latter duty weighed heaviest upon the soldiers in time of peace. Every week or every two weeks small parties of soldier-couriers arrived from Loreto or Monterey with despatches for the officials and letters for the missionaries. Besides the military a carpenter and a blacksmith were constantly employed at the presidio. A few servants, mostly Indians, completed the list of male adults. Every Sunday and holyday of obligation one of the Fathers came from the mission two leagues up the river to celebrate holy Mass for the troops and their families. The whole white population of the military district did not exceed two hundred and twenty souls.

At Santa Barbara the force in command of Lieutenant José Francisco Ortega numbered from fifty to fifty-four privates, two corporals, two or three sergeants, and one alférez. Ortega held the position until January, 1784, when Lieutenant Felipe de Goycoechea took his place. Fifteen of the men, later ten, were stationed at San Buenaventura, fifteen at Purisima Concepcion, from three to six at Mission Santa Barbara, and two generally at Los Angeles. The white population of the military district amounted to about two hundred and twenty souls.

At Monterey the regulations called for a company of fifty-two men under a lieutenant and an alférez. A guard of six soldiers was kept at each of the missions of San Carlos, San Antonio, and San Luis Obispo. Four men were also stationed at the pueblo of San José, though this settlement lay outside the military district. A surgeon and three mechanics were at the service of the garrison. The whole white population of the district numbered about two hundred souls in 1790. About the same time the presidio people owned about 4000 head of live stock. Lieutenant Diego González was in command until July, 1785, when Hermenegildo Sal took charge until 1787. Lieutenant José Francisco Ortega then succeeded to the command.

The force at the presidio of San Francisco consisted of thirty-four soldiers besides the usual officers under Lieutenant José Moraga. When Moraga died on July 13, 1785, Diego González was put in charge until 1787, when José Argüello of Santa Barbara was promoted to the command. From fifteen to twenty of the men did duty at the garrison, whilst the remainder served at the missions of San Francisco and Santa Clara. The whole white population of the district in 1790 comprised about one hundred and thirty souls, or with those of the San José pueblo about two hundred and ten souls.[13]

Important changes took place at this period in the government of Spain and Mexico. King Carlos III. passed away on December 14, 1788. On September 26, 1789, Governor Fages communicated the news to Fr. Lasuén with the request that a requiem Mass be offered up in the chapel of the presidio, and that the missionaries be asked to offer up the suffrages for the soul of the deceased monarch. Fr. Lasuén on the same day replied that all the Fathers would be notified to that effect.[14] The changes in Mexico affected California more directly. Archbishop Alonso Nuñez de Haro y Peralta held the position of viceroy after the death of Matias de Galvez from February 25th to August 16, 1787, when Don Manuel Antonio Flores assumed the reins of government. Owing to ill-health he resigned two years later, and on October 19, 1789, turned the office over to Don Juan Vicente de Guemes Pacheco de Padilla, Conde de Revilla Gigedo. The new viceroy, like Bucareli, from the beginning evinced a generous and Christian interest in the Indian missions. Only two weeks after his accession to power, he wrote to Fr. Matias de Noriega,[15] the temporary Superior of the College of San Fernando: "Agreeing to the proposition which Your Reverence makes in your report of September 22nd last, I have resolved that two missions should be established in New California, one in the valley called Soledad close to the Rio de Monterey,[16] between the mission of San Antonio and that of San Carlos, and the other between the missions of San Carlos and Santa Clara, about twenty-five leagues distant from the former on the spot called Santa Cruz. In order that this resolution so beneficial to the gentiles may be carried out as quickly as possible, I beg and charge Your Reverence to name four religious who shall found and serve these missions. They should leave the capital in time so as not to lose the first opportunity of a ship that makes the voyage to Monterey. For that purpose, on this day, I issue orders to the ministers of the royal treasury at the capital, and direct them to deliver to the síndico of your

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[13] Bancroft, i, 451-572.

[14] *Santa Barbara Archives.*

Fr. Mathias Antᵒ. de Noriega
Presdte in Capite

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[15] He was filling out the unexpired term of the late Fr. Guardian, Fr. Francisco Palóu, who had died a short time before. His title was "Presidente in Cápite," or Superior ad interim. Fr. Noriega himself had been stationed at San Carlos for six years.

[16] Salinas River.

Apostolic College $2000 for the necessary goods, and the traveling expenses for four religious to the port of San Blas to whose commissary I give similar orders for their embarcation and for the subsistence which they are to receive during the voyage. I hope that Your Reverence will inform me of the results, and that on your part you will procure the discovery of suitable localities between San Diego and San Juan Capistrano, San Gabriel and San Buenaventura, in order to fill up those gaps with other intermediate missions, and that you will communicate whatever else is useful and feasible." [17]

This joyful news reached Monterey on August 2, 1790, with the same vessel that brought the four Fathers Antonio Dantí, José de Miguel, Mariano Rubí, and Estevan Tápis. All the necessary implements came along, but the church goods were missing. When informed of the drawback the viceroy on January 20, 1791, directed Fr. Lasuén not to postpone the founding of the missions on that account, but to procure the necessary articles from other missions, as on the same day he would give orders to hasten the goods to Monterey.[18] Fr. Lasuén in a circular of July 22, 1791, therefore, called upon the missionaries to supply chalices, vestments, and other altar utensils wherever they could be spared. The result was that the following contributions were made: Mission San Luis Obispo, one white and one black cope, one green and one violet chasuble, two corporals, two amices, twelve purificators, two finger towels, one ritual, and one oil-stock; Mission Purisima, one altar-bread iron and one surplice; Mission San Buenaventura, one red chasuble, one black cope, two albs, one surplice, some corporals, two finger towels, a set of oil-stocks, one old missal, and two bells; Mission San Gabriel, one altar-bread box, two corporals, two cinctures of silk, six purificators, four finger towels, one altar covering, two small bells for the altar, and one altar stone; Mission San Diego, one chalice, one old missal, two pairs of silver cruets, two surplices, and two amices.[19]

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[17] Revilla Gigedo to Fr. Noriega, October 31, 1789. Fr. Noriega to Fr Lasuén, December 10, 1789. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[18] Fr. Noriega to Fr. Lasuén, December 10, 1789. Fr. Noriega remarked that the four new Fathers had been approved by the Archbishop of Mexico. Viceroy Revilla Gigedo to Fr. Lasuén, January 20, 1791; Revilla Gigedo to Roméu, same date. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

Fr. Presidente Lasuén accordingly founded Mission Santa Cruz on August 28, 1791, by raising and blessing the Cross and celebrating holy Mass on the spot where the church was to be erected. Fathers Isidro Alonzo Salazar and Baldomero López were the first missionaries.[20]

Mission Nuestra Señora Dolorosisima de la Soledad was established with similar ceremonies on October 9, 1791, at a place called Chuttusgelis by the natives. Fr. Lasuén appointed Fathers Diego García and Mariano Rubí the first missionaries.[21]

On May 4, 1785, His Holiness, Pope Pius VI, again authorized the Apostolic Colleges to name one friar of their respective jurisdiction, who with the consent of the respective bishop might administer the Sacrament of Confirmation in the territory under their charge. Fr. Pedro M. de Iturbide on March 13, 1787, designated Fr. Fermin Francisco de Lasuén on behalf of San Fernando College. In case of his death or incapacity Fr. Pedro Pablo Mugártegui, and at his demise Fr. Pedro Benito Cambón were empowered to exercise the faculty. When the documents had received the sanction of the viceroy they were, in September, 1789, transmitted to Fr. Noriega, the temporary Superior of the College, with instructions from Revilla Gigedo to forward them, not directly to appointee Fr. Lasuén, but to the comandante-general. General Jacobo Ugarte y Loyola from Chihuahua on March 2, 1790, sent them to the Fr. Presidente with the remark that, to avoid delay, he would himself ask the bishop of Sonora to permit the exercise of the faculties. On the same day, moreover, General Ugarte instructed Governor Fages not to interpose any obstacles. Fr. Lasuén on May 26, 1790, at last received the documents empowering him to give Confirmation. Bishop José Joaquin Granados granted permission on April 11, 1790.

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[19] Fr. Lasuén, *Circular,* July 22, 1791. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[20] Fr. Lasuén to Gov. Roméu, September 29, 1791. *Sta. Barb. Arch.* The mission registers give September 25th as the date of the beginning of the mission.

[21] *Libro de Mision de Soledad.*

This reached Fr. Lasuén at San Luis Obispo on July 13, 1790. Thus, owing to the remarkable union of Church and State, as understood in Spain at the time, more than five years elapsed of the ten to which his faculties were restricted before Fr. Lasuén could begin to exercise a purely spiritual power bestowed by the Vicar of Christ! Later, September 9, 1792, the Most Rev. Commissary-General Fr. Joaquin M. Silva, named Fr. Francisco Dumetz, and in his place Fr. Tomás de la Peña, to confirm in case Fr. Lasuén died before the expiration of the faculties granted him. These appointments received the *pasé* or permit of the viceroy on November 7, 1792.[22]

Jph Antº de Romeu

In the latter part of 1789 Don Pedro Fages asked to be relieved of his office. The viceroy on May 16, 1790, granted his request and appointed Lieutenant-Colonel José Antonio Roméu governor of California. Roméu, accompanied by his wife Doña Josefa and daughter, arrived at Loreto on March 17, 1791. On April 16th Gov. Fages through Lieutenant-Governor Arrillaga turned over the government of both Californias, but remained at Monterey until his successor reached there on October 31st.[23] On April 17th Roméu notified Fr. Lasuén of his appointment and arrival. Fr. Lasuén sent him a letter of welcome from San Gabriel on May 20th, and Roméu replied from Mission Rosário on May 31st.[24] Soon after the new governor landed in Lower California his health began to fail. Indigestion, sleeplessness, and oppressive pain in the chest left him little opportunity of attending to public duties. At Monterey he was barely able to comply with the routine duties of his office. Late in March, 1792, his condition became critical, and on April 9th he died after receiving the last Sacraments. The body was interred at San Carlos on the next day. At the funeral the grief was universal, for the deceased had endeared himself to all. Alférez Hermenegildo Sal even declared that California was not worthy of a governor like Roméu. Doña Josefa and her daughter returned to Mexico in the following October.[25] The news of Roméu's death reached Lieutenant-Governor Arrillaga at Loreto on May 3rd. The new governor was a man of the same noble sentiments as his predecessor. He took a modest view of his abilities, and accordingly asked his subordinates for counsel and suggestions when he announced his succession to the officers in Upper California. "From this movement," he writes to them on May 7th, "I unload my conscience upon each, and hold him responsible for results, since an officer must be directed in his acts more by his own honor than by fear of authority." [26] Viceroy Revilla Gigedo on July 8th recognized Arrillaga as temporary governor, and directed him to continue the exercise of his duties until the king should name a successor. He arrived at Monterey in July, 1793, and visited San Francisco on the 27th

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[22] Fr. Noriega to Fr. Lasuén, December 10, 1789; Ugarte to Fr. Lasuén, March 2, 1790; Bishop Granádos to Fr. Lasuén, April 11, 1790; Fr. Silva to Fr. Lasuén, September 9, 1792. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[23] Bancroft, i, 481-485; Roméu to Fr. Lasuén, April 17, 1791. *Santa Barbara Archives.*

[24] Roméu to Fr. Lasuén, April 17, May 31, 1791. *Sta. Barb. Arch.* Fr. Lasuén to Roméu, May 20th; August 12, 1791. *Archbishop's Archives.*

Pedro de Nava

of the same month. On September 17th he was back at Monterey.[27]

Another change which affected California occurred in the comandancia-general. Brigadier-General Pedro de Nava was on March 7, 1790, appointed to succeed General Ugarte as head of the Provincias Internas at a salary of $10,000.[28] By royal orders of November 23rd and 24, 1792, the provinces of Sonora, Nueva Vizcaya, Nuevo Mexico, Texas, and Coahuila were formed into a separate command independent of the viceroy. Pedro de Nava was appointed comandante-general of this jurisdiction at a salary of $15,000, and his headquarters were fixed at the Villa de Chihuahua. California, Nuevo León, and the colony of Nuevo Santander were restored to the absolute jurisdiction of the viceroy. This arrangement pleased the missionaries very well, because it enabled them to deal with the viceroy directly.[29]

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[25] Libro de Entierros, Mision de San Carlos; Hittell, i, 546-548; Bancroft, i, 489-490.

[26] Bancroft i, 502.

[27] Bancroft, i, 502; Hittell, i, 548.

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[28] Nava to Roméu, November 28, 1790; Roméu to Fr. Lasuén, April 17, 1791; Fr. Lasuén to Nava, May 19th; Nava to Fr. Lasuén, August 28, 1791. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[29] Alange to viceroy, San Lorenzo, Spain, November 23rd; Gardoquín to viceroy, San Lorenzo, Spain, November 24, 1792. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

CHAPTER IV.

A Drawback to History.—Detachment of the Friars.—When They Would Write.—Demand for Funds.—Fr. Lasuén's Explanation.—His Sworn Statement.—Bishop Tristan's Extravagant Assertion.—Church and State Under the Spanish Kings.—Legislation Against Forest Fires.—War Between Spain and France.—Contributions Requested.—Fr. Lasuén Enlightens Governor Borica.—Contributions from California.—Capuchin Nuns.—Vancouver in California.—Praises the Missionaries.—Low Opinion of the Troops.

IT is unfortunate for history, and for a clear understanding of missionary difficulties and vicissitudes, that the Franciscans reported little or nothing about their individual efforts, privations, hardships, and experiences. Beyond stating officially and briefly the condition of their respective establishments, complaining about the scandalous conduct of the guards, asking aid from the government or the College, defending themselves against unjust accusations, and vigorously protesting against encroachments upon the rights of the Indians, the friars wrote next to nothing concerning themselves. In vain do we look for such long, interesting, and edifying narratives and descriptions as are found in the Jesuit "Relations" or in the "Cartas Edificantes." Personal correspondence with relatives or friends in Spain or Mexico seems to have ceased long before these religious volunteered for the dreary toil on the western coast. In the whole mass of more than 5000 letters still extant in the archives of the Archbishop of San Francisco, Santa Barbara Monastery, in the De La Guerra Collection, and elsewhere, there is not one note from a relative or secular friend in Spain or Mexico which would indicate that a California friar had written to the scene of his childhood. Only two letters let us understand that the respective missionary had any relative at all. This utter absence of such personal correspondence of itself speaks volumes. It not only reveals the absolute detachment of the missionaries from kith and kin and every worldly interest, but it proves their entire sacrifice of self to the interests of God. Yet withal we should like to read something of the personal experiences of these unworldly men who could so fully devote themselves to the spiritual and temporal welfare of their dull, unappreciative neophytes as to forget the entire outside world, and scarcely notice the absence of news which once a year mayhap reached them in meager portions.

Their indifference to worldly concerns was not the only motive for abstaining from personal correspondence. It was expensive. We who send and receive letters at the rate of two cents can scarcely imagine a state of affairs that necessitated as many half-dollars for the transmission of the same amount of mail. Inasmuch as the friars had not the pennies, it was out of the question to spend dollars for what they considered unnecessary. The missions possessed the products of the soil, but there was no money; and what money came to hand went into the common fund for the benefit of the converts. Not a penny would the friar claim for himself. The very alms or donations for holy Masses or other services on the part of the priests became the property of the mission and were used for the Indians. In the interest of history, therefore, we consider it fortunate that these religious were occasionally attacked or accused by malevolent or misguided men, and the rights of the Indians endangered, because this elicited the mass of memorable documents which not only demonstrate the ability of the authors, but afford an insight into the workings and vicissitudes of the missions which the dry though complete official reports do not offer. Unwittingly the Fathers thus disclosed much about themselves and their task which is of the highest interest, and which but for the enemies would never have come to the surface. By dint of study we thus obtain a fairly good view of what these unselfish missionaries must have suffered and effected while they endeavored to make human beings and Christians of savage creatures whom every one else despised and deemed scarcely worth raising from their heathen degradation.

An incident will serve to illustrate again the peculiar conditions under which ecclesiastics, particularly members of religious Orders, labored in the Spanish dominions as well as the abject poverty of the missionaries and their absolute subjection to the king.[1] Rt. Rev. José Joaquin Granádos, Bishop of Sonora, from Arizpe, wrote to Fr. Presidente Lasuén: "Under date of September 14, 1790, His Excellency, the viceroy, sends me a copy of a royal letter of March 6th of the same year which commands that the ecclesiastical tithe conceded to His Majesty [2] should be collected. Inasmuch as the missionaries of either the secular or regular clergy are not exempted from this contribution, I notify Your Paternity that you manage such collection, and that you demand them for a term of four years at the rate of six per cent. of the stipends and other revenues which the missionaries of your peninsula enjoy. You will require from each one a sworn statement respecting his income and remit it as soon as possible. . . . For the more speedy collecting of said six per cent. I appoint Your Paternity sub-collector for your district," etc.[3]

fr. Jose Obpo de Sonora

This gave Fr. Lasuén an opportunity to explain the situation with regard to which, but for the king's demand and the bishop's letter, we might have been left in the dark on a peculiar feature of Spanish ecclesiastical customs. Promptly, on September 18, 1791, the day after the reception of the letter, Fr. Lasuén replied: "I willingly obey Your Lordship as far as possible, and let you know that the missionaries of California do not enjoy any revenues that could be called ecclesiastical income. Our administration and our services to the colonists are entirely and absolutely free of charge the same as to the Indians.[4] There are at present thirty of us. There are eleven missions, and the missionaries who are in charge number twenty-two. Only these twenty-two enjoy a stipend of $400 a year for each one. This is granted [5] by the king as an alms for their personal needs. Four supernumeraries, who enjoy nothing, are maintained from the same alms, as well as the four others who are destined for the two missions which are to be founded.[6] For each of these last friars named in the past year, during which the missions could not be founded, $200 were received. This amount our Brother Síndico in Mexico collects, and with it pays the price of the supplies which the procurator for the missions, a lay-brother of our Apostolic College of San Fernando, purchases according to the list of articles which we send him. In this list we indicate what is necessary for us: clothing and other necessaries for the Indians, church and field. The alms are converted into these goods; but neither with the purchasing or paying for them have we any more to do than point out the goods we desire. We receive this help in *propria specie,* and we bear the cost of transportation.

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[1] "Strange as it may seem, the Pope at this period" (time of the Spanish Inquisition) "could boast of less influence in Spain than in any other European country." Lowery, *Spanish Settlements,* vol. i, p. 96.

[2] By the Bull "Eximiae Devotionis Sinceritas" of Pope Alexander VI, November 16, 1501, and the Bull "Universalis Ecclesiae Regimini" of Pope Julius II, July 28, 1508. See vol. i, 732, this work, and for the whole question Appendix G, this volume.

[3] Bishop Granádos to Fr. Lasuén, April 30, 1791. *Sta. Barb. Archives.*

"If thus informed Your Lordship judges that a contribution of six per cent. from our stipends must be levied, it will be necessary to turn to Mexico so that our Brother Síndico may collect that much less from the royal treasury;[7] at the same time it will be necessary to demand the respective certificates from the officials of the treasury that it is the royal will not to give each missionary more than the alms of $376 annually for a period of four years. Such procedure in that case appears more in keeping with our Franciscan vows, lest it be said that we apostolic Franciscans contribute money which we neither have received nor ever shall receive, inasmuch as we are allowed only the succor for our needs which is sent us in *propria specie* . . . Submitting to Your Lordship's command, but not being able to have at hand the sworn statements of the missionaries as quickly as Your Lordship demands, I for the present enclose one in the name of all. I shall take care, God willing, to send those that you have requested from each one or from each two missionaries as soon as I receive them. I protest that I recognize my strict obligation to obey Your Lordship, and that I have the will to comply at any cost," etc.

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[4] "Nuestra administracion y asistencia á los de Razon es en el todo absolutamente graciosa lo mismo que á los Indios."

[5] From the Pious Fund in charge of the king.

[6] Santa Cruz and Soledad, as already stated.

[7] That is to say, from the Pious Fund controlled by the royal treasurer.

The sworn certificate which Fr. Lasuén sent along reads as follows: "Viva Jesus! I the undersigned certify under oath which I make *upon the word and honor of a priest,*[8] that the missionaries of New California enjoy no other income whatever from which the ecclesiastical contribution is asked than the stipend only, which by way of alms the king, our lord (may God protect him) gives us at the rate of $400 a year for each one of the twenty-two that manage the eleven missions, which amount is sent to us from our College of San Fernando de Mexico converted into what is necessary for our persons, and into necessaries for our missions and for our Indians, and in the past year the sum of $200 was granted to each one of the four religious destined for two new foundations which I am just now planning and expect, with the favor of God, to establish immediately. In testimony thereof I sign my name at this mission of San Carlos de Monterey on September 18, 1791. Fr. Fermín Francisco de Lasuén."[9] This, it appears, closed the matter as far as the missionaries were concerned.

However, the secular authorities never allowed the ecclesiastics, the poor missionaries among savages not excepted, to forget that the Church of Christ in the Spanish dominions was the mere handmaid of the State, and that the king was *de facto* supreme in religious as well as in temporal matters. Nor were the ecclesiastics wanting who held this to our mind unworthy arrangement to be quite proper. Thus in his "Consulta" covering twenty-six folio pages, and addressed to the viceroy on the subject, Bishop Estévan Lorenzo Tristan of Durango on November 16, 1791, gave vent to this extravagance: "The Regio Patronato of the churches in America is, without doubt, the most brilliant stone which holy Mother Church graciously sculptured and of justice placed in the crown of our Catholic kings. This truth is the chief political dogma which Spanish fidelity believes and confesses."[10] For the ages of Faith, when the State looked upon and treated the Church of Christ as a bride holding equally supreme authority in the spiritual order, the bishop's words are singularly appropriate; but for the period in question the Church had no reason to be proud of her position under the unfortunate laws of the Patronato. The chains that bound her were no less chains for being of gold. We have repeatedly had occasion to deplore the fact that the missionaries were hampered in their work owing to the Patronato, the rights of which the very subordinates claimed in order to lord it over the helpless religious. Shortly after the episode with regard to the tithe, which the missionaries had been expected to pay to the king, Comandante-General Pedro de Nava on October 11, 1791, again called Fr. Lasuén's attention to the laws of the Royal Patronage. Lest they imagined that those laws did not concern them, as indeed they were not applicable to Indian missions, Nava enclosed a Dictamen or legal opinion of his assessor, Galindo Navarro, of September 30, 1791.[11] As the patronato will be discussed later, the subject may be dismissed here.

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[8] "in verbo sacerdotis tacto pectore."

[9] *Santa Barbara Archives.*

The first legislation against forest fires was enacted at this period. "Because of the various complaints which have reached me," Governor José Joaquin Arrillaga on May 31, 1793, wrote from Santa Barbara to Fr. Lasuén, "about the serious damages that result from the fires which every year the

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[10] Of the lofty idea which Bishop Tristan entertained in connection with the king there can be no doubt. In the same document he puts the King of Spain in juxtaposition with Almighty God in that he uses the odd expression, "Los dos Reyes del Cielo y de la Tierra." *"The Two Kings of Heaven and of Earth." Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[11] *Santa Barbara Archives.*

Indians, Christians and gentiles start in the fields, etc. . . . I have taken steps to publish the enclosed proclamation. I forward it to Your Reverence with the petition and request that you be pleased to make it known to all the Rev. Missionaries, in order that on their part they contribute to the observance of this just measure . . . and that they threaten the Christian Indians with rigors of justice in case fires are started, etc.' Fr. Lasuén accordingly sent a circular to all the missionaries with instructions to publish the proclamation, to place a copy in the archives, and to republish it annually.[12]

Viceroy Revilla Gigedo under date of June 19, 1793, informed Governor Arrillaga that Spain had declared war against impious France, that an accompanying proclamation should be promulgated, and that contributions should be collected. The news reached California in October. Arrillaga notified Fr. Lasuén and asked him to call upon the missionaries to aid in the collection of money for the purpose. In a circular from Santa Barbara, the Fr. Presidente urged the Fathers to assist by their fervent and constant prayers and by exhorting those who possessed any worldly goods to make generous donations towards the triumph of Spain "in a war in which the honor of God, of His Church, of humanity, and of public order is involved."[13] Fortunately France had need of all her forces in Europe; for California was in no condition to make effective defense against a foreign invasion. In July, 1793, the four

El Conde de Revilla Gigedo

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[12] Arrillaga to Fr. Lasuén; Fr. Lasuén, *Circular,* June 10th; Fr. Lasuén to Arrillaga, June 12, 1793. *St. Barb. Arch.*

[13] Arrillaga to Fr. Lasuén, October 9th. Fr. Lasuén, *Circular,* October 28, 1793. *Sta. Barb. Arch.; Archb. Arch.,* Nos. 56, 57.

presidios possessed only one hundred and sixty-one muskets, fifty-nine pistols, one hundred and seventy-seven swords, and two hundred and twenty-three lances. The four presidios and the missions contained only about two hundred and seventy-five soldiers. Fear of a French attack upon California, therefore, prompted Viceroy Branciforte, who had succeeded Revilla Gigedo, to send a company of seventy-two Catalonian Volunteers under Lieutenant-Colonel Pedro de Alberni and eighteen artillerymen under Sergeant Pedro Roco to reinforce the garrisons. Most of these troops arrived at Monterey early in 1796. Alberni at once became commander of the San Francisco presidio whither he took twenty-five Catalonians and a few artillerymen. The rest were apportioned to the other three presidios.[14]

In 1795 Viceroy Branciforte wrote to Governor Borica that he had headed a list of contributions to pay the expenses of the war with $5,000, and that judges, prelates and other officials had followed his example according to their circumstances. He hoped that the Californias would also co-operate. To that end he suggested that each Spaniard donate two dollars, all other white or mixed citizens each one dollar, and each Indian half a dollar.[15] Governor Borica, who had succeeded Arrillaga in 1794, communicated the viceroy's letter to Fr. Lasuén and urged him to see that the missionaries contributed for themselves and for the Indians.[16] The Fr. Presidente saw that the new governor labored under a misapprehension, and that it was necessary to undeceive him concerning the circumstances of the friars in the missions. He, therefore, in a long letter repeated what he had but a short time before written to Bishop Granádos. He also added some other information which would make it worth the while to reproduce that part of the communication, even if Hittell did not compel us to restate the situation. This author, like a horde of superficial writers on the missions, despite the incontrovertible evidence, persists in asserting that the Franciscans were both wealthy and unpatriotic, whereas they possessed nothing whatsoever, and chafed because, owing to their poverty, they could not manifest their sympathy for Spanish success in some tangible manner.

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[14] Hittell, i, 570; 575-576; Bancroft, i, 535; 541.

[15] Branciforte to the governor, June 17, 1795. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[16] Borica to Fr. Lasuén, October 16, 1795. *Sta. Barb. Arch.* Borica's appointment was dated June 10, 1793. He reached Monterey with his wife and daughter on November 9, 1794. Hittell, i, 558-560.

"We are thirty Franciscans," Fr. Lasuén writes among other things, "who are exerting ourselves in the pious work which the king himself on February 15, 1791, declared engaged his chief and serious attention. Twenty-six have stipends, and four are without them; among the latter is myself. I manage this Mission of San Carlos; I attend the presidio like other missionaries and look after all the missions.[17] I do this with the greatest pleasure, and I mention it, not in order to quote services, but by force of the occasion, so that it be seen that I have nothing more to offer. . . . In the same light I consider my Rev. Collaborators, for the stipend which they enjoy, subtracting what we absolutely need for a Franciscan way of living, they turn over for the maintenance and advance of the missions. To this holy purpose also are diverted the stipends for holy Masses which are sometimes offered to us, as well as the alms which perchance those of the territory or sailors present for some church service which their devotion promised spontaneously, and everything else that is given to us.

"The missionaries nearest the four presidios serve them without salary, fee, or compensation whatever. We exercise the duties of chaplains. If each Father attending the four garrisons received no more than $500 this would be $2000 a year. After a long period this would amount to quite a sum.[18] In behalf of one of the presidios the superior government of Mexico determined that some compensation should be made at the expense of the royal treasury.[19] Years have passed since, but no payment has been made, nor do I claim it. I have kept silent about it; nor would I speak of it now, did I not occasionally hear the question put to me, 'What is it that you friars are doing in the royal service?'

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[17] Thus the Rev. Fr. Presidente of all the missions, despite his great learning and difficult task, on account of wearing a poor Franciscan habit, received no salary or stipend, whereas the governor of California enjoyed $4000 cash a year.

[18] Fr. Lasuén possibly meant to insinuate that, if this amount were paid to the four Fathers doing chaplain duties, there would be wherewith to make a contribution.

[19] This order concerning San Francisco was issued in 1786, as Fr. Palóu reported from Mexico at the time.

"To these disinterested services we add the truly arduous one of managing and caring for all the temporalities of our wards who individually possess absolutely nothing, and whose communities have fewer funds but more necessities than any hospital. The neophytes are content with the benefit of Christianity and of human society, as also with the quality of subsistence and shelter they receive. Though the converts enjoy these things not in abundance, what they receive is considerably richer and better than what they enjoyed in paganism. Very frugally fed and simply clad, the neophytes labor in the fields, churches, dwellings, barns, and shops, and in this manner uphold this conquest and prepare its further extension in due time.[20] In these operations, in procuring implements and more necessary things for the neophytes, all our means are consumed. This is always the case, though in years which we call of abundance we are enabled to furnish and adorn the churches somewhat, notwithstanding the multitude of consumers. This year there happens to be remarkable scarcity, because there has been such an uncommon drouth. However, inasmuch as the Fathers are placed in poverty by their profession and the Indian wards by their nature, I think that His Majesty does not want of us any other temporal contribution than that which we are offering. It is that which lets me breathe amidst the torture in which the present solicitude has placed me between the anxieties as a Spanish subject and my lot as a poor Franciscan." Fr. Lasuén closes with the assurance that, besides the extraordinary prayers to Heaven, he would direct that every month one holy Mass should be offered up in honor of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and another in honor of the patron saint of Spain, St. James, the Apostle.[21]

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[20] This proved that the friars were of incalculable value to the crown.

[21] Fr. Lasuén to Borica, October 18, 1795. *Sta. Barb. Arch. Cal. Arch., Prov. St. Pap.* ix., 496-499.

Governor Borica headed a list of contributions with a subscription of $1000. This sum was increased to nearly $4000 by the offerings of officers, soldiers, settlers, and even Indians who were able. Viceroy Branciforte acknowledged the contributions of $3,881.50 with thanks. He also thanked Fr. Lasuén for co-operating by means of the pious prayers and holy Sacrifices.[22] The war did not last long. The proclamation that peace had been concluded on July 22nd, and ratified on August 4, 1795, was issued by Branciforte on November 23, 1795, but failed to reach California until the spring of the following year.[23] In a circular of March 5, 1796, Fr. Lasuén ordered a High Mass of thanksgiving at each mission.[24]

A collection of another kind was also taken up during Arrillaga's rule, though not publicly, it seems. Some Capuchin Nuns in Granáda appear to have appealed for aid to the viceroy or comandante-general. Governor Roméu on December 1, 1791, was authorized to accept contributions among the officials and settlers. Governor Arrillaga continued the charitable work, and on January 15, 1794, forwarded to the viceroy $154, obtained at Monterey and San Francisco.[25] The missionaries evidently had no share in the transaction. Not a word is found about it in their letters or reports.

A slight commotion in the idle life of the troops was caused by the visit in 1792 of the British navigator, Captain George

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[22] Branciforte to Borica, September 26, 1796; Borica to Fr. Lasuén, January 17, 1797. *Sta. Barb. Arch.* Hittell makes the cynical remark that "there can be no doubt that Borica's bravery and zeal, aided by Branciforte's substantial aid in concert with the patriotism of the people, would, in case of an invasion, have availed much more for the honor and triumph of the Spanish arms than all the prayers of the missionaries, however fervent and continued." (vol. i, 572-573.) That is the language of the infidel who believes in no Divine Providence. The prayers of Moses availed more than all the bravery of the Israelites. We have here a glimpse of Hittell's animus towards the missions.

[23] Branciforte, *Bando. Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[24] Fr. Lasuén, *Circular,* March 5, 1796. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[25] Sal to Roméu, December 24, 1791. *Cal. Arch., Prov. St. Pap.* x, 51-52; Arrillaga to Roméu, March 22, 1792. *Cal. Arch., Prov. St. Pap.* xi, 93; Revilla Gigedo to Arrillaga, June 6, 1794. *Cal. Arch., Prov. St. Pap.* xi, 407. Bancroft, i, 503-504.

Vancouver. In April he arrived off Cape Mendocino in the sloop *Discovery,* and continued the voyage to the Straits of Fuca. After making a number of surveys he sailed down the coast and entered San Francisco Bay on November 14th. During his stay of eleven days he visited the presidio, Mission Dolores, and Mission Santa Clara. He then proceeded to Monterey, where he remained until January 14, 1793. Accepting an invitation from Fr. Lasuén, Vancouver paid a visit to Mission San Carlos. He was delighted with the attentions shown him everywhere, especially by the friars, who afforded him every facility to study the mission and its people, though he was not a Catholic. With the highest regard the captain speaks of all the missionaries, particularly of the Superior of the missions, Fr. Lasuén, whom he describes as "a personage of seventy-two years of age, whose gentle manners united to a most venerable and placid countenance, indicated that tranquillize state of mind that fitted him in an eminent degree for presiding over so benevolent an institution." [26] Vancouver endeavored to be fair and just in describing what he saw, and even for what he thought faulty he made due allowance. The captain's report will be utilized in the local annals in connection with the missions he visited.

While Vancouver praised the missionaries, his opinion of the troops was not flattering. "The last mentioned order," [27] he writes, "do nothing, in the strictest sense of the expression; for they neither till, sow, nor reap, but wholly depend upon the labor of the inhabitants of the missions and pueblos for their subsistence, and the common necessaries of life. To reconcile this inactivity whilst they remain on duty in the presidio with the meritorious exertions that the same description of people are seen to make in the pueblos, is certainly a very difficult task, and the contradiction would have remained very prejudicial to their character, had I not been informed that to support the consequence of the soldier in the eyes of the natives, and to insure him their respect, it had been deemed highly improper that he should be subjected to any laborious employment.[28] This circumstance alone is sufficient to account for the habitual indolence and waste of industry in the military part of these societies." [29]

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[26] Vancouver, *Voyage of Discovery,* vol. iii, p. 56.

[27] that is to say, the soldiers.

Vancouver again landed at San Francisco on October 19th of the same year. Later on he stopped at Monterey, Santa Barbara, San Buenaventura, San Juan Capistrano, and San Diego which latter port he left in December, 1793. Arrillaga's suspicions had meanwhile been aroused. For this reason the Englishman received far less consideration at the hands of the military than on his former visit, though the missionaries treated him with their usual kindness. Early in November, 1794, accompanied by the *Princesa* and the *Chatham,* Vancouver with the *Discovery* once more entered the harbor of Monterey in order to prepare his charts and overhaul his three vessels. On December 2nd the little squadron sailed for England.[30]

Neither Arrillaga, nor Governor Borica afterwards favored the landing of foreign ships on the coast. Even while Vancouver rested at Monterey, Borica addressed a circular to all the missionaries of both Upper and Lower California which instructed them to refrain from dealing with foreign vessels. The following reply from one of the Fathers speaks for itself. "Dear Sir," Fr. José de Arroita writes from Mission Purisima Concepcion, "We have received the official notice of Your Honor of the 12th of the current month asking and charging us that, if any foreign ship should arrive in the neighborhood of our mission, we should abstain absolutely from dealing directly or indirectly with the officers and crew, and still less should we furnish them with provisions. This we shall observe in case of the arrival of any of them." All other Fathers replied in similar terms.[31] "The Father in charge of Mission Soledad, fifty miles or so from tide-water, responded with the utmost gravity that it would give him pleasure to comply with the governor's order if Divine Providence should ever favor this inland mission with a harbor." [32] The absurdity of the proposition will strike those who have visited that locality.

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[28] A most flimsy excuse! The missionaries labored, and suffered nothing therefore in the eyes of the Indians. The soldiers would in the eyes of the natives have dignified labor, and set a good example, if they had supported themselves instead of idling away their time and forcing the neophytes to provide for them. In reality, the military lost in the estimation of the natives, because they were regarded as too lazy to work. Even an Indian could look through the silly pretext.

[29] Vancouver, *Voyage,* vol. iv, 405-406.

[30] Vancouver, iv, 297; 310; Bancroft, i, 517-529; Greenhow, 232-256; Fr. Lasuén to Vancouver, December 15th; Arrillaga to Fr. Lasuén, July 9, 1792. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

In connection with the voyages of Vancouver we may note that Viceroy Revilla Gigedo on April 12, 1793, issued a detailed but concise report of the events which happened in both Californias from the year 1768 to his time. It does not materially differ from the accounts of Fr. Palóu and other Fathers quoted in these pages, but rather corroborates them. We have noted Revilla's statements in their place. A translation of this valuable document appeared in "The Land of Sunshine," Charles F. Lummis, editor, from June to October, 1899.

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[31] Borica, *Circular,* November, 12th; Fr. Arroita to Borica, November 21, 1794. *Archb. Arch.,* Nos. 74-84.

[32] Doyle in *Century,* April, 1891, page 931.

CHAPTER V.

King Carlos IV. Orders Opening of Spanish Schools.—Difficulties.—Governor Borica Orders Schools Opened in the White Settlements.—Religion the Chief Branch of Education.—Superiors in Spain and Mexico Derelict in Choice of Missionaries.—Fathers Rubí and Gilí.—The Truth About Them.—Both Return to Mexico.—Fr. Dantí's Notion.—Some Friars Opposed to Care of Temporalities.—Chapter Election.

AN important move was made by King Carlos IV in 1793. The official information reached California towards the close of 1794 and resulted in the following circular which Fr. Lasuén on February 23, 1795, sent to all the missionaries: "My esteemed Fathers. The Lord give you peace![1] The king, our lord, in his royal despatch of July 23, 1793, commands that in all the towns of this governmental department schools for the Spanish language shall be established in order that the Indians may learn to read, write, and speak it; and he forbids them their native idiom.[2] The governor has forwarded to me a certified copy of said royal order. His Honor knows what can be done in these missions to attain the end which is desired. In order that, as far as possible (as is very just and dutiful), the command of the sovereign may be executed, he gives me the same instructions, and I therefore ordain that Your Reverences exert yourself in teaching your wards the Castilian tongue, and forbid them, as far as possible, to use their own native idiom. You may avail yourselves to that effect of all the means which your well-known zeal dictates to you."[3]

Passing over, for the present, the unjust and unwise clause regarding the Indian language, the decree was most difficult, if not impossible, to execute. The Fathers had their hands full, and the natives cared nothing for book-learning, nor for anything that taxed their mental faculties. The missionaries had already encountered numerous obstacles in their efforts to impart even the rudiments of Faith and morals; forbidding the Indians to use their own language only added to the difficulties. The Fathers had ere this taught some of the more talented and industrious boys to read in order to render them capable of assisting at the altar and in the choir; but to open regular schools before professional teachers and the means to pay them could be procured, was out of the question. The missionaries certainly could not neglect more important and more pressing duties in order to assume the role of schoolmaster. Hence it appears that they merely used the Spanish language more generally and thus complied with the royal will as much as possible under the circumstances.

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[1] *Dominus det vobis pacem!* St. Francis's usual salutation.

[2] "El Rey manda, se establezcan en todos los pueblos de esta governacion escuelas del idioma Castellano, para que los Indios aprendan á leerle, escribirle, y hablarle, y prohibiendoles su lengua nativa."

[3] *Santa Barbara Archives.*

Nor was the white population more eager to acquire the rudiments of secular education. Save for the officers, who taught their own children, ignorance in this respect prevailed, not only at this period, but much later. Thus, for instance, at Monterey in 1785 out of fifty soldiers only fourteen could write. At the presidio of San Francisco in 1786 only seven out of thirty were able to write; in 1791 out of twenty-eight only two, and in 1794 not a man, except the officers, knew how to write. In 1800 many soldiers acting as corporals in California could not be promoted because they knew not how to wield the pen.[4]

When the king's decree arrived Governor Borica determined to effect a reform in this respect. He succeeded to some extent, but only for a time. On December 1, 1794, he sent orders to organize a school at the town of San José. "Let us know," he wrote to the head of the community, "whether there be any persons fit to be teachers."[5] On July 13, 1795, the governor insisted that every one in San José who had children should send them to school and pay for each child two and one-half *reales*, about thirty-seven cents, a month.[6] The retired Sergeant Manuel Vargas started the first school in a granary which had been offered for that purpose because it would not be needed until the next harvest. Before the close of the year he went to San Diego. A retired ensign, Ramon Lasso de la Vega, thereafter taught the school which consisted of twenty-seven pupils of whom four paid nothing.[7]

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[4] Bancroft, i, 642.

[5] *Cal. Arch., Prov. St. Pap.* xii, 465.

[6] *Cal. Arch., Prov. St. Pap.* xiv, 270; 355.

At the presidio of Santa Barbara Comandante Goycoechea made strong efforts to induce the soldiers and their friends to organize a school. After nine months, November 11, 1795, he reported to Borica that nearly all, the bachelors included, had agreed to contribute funds with which to maintain the school.[8] José Manuel Toca, a sailor from one of the transports, conducted the school which on February 25, 1796, was attended by thirty-two children. The people were required to pay $125 a year, to which sum each soldier contributed one dollar. In 1797 Toca was called to his ship, and another ship-hand, José Medina, took his place.

Monterey about this time had a free school conducted by the soldier José Rodríguez.

At the presidio of San Francisco Corporal Manuel Boronda, who also served as carpenter, taught the Christian doctrine and reading and writing gratuitously. In 1797 he was replaced by the artilleryman José Álvarez, who for his services received two dollars a month additional.

A school was opened at San Diego and conducted by Manuel Vargas of San José. September 29, 1796, he had an attendance of twenty-two pupils, and his compensation amounted to $100 a year.[9]

When teachers, as well as books and utensils, were so scarce the children naturally could learn little more than their letters. The want was scarcely felt, however, as the pursuits of the people required no great book-learning. Nor was Governor Borica imbued with the foolish notions that education, or what passes under that name to-day, sufficed to make people thrifty and happy. Thus, when the Spaniards at San Diego objected to have their boys apprenticed to mechanical occupations, the governor directed the presidio commander to call them together, and to convince them that they were acting against their own interests, inasmuch as it was advantageous that the youths should be enabled to support themselves by honest labor.[10]

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[7] "Van á la escuela 27 muchachos de los cuales 4 no pagan y los otros 2½ reales cada uno mensualmente." *Cal. Arch., Pr. St. Pap.* xiv, 352; *Prov. Rec.* v, 650.

[8] *Cal. Arch., Prov. St. Pap.* xiv, 86; 198.

[9] *Cal. Arch., Prov Records* v, 650; *Prov. St. Pap.* xiv, 355.

That Borica's ideas as to what constitutes solid education were thoroughly sane and sound, we can see from his regulations. Christian doctrine was to receive the first attention in the schools to be opened, and then followed instruction in reading and writing. "I hope," he writes to the head of the San José colony on December 17, 1794, "that all will contribute according to their means to maintain an establishment so useful to your children, by means of which they are instructed in the dogmas of our holy Religion, and at the same time learn to read and write." [11] He was well aware that the latter knowledge without Religion, instead of being a cure-all for human ills, might be very dangerous to both the individual and the commonwealth. At all events, the history of the Californians, or "Hijos del Pais," is in evidence that secular education alone is not conducive to morality.

Returning to the missionaries we discover that a few of the friars must have found their way into the Franciscan Order as well as into the missions through error or deception. They were certainly out of place among Indian converts, in fact they were unworthy the habit of St. Francis. For the selection of missionaries to unbelieving nations St. Francis gave this regulation: "Let the brethren, who by divine inspiration desire to go among the Saracens or other infidels, ask leave therefor from their ministers-provincial; but the ministers must give permission to go to none except to those whom they see fitted to be sent." [12]

Accordingly, the General Chapter of the Order which assembled at Interamna in 1500, soon after the discovery of

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[10] *Cal Arch., Prov. Rec.* v, 407; Hittell, i, 595.

[11] Establecimiento tan util á sus hijos, y por el cual lograrán instruirse en los dogmas de Nuestra Santa Religion, aprendiendo al mismo tiempo á leer y escribir." *Cal. Arch., Prov. Rec.* vi, 520-521.

[12] Rule of St. Francis, cap. xii.

America, resolved that "the best and the most pious friars of the Order, who being of tried virtue and learning can give a good example to the pagans and Christians with whom they may come in contact, should be sent to the missions."[13] Having quoted said decree in his Circular Letter of March 16, 1910, the Most Rev. Dionysius Schuler, Superior-General, says: "We therefore wish all those whom it may concern to observe what was decreed on this point especially regarding the Holy Land by Benedict XVI of Blessed Memory, in his Apostolic Letter of the 7th of January, 1746, namely: The Superiors-General should in no way send any but those of whom they know from the sworn statement of the Provincials and Definitors that they are of exceptional virtue and of blameless life, and that they are led by the pious motive of devoting their labors to the most Holy Places,[14] in order that they may become the sweet odor of Christ in every place and in the midst of every nation even the wicked and perverse. All letters patent of the Superiors-General appointing a religious for the Holy Land, should, before they are executed, be approved by the Father Provincial and the Definitors in case they are within reach; also by the Fr. Guardian and the Council of the monastery, where he to whom the letters patent were directed, abides. Furthermore, the Provincial as well as the Definitors, Guardians and their Councils mentioned before, must append to said letters patent a sworn statement that the religious who is sent possesses the virtues and the qualifications so that he may be judged capable and fit to serve well at the Holy Places."[15]

It seems that the ministers-provincial in Spain sometimes disregarded or overlooked the command of the holy Founder as well as the regulations of the General-Chapter and the Decrees of the Holy See. Had the provincials in Spain, and the discretory of the missionary College in Mexico, insisted on recognizing only volunteers in connection with foreign missions; had they from among such volunteers chosen only those of sufficiently robust health and of sound mental faculties; had they closely examined whether the moral virtues of the recruits gave hope of withstanding the temptations and difficulties peculiar to missionary life among aborigines; and had they convinced themselves that a previous record of self-denial and of scrupulous adherence to duty established the fact that the volunteers were not aiming at worldly comfort and independence, but that, for the sake of Christ, they would entirely forget themselves and labor earnestly for the conversion of the Indians, not merely for ten years but for life, then such troubles as worried the Superiors, distressed the missionaries, and scandalized the converts in the last decade of the century could not have occurred.

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[13] "Fratres meliores et devotiores Ordinis, qui vita, moribus, et doctrina probati, bonum exemplum infidelibus et Christifidelibus, cum quibuscumque eos conversari oportebit, praebere possint." *Acta Minorum,* 1910, p. 157.

[14] This concerns especially candidates for the Holy Land, but from the context it is clear that all foreign missions are meant.

[15] *Acta Minorum,* 1910, page 157.

In order that the reader may understand the spirit which pervaded the community of a missionary college, or of any fervent religious community for that matter, and the motives which actuated its members, it will be necessary to cast a glance at the interior life as practised in one of them, Santa Cruz, Querétaro, of which San Fernando de Mexico was an offshoot and duplicate.[16] He will then appreciate the horror and the shame of these friars at sight of the misconduct of two of their number.

Writing to his sister, Fr. Matias Moreno tells her that he should fail in his duty, while bidding farewell, if he did not explain the aim and motive of his vocation for the religious life in the missionary college. "It is only zeal for the Faith," he assures her, "the desire of winning souls, and the longing for martyrdom that banishes me from our country (Spain), separates me from my parents, and removes me from my kindred and friends. I have very long battled with these desires. I have placed before me the love of self and ease, the esteem I might enjoy in my own province, the post of lector and other honorable positions which I could expect to fill at home, the harvest I could reap through my preaching and example, the delicate state of my health, the grief of my parents, and the hardships of a long voyage and journey; but, finding no rest, and unable to stifle the longing to spread the Faith and to suffer martyrdom,[17] seeing that all such opposing reasons were sophistries which emanated from self-love, I resolved to solicit admission to the missionary college in America. When, at last, I received the document, such was my joy that I passed the night in peaceful sleep for the first time after a whole month of restlessness; and such was my delight that many told me I must have received good news. Well, how could it be otherwise, when I was about to go to the College of Santa Cruz, Querétaro, where the observance of our seraphic Rule and monastic discipline is both supremely strict and easy? [18]

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[16] Santa Cruz was established as a college in 1693; San Fernando in 1734.

"There, dear sister, the opportunity of spreading the Faith of Christ and of suffering martyrdom is always at hand. In that college all are equal. The Fr. Guardian, like the lowliest, is present in choir at all the hours of the Divine Office, even at Matins which are invariably at midnight, and from which the friars retire at half past two. The community meditation lasts two hours, one after Compline the other after Matins. The recollection is as profound as in the strictest monastery, for no one may speak with another except on certain days and then only in certain places. Every one receives what he needs. Seculars are not permitted to enter the interior of the college, and no one is allowed to leave it except for the purpose of hearing confessions at various churches, and then only those who are appointed by the Fr. Superior. No distinction is made between the Fr. Guardian and the least of the friars. The transgressions are difficult, but the work is tolerable, since the Fr. Guardian takes the lead.

"How great the opportunities must be for spreading the Faith of Christ and for suffering the martyrdom so eagerly coveted by our Father St. Francis, St. Anthony, and other saints of our Order, you can see from the fact that the friars of this college can be found in twenty-eight missions among

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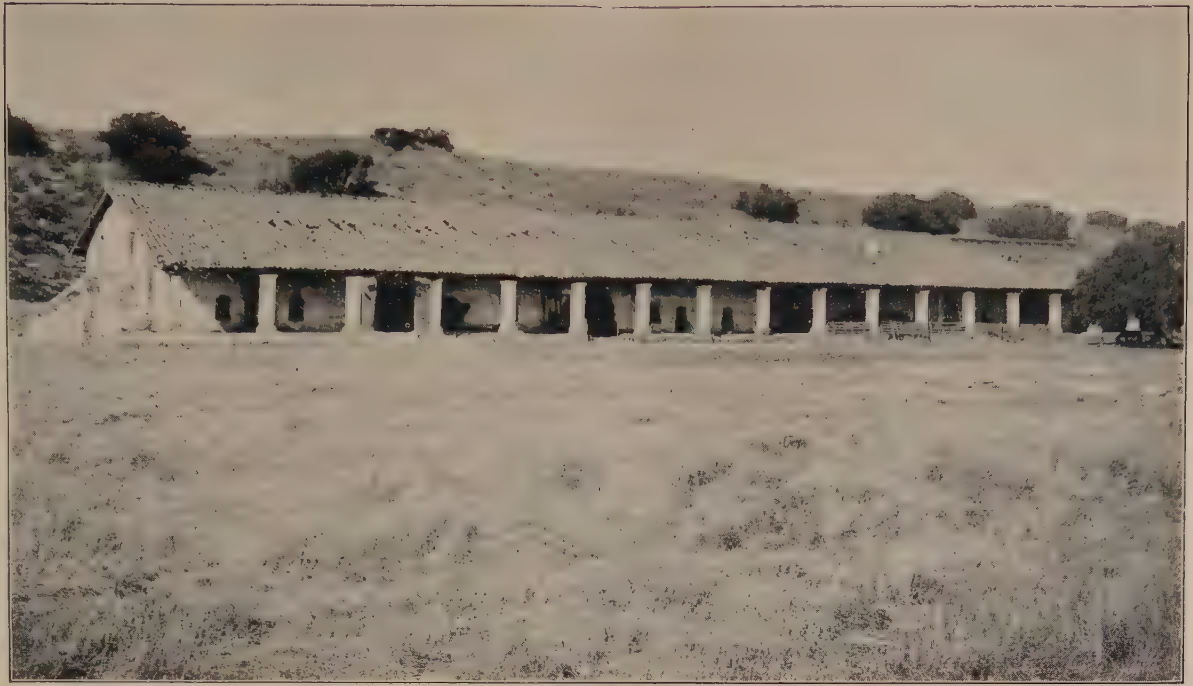
[17] His desire was gratified. He was one of the four killed by the savages on the Colorado River in July, 1781.

[18] On the principle that love of God makes everything easy.



XI. MISSION PURISIMA CONCEPCION, FOUNDED DECEMBER 8, 1787

the pagans of distant Texas and Sonora, where many have died with the palm of martyrdom in their hands, and where the harvest is rich. It is true that there is much hardship in enduring hunger, thirst, intolerable heat, and making painful journeys; but what is this in comparison with the price paid by Christ for these souls which would almost infallibly fall into the net of Satan, if no one had the courage to undertake their conversion? What is all the suffering in comparison with what I owe Christ? Therefore commend me to God that He may give me the strength to bear it all, along with the grace necessary for so holy an enterprise." [19]

Such was the spirit which animated the missionaries of the missionary colleges. What must have been the amazement of the members of San Fernando College when early in 1788 two friars arrived from Spain in whom very soon nothing religious was observed but the habit they wore! Their names were Fr. Mariano Rubí and Fr. Bartolomé Gilí. "A very short time after their arrival from Spain," writes good Fr. Guardian Tomás de Pangua to Viceroy Revilla Gigedo, "Fathers Rubí and Gilí manifested disgust for the regular life, repugnance for the laudable customs of this Apostolic College, and regret for having come. Finding no other excuse for withdrawing from the religious exercises, they took advantage of the charity with which our infirmary treats the sick and infirm, as far as its poverty permits. Pretending to be suffering from ills which in reality they had not, they retired to this asylum, where they passed the days in sleep and idleness and the nights in disturbing the repose of those who having labored during the day needed rest and sleep during the night. The reports are filled with the excesses which these two, like sons of darkness, committed. Among them the worst are that they loosened the bolts to rob the store-rooms; broke, not only once, the jars containing the chocolate of the community; stole from said room the small kettles to beat them for drums; took away the balls which the community used for pastime on recreation days, rolled them through the dormitories at unseemly hours of the night on various occasions causing terror and confusion to the religious. Finally they scaled the walls of the College, and went out scarcely for the sake of performing some act of virtue. They make no meditation and do not appear in choir. If one or the other celebrates the holy and tremendous Sacrifice of the Mass (which occasions, warned perhaps by their conscience, are few), it would have been a smaller evil if they refrained from approaching the Divine Sacrifice at all. They have never been of any use to the College; on the contrary they have withdrawn from community life, and caused expenditures of alms which the benefactors would not offer if they knew that it went to the support of the idle, who are no benefit for the public either, as they do not even celebrate holy Mass for it." [20]

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[19] Arricivita, *Crónica Seráfica,* 536-537. See also for the College Rules Appendix F, vol. i, this work.

Why were such creatures tolerated within the convent walls? Fr. Pangua gives one reason. It was just then that "the government of the community was in the hands of a Superior who was not only advanced in years, but who had already approached his second childhood. In the face of the calamities he found nothing else to do than to weep like a child and lock himself in his cell from fear. The vicar was likewise of the same age and filled with fear. We others cried for a remedy to God who was punishing us for our sins, or trying us." [21]

The other and, doubtless, chief reason was the government. The viceroy had been appealed to in order to have him return the culprits to Spain. This involved some expense to the royal treasury, as the Franciscans possessed nothing. Viceroy Manuel Antonio Flórez therefore referred the matter to the fiscal. This official on August 24, 1788, declared that the whole trouble resulted from the laxity of the two friars. This was notorious and should have caused the fiscal to see that their removal to Spain or their expulsion was imperative. The viceroy accordingly on August 28, 1788, and again on April 6, 1789, reprimanded the two friars, Rubí and Gilí, and threatened to send them back to Spain unless they improved. The excesses of Rubí at last resulted in a loathsome disease. He was treated at the hospitai of the monastery of St. Francis, and in time dismissed as cured. Gilí repeatedly petitioned the viceroy for permission to leave the College and join one of the Franciscan provinces. The viceroy refused. Gilí, and it seems Rubí likewise, then begged to be sent to the missions of California. Strange to say, this request was granted by the new viceroy, Revilla Gigedo. The College Discretory, witnesses of the irregular conduct of the two friars, hesitated to permit their departure for the missions. Fr. Matias Noriega, who filled out the term of the deceased Fr. Palóu, and the discretos then reasoned that, inasmuch as the two men were of no use to the community, and that a change of climate and suitable occupation might effect some improvement in their state of mind and render them of some use, it might be well to let them go.[22] Finally an order issued by Viceroy Gigedo in October, 1790, settled all doubts in that it directed Fr. Rubí and Fr. Gilí to be sent to the California missions.[23] The authorities of the College then admonished the two friars to make themselves worthy of the viceroyal favor which they had not deserved. Rubí and Gilí were also warned of the anger of the viceroy who would send them back to Spain with a report on their conduct if they continued their old ways. The Fr. Presidente of the missions was instructed to assign them to suitable places and in charge of prudent companions. Thus it was that Rubí and Gilí were inflicted on the Indian missions. The former arrived in July, 1790; the latter came one year later.[24]

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[20] Fr. Guardian Tomas de Pángua to Revilla Gigedo, August 28, 1793. *Arch. Gen.*, L. 13, Gl. n. 7724. Expediente 11.

[21] *Ibidem.* Fr. Palóu must have been dispirited, indeed, otherwise as in California he would have found a remedy quickly. Unfortunately the viceroy stood in the way; and this will have accelerated his death; for Father Palóu died soon after.

Fr. Rubí was appointed assistant at Mission San Antonio, but after one year he was removed to Soledad. Fr. Gilí followed him a year later at San Antonio, and then to Soledad. It soon developed, as Fr. Pangua wrote to the viceroy later on, that Fr. Gilí was more fit to tear down than to build up.[25] In less than two years they were entirely disgusted with the country, the people, and especially with the mission system which compelled the missionaries to provide for the temporal needs of the Indians. The result was that at the beginning of 1793 Fr. Lasuén had to inform the College that both Fr. Rubí and Fr. Gilí were ill, and demanded to be retired to the College. In the regular order of things the Superior, knowing the situation, would have recalled the unfaithful friars; but under the Spanish government system, which seemed to regard religious Orders and religious houses as mere State departments subject to civil authority even in disciplinary matters, the religious authorities were helpless. The Fr. Guardian on August 31, 1793, appealed to the viceroy, who referred the petition to the fiscal. The fiscal on September 7th, decided that the certificate of the physician must indicate the nature and stage of the disease of Fr. Rubí. The viceroy on September 9th so informed the Fr. Guardian. On September 13th Fr. Pangua explained to the viceroy the nature of Fr. Rubí's malady before he had left Mexico for the missions and described the conduct of both friars soon after they had come from Spain.[26]

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[22] "Se pensó, que quien trasplantado á distinto clima y diversas ocupaciones, podrá ser de alguna utilidad." Fr. Pangua to Revilla Gigedo. *Arch. Gen.,* ut supra.

[23] "Aunque su irregular conducta ocasionó algun recelo en los Padres Discretos de esto Colegio, lo allanó todo el respectable orden de V. Ex. en el mes de Octubre de 1790." Fr. Pangua to Revilla Gigedo, August 28, 1793. *Arch. Gen.,* L. 13, Gl. n. 7724. Expediente 11.

[24] "Con aprobación del Ven Discretorio." Fr. Noriega to Fr. Lasuén, December 10, 1789. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

Instead of granting the request for the removal, the viceroy on September 20, 1793, once more reminded the Fr. Guardian that it was necessary to have an explicit statement regarding the illness of Fr. Rubí, probably for the purpose of confirming his suspicion that the said friar might have been guilty of deeds similar to those that caused his disease at the capital. Happily, neither Rubí nor Gilí had been guilty of anything of the kind in California, as will appear presently from Fr. Lasuén's account. Fr. Pangua, accordingly, wrote to Fr. Lasuén: "Moved by what Your Reverence communicated concerning the organist,[27] I made representation to His Excellency in order to obtain for said Father the permit to retire." The Fr. Guardian then informs the Fr. Presidente that the viceroy and fiscal demanded a statement on the nature of Fr. Rubí's disease. After instructing Fr. Lasuén to report fully what was wanted, he makes the startling declaration: "It is true that the two for more than five years have been warned and threatened by His Excellency, the viceroy, that they should be sent back to their province unless they improved their conduct. In the viceroy's office is the record of their lives, and a miracle sufficient for cannonization which is accorded them.[28]

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[25] "Dicho P. Gilí es mas á propósito para destruir que para edificar." Fr. Pangua. *Arch. Gen.,* ut supra.

[26] Fr. Pangua to Revilla Gigedo, September 13, 1793. *Arch. Gen.,* L. 13. Expediente 11.

Fr. Lasuén treated the unwelcome guests gently, employed them at or near his own Mission, and observed their conduct. The viceroy's threat, if nothing else had the desired effect; for no cause for complaint on the lines intimated was discovered, though being thoroughly disgusted with their lot, they let their tongues wag much too freely, and finally applied for permission to retire on the ground of ill-health. Fr. Lasuén presented their pleas to Acting Governor José Dario Argüello at Monterey. He also showed Argüello the certificate of Don Pablo Soler, the royal surgeon at Monterey. It was dated January 10, 1793, and read as follows: "I certify that the Rev. Fr. Mariano Rubí, missionary apostolic, is suffering from a disease which requires a long time to be cured, and that though it be effected I consider said Father much exposed to new relapses, and consequently the malady is more serious considering the indispensable application and hardships of his ministry which are very much adverse to the indisposition which afflict him." [29] Argüello then granted his permit, and Rubí embarked for Mexico soon after.[30]

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[27] "Músico organista." This evidently applies to Rubí. There were no organs in California, and so he found no opportunity to exercise his talent or to divert himself. Had he been a thorough religious he would have found supreme satisfaction in missionary work; but he was out of place.

[28] "En el virreynato se halla el proceso de su vida, y milagro suficiente para la canonización, que se les da." This was said ironically. Fr Pangua to Fr. Lasuén, October 27, 1793. *Sta. Barb. Arch. Arch. Gen.*, Año 1793. Expediente 11.

Seven months later Fr. Lasuén informed Governor Arrillaga that Fr. Bartolomé Gilí was absolutely incapacitated for service in the missions; that he was troublesome to every one; that Surgeon Soler also declared him incapacitated for such work; and that in order to divert his mind he had been allowed to go to San Diego, and meanwhile to make himself useful as chaplain of the marines.[31] In May, 1794, fortunately, information came from the Fr. Guardian that the viceroy consented to Gilí's departure; but Fr. Pangua remarked, "Do not fail to transmit the account which I asked about Gilí and Rubí, and let it be complete; for the object is the honor of the College and the expulsion of the mangy sheep." [32]

In obedience to the Fr. Guardian's command Fr. Lasuén on May 28, 1794, replied as follows: "As far as I am concerned, I have nothing more to say than to repeat what I said, and what I have transmitted along with the unanimous opinion of the physicians, with the formal certificate of one of them, and the permit of the presidio comandante. I venerate and obey with the most profound respect the superior orders of His Excellency, the viceroy, with regard to the conduct of Fathers Gilí and Rubí; but I candidly confess that I find in said Fathers *neither faults nor excesses which demand that they should be dealt with before royal judges.*[33]

"The reason which absolutely decided the retirement of both was the infirmity which in the opinion of the physicians, formally certified, incapacitated them for work in these missions, and placed them in real necessity for changing the climate.

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[29] *Cal. Arch., Dept. St. Pap., Benicia,* xx, 351.

[30] Fr. Lasuén to Arrillaga, January 31, 1793. *Archb. Arch.,* No. 49; *Cal. Arch., Dept. St. Pap., Benicia,* xx, 351

[31] Fr. Lasuén to Arrillaga, September 17, 1793. *Archb. Arch.,* No. 55.

[32] Fr. Pangua to Fr. Lasuén, May 28, 1794. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[33] "Confieso ingenuamente que para promover yo justificación, que deba hacerse ante los jueces reales no hallo en los mencionados Padres faltas ni excesos, que lo requieran." Fr. Lasuén insinuates that the friars could apply the effective remedy if they were only free to manage their own affairs. The courtiers could ruminate on this rebuke. They did so; for thereafter they let Fathers alone.

What I have reported as to the haste with which they should leave here culminates in the supreme and extreme disgust of both with this occupation and with the country. The one and the other confessed this publicly without any disguise whatever. Can there be greater evil than this? What other remedy than to let them depart? If not, what good would minds serve here which are thoroughly saturated with unconcealed dislike for everything they meet here and for everything that is done here? Always grumbling, always restless; agreeing with no one and not even with each other! These discords, and they were mutual between the two, as well as of each with Fr. Diego García,[34] when they were with him alternately, came to the knowledge of the people. To tell the truth, not these quarrels of themselves, but that they existed among such persons, in such a calling, and also *because nothing of the kind (thanks be to God) had ever been noticed in the Franciscans by the public* before, it was this that caused scandal and amazement." [35]

Shortly before directing Fr. Lasuén to make his full report Fr. Guardian Pangua revealed his anxiety regarding Fr. Gilí to the Fr. Presidente. At his wit's end he writes: "I see that the doors of the understanding are locked; for this reason Fr. Gilí does not permit himself to be persuaded, and thus I am convinced that his infirmity will be incurable. Nevertheless, if Your Reverence have a mind to change the two to different missions in the capacity of supernumeraries, or one of them, to break his pride and obstinacy, you may do so, or Your Reverence may do what in God seems best." [36]

Before receiving these instructions Fr. Lasuén informed Fr. Pangua that Fr. Gilí had recovered his health, but that he had four quarrels in public with Fr. García at Soledad; that Fr. Gilí's illness is his intense disgust for having to stay in this country; and that for this there is no other remedy than to depart. "We all serve in public, you know," the Fr. Presidente writes; "everybody knows us; and the echo of what occurs at San Francisco quickly resounds at San Diego. If publicity of disorder in a religious anywhere destroys much, here it may be said to ruin everything." The venerable Father then goes on to say that Fr. Gilí needed gentle treatment, and that he would therefore allow him to go to Fr. Giribet at San Luis Obispo, who appears to have possessed a talent for soothing disturbed souls.[37]

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[34] The missionary in charge of Soledad who, it seems, would not tolerate the antics of the two idlers and critics.

[35] "Porque nada de eso (gracias á Dios) había notado antes el público en los Fernandinos." Fr. Lasuén to Fr. Pangua, May 28, 1794. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[36] Fr. Pangua to Fr. Lasuén, January 24, 1794. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

In July, 1794, the permit of the viceroy arrived. Fr. Gilí accepted the post of chaplain on the *Concepcion,* which the Rev. José Gómez relinquished so that Fr. Gilí might have an early opportunity to depart for Mexico. Rev. J. Gómez instead took Fr. Magín Catalá's place as chaplain on the *Aranzazú* which was bound for Nootka.[38] From Acapulco Fr. Gilí wrote to the Fr. Guardian that the captain had compelled him to continue the voyage to the Philippines![39] This is the last information we have about the unfortunate man. As to Fr. Rubí, he reached Mexico on September 10, 1793. On February 3rd of the following year he begged the viceroy for permission to devote himself to the missions of Tampico, where missionaries were scarce. He also informed the viceroy that the provincial of the Province of the Holy Gospel was willing to accept him. Fr. Pangua, probably under instruction from the government, on February 5th reported that Fr. Rubí had taken the cure and seemed restored. Revilla Gigedo, however, on February 8th decided that Fr. Rubí should stay at the College, observe obedience, and be of use in the service of God and the king.[40]

We have related the incident somewhat fully because Bancroft uses it after his fashion. Then, too, we want to bring out plainly to what results interference of governments with the discipline of religious Orders leads in a given case. It is open to conjecture what powerful influence brought these two men into the Order or into the priesthood. They had no vocation for either. Their conduct showed that they had no conception of the dignity and responsibility of the priesthood nor of the requirements of a religious life. The fact that the energetic Fr. Palóu and his vicar feared to deal with the two intruders according to the Constitutions of the Order and the special regulations of the missionary College of San Fernando; that the whole community in the bitterness of their heart besought Almighty God for a remedy against the scandals which they witnessed; and furthermore, that the viceroy contented himself with warnings and threatenings, and prevented the College from sending them back to their province; lead us to believe that some powerful parties, which even the viceroy respected, foisted Rubí and Gilí on the Order and spirited them to America. At all events, the honor of the College or the Order remains unstained. Even as it is, malevolent critics can point to but these two out of one hundred and thirty friars who reached California before the Mexican Independence, who were unworthy of their calling.

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[37] Fr. Lasuén to Fr. Pangua, March 30, 1793. *Sta. Barb. Arch.* See for details our *Mission Soledad.*

[38] Engelhardt, "The Holy Man of Santa Clara," p. 19.

[39] Fr. Pangua to Fr. Lasuén, April 29, 1795. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[40] *Arch. Gen.*, Año 1793. Expediente 11. See our Mission Soledad.

The dissatisfaction of Rubí and Gilí with the mission system, which they, who evinced so little respect for religious rules, claimed was against the Rule of St. Francis, had its effect on at least one friar. This was one of the missionaries stationed at San Francisco, who otherwise bore an enviable reputation for zeal and strict discipline. Writing to Fr. Presidente Lasuén after the departure of the disturbers of the peace, Fr. Guardian Tomás de Pangua says: "There has been discovered another 'temporalista', that is to say, a declaimer against the temporalities. It is Fr. Antonio Dantí, whom without doubt the other two practitioners have imbued with their mode of thinking. Your Reverence will endeavor to convince them and make them see the fatal consequences of their opinion, and that far from being opposed to our religious state, the management of the temporalities for the Indians is very acceptable to God."[41] On another occasion the Fr. Guardian expressed himself thus: "Some overscrupulous friars have become discontented and have persuaded themselves that the management of the temporalities, according to the method in your missions, is against the purity of our Rule. Your Reverence may repeat your explanations and tell them that I have consulted on this subject with experienced, God-fearing, and learned persons, and they reply that without the least misgivings the friars may perform that office." [42]

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[41] Fr. Pangua to Fr. Lasuén, September 30, 1794. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

Fr Anto Pangua

The Jesuit Superiors, in the first years of their apostolate in Lower California, experienced similar obstacles in their own ranks [43] until the Superior-General had given substantially the same decision that Fr. Pangua sent to Fr. Lasuén. Nor were some of Fr. Serra's first companions in favor of undergoing the trouble of teaching and supervising agriculture and the mechanical arts in order to feed, clothe, and occupy the convert Indians, in short care for the temporalities,[44] until they saw that this was the only means of winning the savages for Christianity. When Fr. Pangua became Guardian of San Fernando, he took a firm stand on this and other questions, besides seeking to obliterate the effects of the presence of the two worthless characters whom the College had to harbor for years. "I shall endeavor," he writes to Fr. Lasuén, "as far as I can, to send only such as the missions need, not like those who scruple to carry a mosquito, and in the course of their scruples devour an elephant. The spirit which animates them is readily seen. Much patience is necessary to bear with such characters; and I suppose Your Reverence is much annoyed by such inconsiderate persons whom neither reason nor prudence affects." [45] Thereafter we read of no further discussion on the subject.

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[42] Fr. Pangua to Fr. Lasuén, April 29, 1795. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[43] See vol. i, this work, 161.

[44] See vol. i, 348.

[45] Fr. Pangua to Fr. Lasuén, August 13, 1794. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

In the following year, May 23, 1795, a chapter was held at the College for the election of a Guardian. By order of the Commissary-General, Fr. Pablo Mugártegui, who had formerly been stationed at San Luis Obispo and San Juan Capistrano, presided. Fr. Antonio Nogueira was elected for the next term of three years. Fr. Lasuén on this occasion received six votes.[46]

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[46] Minutes of the Chapter. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

CHAPTER VI.

Expeditions in Search of Mission Sites.—Recommendations.—Founding of Mission San José, San Juan Bautista, San Miguel, San Fernando, and San Luis Rey.—Activity of Fr. Lasuén.— Harmony Between Governor and Fr. Presidente.—Remarkable Progress of the Missions.—Indian Runaways.—Disaster at San Francisco.—Fr. Lasuén's Instructions.—Fr. J. M. Fernández Makes Trouble.—Borica Angry.—Apologizes.—More Trouble.—Fr. Espí's Excuse.—Neophytes Forbidden to Go After Fugitives.—Indian Battle.—Pretext of the Runaways.—Real Motive.—Viceroy's Order.—Fr. Lasuén's Sister.

MEANWHILE the main body of friars not only devoted themselves to advance their neophytes, but endeavored to reach the numerous rancherias of savages not yet brought under the influence of the Cross. To accomplish this end it was found necessary to increase the number of missions in order to fill up the gaps and make the establishments more equidistant. In the summer of 1795 Governor Borica, accordingly, gave orders to search for suitable sites. In each case a missionary accompanied the expedition and kept a journal of the march. In the south it was intended to plant a mission somewhere between San Diego and San Juan Capistrano. The expedition, composed of Ensign Pablo Grijalva, Corporal Juan Vicente Felix, Fr. Juan Mariner, and six soldiers, set out from San Diego on August 17, 1795. The little party passed the Rancho de San Luis, went through the Cañada de Alisos and Esecha Valley, until San José Valley, or Jacopin, one and one-half leagues beyond Pamó, was reached. This was thought well adapted for a mission on account of the sufficiency of good soil, water, timber, and stones. The Indian population was numerous, as the valley contained ten rancherias. From here the march continued to Pale, or San Juan Capistrano Viejo, fourteen leagues from San Diego. This region Fr. Mariner also recommended. Continuing by way of Santa Margarita and Las Flores, the expedition arrived at Mission San Juan Capistrano on August 26th. Fr. Mariner reported that they had passed by forty rancherias along the route, and had discovered that the savages from Pale to San Juan

Capistrano generally spoke the language of the Indians at the mission.[1]

Another exploring expedition, composed of Fr. Vicente de Santa Maria, Ensign Pablo Cota, Sergeant José Maria Ortega, and four soldiers, on August 16th left Mission San Buenaventura in order to scour the country between that mission and San Gabriel. They went by way of Cayegues, Conejo, Simí Valley, Triunfo, Calabazas, Encino Valley, Reyes Rancho, Zanja, Mission San Gabriel, Los Angeles, and then turned back through the Portezuelo to the source of the Santa Clara River, Juyunga, an Indian village where Fr. Santa Maria baptized a dying Indian child and named it Maria de Jesus, down the Rio Santa Clara until they reached the starting point. Here Fr. Vicente dated his report to Fr. Lasuén on September 3, 1795. He had found that a great many pagan Indians were working for white settlers who but for them could not have thrived, and he expressed fears that it would be difficult to win these natives for Christianity, because they seemed to be satisfied with receiving clothing and enough to eat from their white masters.[2]

Another search was instituted between the missions of San Antonio and San Luis Obispo. Fr. Buenaventura Sitjar in company of Sergeant Macário Castro, Corporal Ignacio Vallejo, and a few soldiers, began the survey at the Rio Nacimiento and continued it to the Arroyo de Santa Ysabel which they examined to its source. They further examined the country for a distance of three leagues on either side of the route as far as San Luis Obispo. The site best adapted for a mission, Fr. Sitjar thought, was the place called Las Pozas. The Indians were very numerous towards the east and spoke the idiom of Mission San Antonio. They also expressed a desire to have missionaries among them. Fr. Sitjar, merely to mark the site, set up a cross on a mesa near three pozas or water pools.[3]

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[1] Marinér, *Diario. Sta. Barb. Arch. Cal. Arch., St. Pap., Missions* ii, 238-243.

[2] Santa Maria, *Diario, Sta. Barb. Arch.; Cal. Arch., St. Pap., Missions,* ii, 245-254; 268.

The fourth and last expedition in search of sites for a mission between San Carlos and Santa Clara and for another between Santa Clara and San Francisco, started out from Monterey on November 15, 1795. Ensign Hermenegildo Sal was in charge, and Fr. Antonio Dantí accompanied it as expert and reporter. On the 16th they arrived in the region of the Rio San Benito, and followed the stream almost to its source. In the plain they discovered two pozas, the smaller of which was named Santa Salomea; the other was called San Antonio. In front of these two pools they raised the cross on the 17th in order to mark the site. The spot was distant from the San Benito about half a league, and also about half a league from the Camino Real or highway. Fr. Dantí, however, recommended that the mission be erected upon an elevation a short distance beyond. On the next day the expedition passed through the valley and went in search of the sources of the Rio Pájaro. They discovered twenty-four pozas or springs whence the stream began its course to the southwest. The camp was pitched for the night near Las Llagas Creek in San Bernardino Valley somewhere near the present Gilroy. On reaching Santa Clara Ensign Raimundo Carrillo joined the party. On November 22nd they turned towards the northeast, passed Alameda Creek mentioned by Sergeant Amador, which Fr. Dantí called Arroyo de San Clemente, and proceeded to a point east of San Francisco Bay from which they could sight Mission Dolores as well as Yerba Buena Island. Turning back Fr. Dantí set up a cross on a slight elevation called San Francisco Solano near the Arroyo de Alameda. On November 25th the expedition retired to Mission Santa Clara well soaked from rain.[4]

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[3] Sitjar, *Diario*, August 27, 1795; *Sta. Barb. Arch.;* Castro to Borica, August 27th; Vallejo to Borica, August 29, 1795; *Cal. Arch., St. Pap., Missions* ii, 256-266; Borica to José Perez, June 2nd., *Prov. Rec.* v, p. 51.

[4] Dantí, *Diario,* December 2, 1795; Hermenegildo Sal, *Informe,* November 30, 1795. *Sta. Barb. Arch., Cal. Arch., St. Pap., Missions* ii, 279-281; *Prov. St. Pap.,* xii, 72; *Prov. Rec.* vi, 559.

When he had received the reports of the four Fathers, Fr. Presidente Lasuén on January 12, 1796, recommended to the governor the region of Pale for a mission between San Diego and San Juan Capistrano, and the place called San Francisco Solano for the mission east of Santa Clara and San Francisco. For the mission between San Gabriel and San Buenaventura he proposed a new survey. For the mission between San Antonio and San Luis Obispo Fr. Lasuén thought Las Pozas suitable because the site would be on the Camino Real and just midway between the two old establishments. With regard to the mission between Santa Clara and San Carlos he recommended that the greater Indian population should decide whether it ought to be founded at San Benito eleven or twelve leagues from San Carlos, or in the valley of San Bernardino as many leagues from Santa Clara.[5]

Fr Antonio Nogueyra

Governor Borica on February 26, 1796, forwarded Fr. Lasuén's recommendations to the viceroy and urged their adoption. He showed that the founding of these missions would cause no additional expense to the royal treasury, as no increase of the military force was needed, and that, on the contrary, he hoped to save $15,060 annually when all the savages west of the mountain range had been reduced. If the plans were accepted, he petitioned the viceroy to furnish the College of San Fernando the usual $1,000 for each mission to pay for the goods and implements needed, and to send the requisite number of friars.

After consulting with the treasury officials and with the administrator of the Pious Fund, Viceroy Branciforte on August 19, 1796, authorized Governor Borica to found five

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[5] *Sta. Barb. Arch.; Cal. Arch., St. Pap. Missions*, ii, 267-269.

IMMACULATE HEART

missions, as the means and missionaries would be provided. On September 29th, Fr. Guardian Nogueira informed the viceroy that ten friars had volunteered; he therefore asked for means to pay the traveling expenses.[6] Soon after Fr. Nogueira died; Fr. Pedro Callejas, who filled out his term of office to the next chapter, on November 12th asked the viceroy to indicate the titular saints of the new missions. In reply, two days later, Branciforte wrote: "I have resolved that the patron of the first should be San Miguel, Arcangel; of the second, San Fernando Rey de España; of the third, San Carlos Borromeo; of the fourth, San Antonio de Padua; and of the fifth, San Luis Rey." When informed that two of the names were already applied, Branciforte on November 19, 1796, authorized Fr. Callejas to substitute San José and San Juan Bautisa.[7]

On May 5, 1797, Fr. Lasuén notified Borica that the new missionaries were coming, and that the work of founding the missions might begin. The governor immediately directed the comandante of San Francisco to detail Corporal Alejo Miranda and five men for the new Mission of San José. On June 9th Fr. Lasuén and Sergeant Pedro Amador with a party of soldiers started out from Santa Clara for the spot known as San Francisco Solano. Here on Trinity Sunday, June 11th, he raised and blessed the Cross. In a shelter of boughs he celebrated holy Mass, and thus dedicated the mission in honor of the foster-father of Christ, San José. On the same day Fr. Lasuén returned to Santa Clara and reported the event to the governor. The first missionaries appointed for San José were Fr. Isidoro Barcenilla and Fr. Agustin Merino.

From Santa Clara Fr. Lasuén in company of Fr. Magin Catalá and Fr. José Manuel de Martiarena proceeded to establish Mission San Juan Bautista. Of the two sites proposed by Fr. Dantí the Fr. Presidente finally selected the one near San Benito River. Here on the feast of the Saint, June 24th, Fr. Lasuén laid the foundation for Mission San

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[6] *Cal. Arch., Prov. St. Pap.,* xvi, 438-441; Bancroft, i, 554.

[7] *Museo Nacional,* Doc. Rel. á las Mis., iii.

Juan Bautista, and named as the first missionaries Fathers José de Martiarena and Pedro Adriano Martínez.[8]

From San Juan the venerable Fr. Presidente went to Las Pozas, known as Vahca by the natives, and there on July 25, 1797, founded Mission San Miguel Arcangel. In the afternoon of the same day pagan parents presented fifteen children for Baptism. The happy Fr. Presidente granted their request, after he had received the assurance that the elders would have themselves instructed and baptized. He then appointed Fr. Buenaventura Sitjar and Fr. Antonio de la Concepcion the first missionaries, and prepared to found the next mission for which, as for the three preceding ones the viceroy had named the patron saint.[9] When the pious governor received the news of the founding he on July 31, 1797, replied, "On this date I give account to His Excellency, the viceroy, of the happy success in order that he may celebrate it as I do, giving thanks to the Most High because He promotes the propagation of His most holy Religion and the conversion of these poor Indians."[10]

Additional explorations had revealed no better place for the mission between San Buenaventura and San Gabriel than the Reyes Rancho in Encino Valley. At the end of August Fr. Lasuén therefore left Santa Barbara in company of Sergeant Ignacio Olivéra and five soldiers for the purpose of laying there the foundation for Mission San Fernando. The formal ceremonies took place on September 8, 1797. In the afternoon Fr. Lasuén solemnly baptized five little Indian boys and five little girls in the same enramada in which he had celebrated the holy Mass. The first missionaries stationed at San Fernando by the Fr. Presidente were Fr.

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[8] Fr. Lasuén to Borica, May 5th, June 11th, June 27, 1797. *Sta. Barb. Arch.;* Libro de Bautismos, Misiones de San José y de San Juan Bautista.

[9] Fr. Lasuén to Borica, July 25, 1797. *Sta. Barb. Arch.;* Libro de Mision.

[10] "Con esta fecha doy cuenta al Exmo. Sor. Virrey de tan feliz succeso para que lo celebre, como lo hago yo, dando muchas gracias al Altisimo por lo que protege la propagacion de Su Santisima Religion, y la conversion de estos pobres Indios." *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

Francisco Dumetz, who had been present at the founding, and Fr. Francisco Javier Uria.[11]

When Fr. Lasuén visited Pale or Sonquich, the site which Fr. Mariner had recommended for the mission between San Diego and San Juan Capistrano, he pronounced it altogether unfit, one reason being that it lay ten leagues away from the Camino Real. New explorations were made in October by the venerable Fr. Presidente himself, accompanied by Fr. Juan de Santiago, Corporal Pedro Lizalde, seven soldiers, and five Indians. The search resulted in the choice of the locality which the first discoverers in 1769 had called Cañada de San Juan Capistrano. To distinguish it from the mission of the same name, the place was designated San Juan Capistrano el Viejo, or Old Capistrano.[12] On account of the rainy season the founding was postponed to the following year. Meanwhile Fr. Lasuén retired to San Buenaventura and reported to the governor.[13]

When all the necessary preparations had been completed, Fr. Lasuén with the usual ceremonies on June 13, 1798, founded the eighteenth mission in California, and named it San Luis Rey, as the viceroy had commanded. It was destined to become the most populous of the twenty-one missionary establishments which lined the coast from San Diego to Sonoma. Besides the two Fathers, Fr. Juan Norberto de Santiago and Fr. Antonio Peyri, there were present on the memorable occasion Captain Antonio Grajera and a number of guards from San Diego, many neophytes from San Juan Capistrano and San Diego, and a great multitude of gentile Indians. Fr. Antonio Peyri was appointed the first missionary, but a month later received an assistant in the person of Fr. José Faura. On the same day the delighted Fr. Presidente baptized twenty-five Indian boys and twenty-nine

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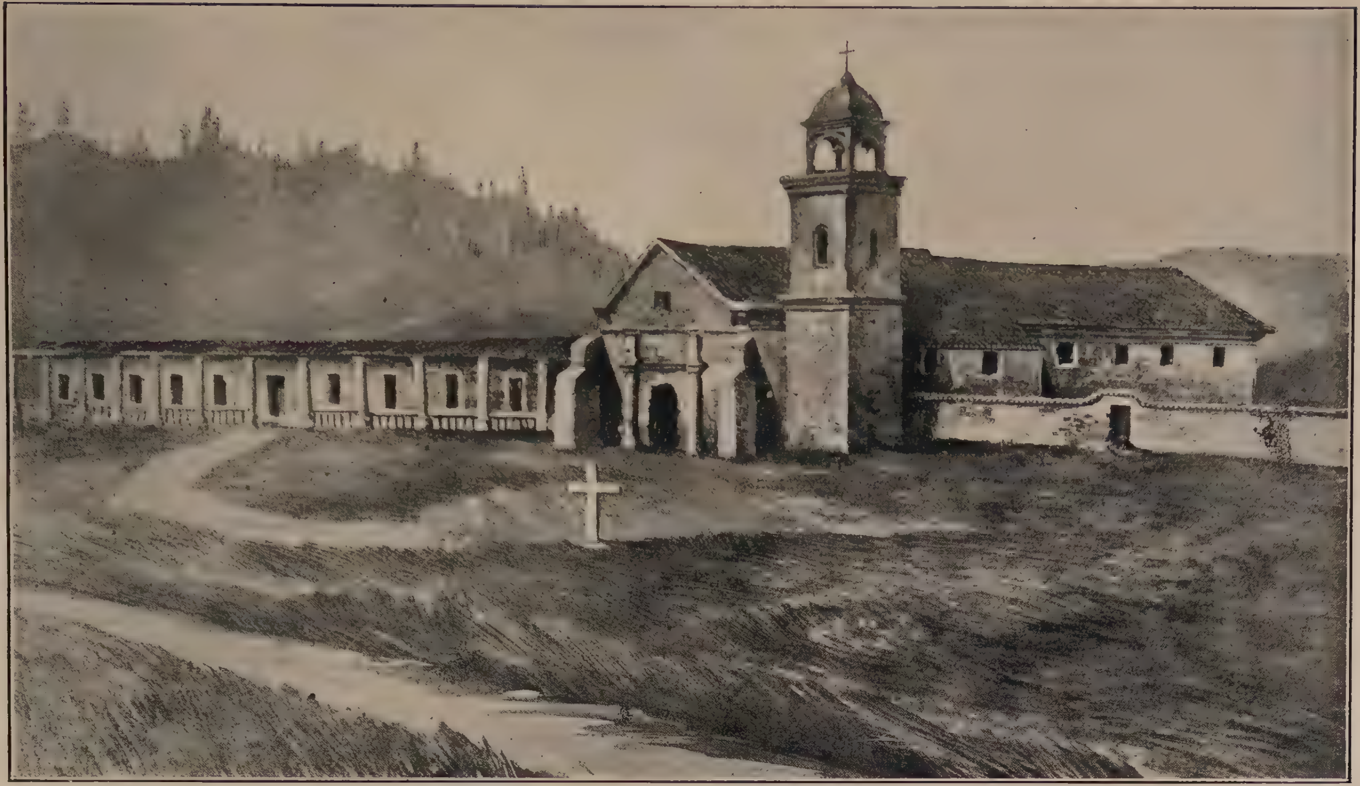
[11] Fr. Lasuén to Borica, September 8, 1797. *Sta. Barb. Arch.;* Libro de Mision.

[12] See chapter ii, sect. i, this volume.

[13] Fr. Lasuén to Lieutenant Com. Antonio Grájera, September 23 and 26, 1797. *Sta. Barb. Arch.* Fr. Lasuén to Borica, September 28, October 20, 1797; April 29, 1798. *Archb. Arch.,* Nos. 113, 119, 135.



XII. MISSION SANTA CRUZ, FOUNDED AUGUST 28, 1791

girls whom the pagan parents had voluntarily offered for that purpose. Seven male and twelve female Indian adults likewise asked to be baptized, but were told to wait until they had received the necessary instructions in the Christian doctrine.[14]

After he had accomplished the feat of establishing five new missions within twelve months over a territory extending almost six hundred miles from north to south, the venerable Fr. Presidente deserved and needed a rest from wearisome travel over rugged trails on horseback. He had displayed such astonishing activity and endurance for a man of seventy years that Governor Borica felt constrained to compliment him. The Fr. Presidente, he observed, seemed to have recovered his youthful vigor by bathing in the waters of another Jordan.[15] Much of the cheerful energy of Fr. Lasuén, however, was due to the friendly interest manifested by the governor. Unlike the hostile Felipe de Neve, who delighted in humiliating the priests, merely because they were priests and friars, or the captious faultfinder Fages, Borica as a rule rendered due respect to the dignity of the missionaries, and sought to have his subordinates treat them with becoming reverence. Writing to the comandante of the Santa Barbara presidio, for instance, Borica notified that official "that the viceroy approved the means proposed for the conversion of the Indians; and that he should lend to the missionaries all the aid they asked for the purpose."[16] Such consideration on the part of the military encouraged the friars not a little to submit with more fortitude to the privations and disappointments necessarily connected with the work of elevating the superlatively dull and carnal natives to the plane of Christian citizenship. They were laboring for the interests of Christ, it is true; no other satisfaction could compare with this; but they were human, and it made a great difference whether they might give full sway to apostolic zeal, or whether their efforts were limited through the caprice of civil and military office-holders. It was an unwonted feeling of religious liberty which possessed and cheered the friars during the rule of Governor Borica and his three successors. That the missions in consequence made giant strides in spiritual and material progress during this period is evident from the records. For example, at Santa Barbara Fathers Estévan Tápis and Juan Cortés in 1803 found themselves unable to instruct and baptize all who clamored for admission to the Church, so that missionaries from other places had to be invited to lend their assistance. No fewer than eight hundred and thirty-one Indians received the Sacrament of Regeneration during that year at Santa Barbara alone.[17] Similar success rejoiced the Fathers of the other missions, as will be related in the volume on the local annals.

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[14] Fr. Lasuén to Borica, June 13, July 27, August 29, 1798. *Archb. Arch.*, Nos. 143, 147, 153. Fr. Lasuén to Borica, June 13th; Borica to Fr. Lasuén, July 12, 1798; *Sta. Barb. Arch.* See also *Cal. Arch., Prov. St. Pap.* xv, 563-564; *Prov. Rec.* vi, 406; vii, 688; 717.

[15] *Cal. Arch., Prov. Rec.* viii, 675.

[16] "Que el virrey aprobó los medios propuestos para convertir Indios; y que les preste á los misioneros todo el auxilio que pidan para esto." *Cal. Arch., Prov. Rec.* xv, 109.

Nevertheless, vexations were not wanting, and the harmony existing between the Fr. Presidente and the governor was often seriously threatened through misunderstanding or precipitation. Sometimes the difficulty originated with the missionaries themselves. An incident of this kind it is necessary to dwell upon, though it was of but local interest, because the unfriendly Hittell utilized it for a tirade against the friars in general, and because it affected the good Fr. Lasuén very keenly.

One of the annoyances with which the missionaries had to contend from the earliest days was the inclination of many converts to run away and resume the loose habits of their former savage life.[18] The culprits were never at a loss for a pretext to cover the real motive of their backsliding. Nor would they scruple to put the blame for their waywardness upon their missionary benefactors. It was the custom to send soldiers after the fugitives at stated periods in order to round them all up and bring them back to the respective missions. Occasionally the friars chose not to molest the soldiers, but to send a number of trusted neophytes to induce the deserters to return. From Mission San Francisco the runaways would take refuge among the savages of the opposite coast whence it was more laborious, and even dangerous, to recover them without armed men. Thus in March, 1795, Fr. Antonio Dantí directed fourteen Christians to cross the bay in search of some backsliders. Unfortunately the messengers disregarded the warning of the Father, and were in consequence attacked by savages. Seven of the neophytes were killed; the rest made their escape to the mission. Exceedingly grieved at the outcome Fr. Dantí reported the unhappy occurrence to Fr Lasuén, who replied as follows:

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[17] Libro de Bautismos de la Mision de Santa Barbara.

[18] The character of the Indian in this respect has not changed since then, as the superintendents of either government or mission schools can attest. However, playing truant from white colleges and schools is nothing uncommon. The adult Indians of those times were only overgrown boys with the passions of untamed savages.

"The misfortune is indeed painful in every way; but the undertaking on account of which it happened was good, and there was prudent hope that it would succeed. Your Reverence had given the most appropriate warnings. If the messengers had observed them, such a calamity would not have come to pass. This will exonerate you if the charge to the contrary is made. Your Reverence, since it ought also to satisfy you, should therefore not give room to excessive grief and sorrow. In the future, owing to unfortunate experiences, such undertakings must be considered not as less good, but as less likely to succeed. Hence it will be necessary to refrain from them when not executed on a larger scale, and when more suitable protection is not afforded.

"For the same reason, and also for others, it is necessary to desist absolutely from the task of bringing gentiles from the other shore by means of Christian Indians.[19] The distance, with the notable circumstance of a sea intervening, creates just suspicions that they will not remain subjects of Christian education, and one must not proceed to baptize without a prudent hope of their perseverance. To attract them recourse was formerly had to the sending of Christians, but for the present you cannot count on this because the risk is too great. Your Reverences must content yourselves with persuading those gentiles by means of those who come and go spontaneously,[20] that they join the holy Church of God. It is better and safer (because more free) that they come with only that impulse. With this the zeal of Your Reverences must rest satisfied. Those who come in this way must be tried more than those of this side of the bay until there is prudent security of their true vocation." [21] Yet a month later Fr. Martin Landaeta thought himself justified to send a band of neophytes across the bay in order to bring back some runaways. They succeeded without suffering any mishap; but when Governor Borica heard of it he too disapproved of the practice and ordered it to cease.[22]

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[19] The neophytes were frequently given a vacation and instructed to persuade their relatives or friends to become Christians.

Just at this time, 1795-1796, great mortality prevailed at Mission San Francisco, and caused many of the neophytes to take refuge across the bay. This might not have aroused unusual comment, for the rough climate of this region was notoriously unfavorable to the Indians, had not one of the missionaries become demented. Fr. José Maria Fernández had been sent to the afflicted mission as supernumerary, and arrived by sea on June 18, 1796. An accidental blow on the head deranged his mind so that he suffered the strangest hallucinations. One of these was that the other two Fathers did not appreciate him, and would not take him into their counsels with regard to the management of the mission. By degrees he worked himself into such a passion that he leveled the most serious charges against his companions. Instead of reporting to his Superior, Fr. Lasuén,[23] whatever appeared faulty, Fr. Fernandez chose the unfraternal and disloyal course of exposing the real or imagined guilt of the Fathers to the governor. In his letter to Borica, not long after his arrival, he asserted that the desertion of the Indians was due to the ill treatment they received at the hands of Fathers Landaeta and Dantí, who failed to provide the three meals a day sufficiently warm, worked the neophytes harder than their physical constitution warranted, and were generally cruel.[24]

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[20] Savages who came to visit the missions.

[21] Fr. Lasuén to Fr. Dantí, May 25, 1795. *Cal. Arch., Prov. St. Pap.* xiii, 633; xv, 153; 171-172; 505-506.

[22] Borica to Fr. Landaeta, July 6 and 23, 1795. *Cal. Arch., Prov. Rec.* vi, 599-601.

The governor, not aware that the friar was demented, on September 22nd, angrily wrote to Fr. Lasuén the following sharp note: "Setting aside the considerations and forbearance which until now have been of no avail in correcting excesses committed against the poor and deplorable Indians of Mission San Francisco, I shall know how to take rigorous measures to relieve them with regard to treatment, work, and warm meals. There have occurred two hundred and three deaths in 1795, and about two hundred Indians have run away. This is a blot which will scandalize the secular as well as the monastic authorities. For God's sake I beg Your Paternity to reform this entirely, so that at once and forever these wretched people may be placed in a condition in which they may live pleasantly. This is a subject which deprives me of sleep, and it is this that makes me speak. Would it not be a shame if two countrymen should be compelled to quarrel to the scandal of the province? etc."[25] Though written under a misapprehension and in an angry mood, the letter does honor to the governor in that it demonstrates that he had the welfare of the Indians at heart, and withal had full confidence in the good will and ability of the Franciscan Superior.

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[23] This course Borica himself on May 5, 1796, had pointed out to Fr. Juan Maria Salgado, O. P., of Lower California, when the latter complained about his Superior and brethren. "Dice que á respeto de los agravios que el supone que se le hacen por su prelado y religiosos compañeros, necesita primero occurrir á sus superiores, y si estos no le subministran justicia entonces se podra presentar á los Ministros del Rey solicitando la de ellos"—*Cal. Arch., Prov. Rec.* vi, 629-630. Borica must have been angry, indeed, when he forgot his own advice in the case of Fr. Fernández.

[24] Fr. Fernández to Borica, September 12, 1796; Borica to Fr. Fernández, September 15, 1796. *Cal. Arch., Prov. Rec.* iv, 153; 171-172; 637; 639-640; *Prov. St. Pap.* xv, 57-67.

Fr. Lasuén quietly responded that he would see that the causes of the complaints disappeared. Borica in return expressed his satisfaction with the promise, but feeling that he owed an apology for the tone of his former note he nobly offered it in these terms: "Your Paternity knows my manner of thinking, and you will do me the justice of being convinced that whatever I say, whatever I write, whatever I plan, is and always will be on the side of justice and humanity. If sometimes I use strong expressions it is for the purpose of animating and invigorating those who have it in their power to contribute to such beneficial objects as may be in contemplation. I am a soldier, while Your Reverence fills a sacred office. It is not unnatural that the soldier in his fiery manner may, in his desire for prompt co-operation of the priest, overlook or disregard considerations of prudence which the latter may deem of great importance, etc."[26]

After he had investigated the cause "of that imprudent and noisy disturbance, which did not deprive me of life because God would not permit it,"[27] Fr. Lasuén wrote to Fr. Guardian Miguel Lull: "I convinced the governor that all had been a cavillous machination directed towards a very unjust claim. I in person caused him to see as much, after having satisfied his Honor by means of a confidential letter in reply to one of the same nature. He had the gratification of replying that already the deserters were coming back, and that they gave assurance that not one had gone away for fear of work, nor for fear of chastisement, but for fear of the contagious and mortal disease which raged at the mission." [28]

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[25] Borica to Fr. Lasuén, September 22, 1796. *Cal. Arch., Prov. Rec.* iv, 639-640.

[26] Fr. Lasuén to Borica, September 26th; Borica to Fr. Lasuén October 3, 1796. *Cal. Arch., Prov. Rec.* iv, 645-646.

[27] "ese imprudente y ruidoso disturbio, que no me quitó la vida, por que Dios no quiso."

In June, 1797, another mishap occurred. A large number of neophytes again disappeared. Many of the fugitives belonged to the Cuchillones who like the Chaclanes or Sacalanes, seem to have occupied the territory between Alameda and Mission San José. Raimundo, a Lower California neophyte, with thirty mission Indians crossed the bay on balsas.[29] They discovered the deserters in three gentile rancherias. Raimundo persuaded them to return unobserved while the savages were enjoying their heathen dances. The truants consented, but just as they were about to embark they changed their minds, and refused to be led away. At this moment the savages appeared and aided their resisting tribesmen. Raimundo and his companions thereupon made their escape to the mission without bringing back any of the runaways. When the commander of the presidio heard of Raimundo's attempt he forbade him to make any more such excursions, and then demanded particulars of the Fathers. In reply Father José Espí and Martin Landaeta on June 22nd declared that the proposition to go after the fugitives had come from the neophytes, and that they had repeatedly assured the Fathers that there was no danger whatsoever. "We consented solely in order to comply with the obligation of our ministry, and to alleviate in some measure the pain which is the more acute as the spirit is wounded to the quick in a pastor who has to give an account of so many lost sheep, if by every means he does not exert himself in seeking them." [30]

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[28] "Convencí al Señor Gobernador de haber sido todo una maquinacion cavilosa, dirigida á una pretension muy injusta. Se lo hice ver asi verbalmente despues de haber satisfecho á Su Señoria por medio de una carta confidencial á una suya del mismo estilo. Tuvo la satisfaccion de responder, que ya iban viniendo, y aseguraban no haberse ido ninguno por miedo del trabajo, ni del castigo, sino por temor de la enfermedad contagiosa y mortal que efectivamente se padeció en la mision." Fr. Lasuén to Fr. Lull, June 19, 1801. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[29] Rafts made of bundles of straw firmly tied together.

[30] Argüello to Fathers Espí and Landaeta, June 20th; Fathers Espí and Landaeta to Argüello, June 22, 1797. *Cal. Arch., Prov. St. Pap.* xv, 57; 65.

Argüello reported the occurrence to the governor,[31] and Fr. Espí himself explained the matter to Borica. He insisted that the Indians had been eager to go, as in their opinion "there was no risk, because every day they go and come and deal with the Indians across the bay." Then the love for the souls of the deserters had impelled the missionaries to consent to the attempt of bringing the apostates back. "I know," Fr. Espí continues, "that Your Honor will not be favorably disposed towards the practice, much less after the disparaging criticisms which are based only on the lies and vile assertions of the neophytes; but the truth of the matter is that those who went, have returned without any harm, all without a scratch. If for what could have happened we erred, I am ready to accept any reproof, and propose to amend; but with all due respect we appeal to the tribunal of the well-known piety of Your Honor that, if the existing circumstances, difficulties, and disputes permit, Your Honor would furnish us with a little expedition; for the Indians are tractable. If they see four soldiers (and me if I am permitted) with four sacks of wheat, I trust in the Lord that the savages will deliver the fugitives to us, and many gentiles will feel constrained to come along." [32]

When poor. demented Fr. Fernández observed that he was not consulted in the transaction, he felt so incensed that he directed two long letters to Governor Borica. In both he furiously denounced the other two Fathers as the cause of the whole trouble.[33] This time Borica took no notice of the diatribes. Only Hittell in our day eagerly seized them in order to relieve himself of a quantity of anti-monastic choler.[34] Bancroft, with all the facts before him, could make no capital out of the incident, and therefore refrained from blaming the friars.

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[31] Argüello to Borica, June 27 and July 18, 1797. *Cal. Arch., Prov. St. Pap.* xv, 57; 67.

[32] Fr. Espí to Borica, June 30, 1797. *Cal. Arch., Prov. St. Pap.* xv, 59.

[33] Fr. Fernández to Borica, June 27 and 29, 1797. *Cal. Arch., Prov. St. Pap.* xv, 60-64.

[34] Hittell, i, 565-570.

Lest the savages be provoked to make war on Mission San José, or the messengers suffer harm, Governor Borica thought it prudent to forbid unarmed bands to go after fugitives. He accordingly directed Comandante Argüello to assemble the neophytes of Mission San Francisco, and in the presence of the missionaries to instruct them not to cross the bay after runaways, nor for any other purpose, even if the Fathers desired it. On the other hand, the neophytes were commanded to assist punctually at the prayers, instructions, and holy Mass, and to do whatever else the Fathers might command. The missionaries meekly submitted to the decision, but there was a difficulty which Argüello presented to the governor. "Fr. Landaeta," he wrote to Borica, "asked me what to do when Indians who were born on the other side of the bay asked for permission to visit their relatives? How should the Fathers satisfy them? I replied that Your Honor should be consulted. In view of this I supplicate Your Honor to declare this point to me so that I may act with the prudence I desire."[35]

Borica, unlike Neve, was not opposed to restoring runaways to the missions. He was too good a Christian to observe with indifference how numerous Indians, adorned with the baptismal character, yielding to carnal propensities and to the taunts of pagans, resumed savage customs. Otherwise the missionaries must have refused to baptize any but the dying until the government, which had enlisted the priests, furnished security that the baptized would continue to appreciate the benefits of Christianity. He was too wise a statesman not to perceive the dangers to society and to the state from the return of the neophytes to savagery. What he objected to was the practice of sending unarmed bands into savage country, lest they fall victims to the fury of gentile relatives and tribesmen, as was the case in 1795. Borica himself on April 6, 1799, directed the missionaries of San

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[35] Borica to Argüello, July 8th; Argüello to Borica, July 18, 1797. *Cal. Arch., Prov. St. Pap.* xv, 66-67. Fr. Landaeta's question reveals the custom observed in all the missions of allowing the neophytes, at least the men, to visit their pagan relatives. They might be absent two weeks at a time.

Carlos to choose some trusted neophytes who might accompany a squad of soldiers in search of truant mission Indians.[36]

Moreover, the governor sought to avoid an open rupture with the troublesome savages who inhabited the territory now known as Alameda and Contra Costa counties. Even when, in 1795, they murdered seven of the San Francisco Indians sent out by Fr. Dantí, Boríca allowed them to go unpunished. This was unfortunate, as they attributed the inaction of the governor to fear. They grew more impudent after the affair with Raimundo in June, 1797, and assumed a hostile attitude towards Mission San José in union with deserting neophytes. Sergeant Amador was sent to investigate. He found that the savages had threatened to kill the neophytes if they continued to work, and even the soldiers if they interfered. He therefore recommended an expedition to punish them, to collect the runaways, and to convince the Sacalanes that the Spaniards were not afraid. Boríca then ordered Amador with twenty soldiers to capture the head men and the deserters, but to avoid bloodshed if possible. The expedition set out on July 10th, and on the 15th the troops reached the neighborhood of the hostile camp. The Sacalanes would listen to nothing. They had dug pits so that the Spaniards were compelled to dismount and attack the enemy with sword and lance. In the fight two soldiers were wounded and seven savages killed. The Cuchillones were next attacked; they retreated after two of their number had been killed. On the 18th Amador returned to Mission San José with eighty-three captured Christians and nine gentiles, including five Sacalanes implicated in the massacre of 1795, and three Cuchillones who had attacked Raimundo in the month before. Seventy-nine of the deserters were returned to San Francisco, but never punished for their disloyalty. The captured savages were kept at work on the presidio.[37]

Interesting are the excuses offered by the runaways. Men who have had dealings with the Indians as missionaries, teachers, or government employees will appreciate the following answers to questions why the neophytes fled. Tibúrcio claimed he was flogged five times by Fr. Dantí for crying at the death of his wife and child. Magin asserted that he was put into the stocks when ill. Claudio said he was beaten by the alcalde with a stick, and forced to work when ill. José Manuel declared that he was struck with a bludgeon. Liberato ran away to escape dying of hunger like his mother, two brothers, and three nephews. Otolón charged that he was flogged for not caring for his wife after she had sinned with the cowboy. Milán complained that he had to work with no food for his family, and was flogged because he went after clams. Potabo's excuse was that he had lost his family and had no one to take care of him. Orencio's alleged reason was that his niece had died of hunger. Toríbio confessed that he was always hungry. Magno stated that he had departed for not receiving any rations because, when he was occupied in tending to his sick son, he could not work. Only one appears to have acknowledged at least one-half of the truth. This was Tarazón who maintained that he had visited the country and had felt inclined to stay.[38]

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[36] Borica to the San Carlos Fathers, April 6, 1799. *Archb. Arch.*, i, No. 190.

[37] Bancroft, i, 710-711.

Besides the fear of death at periods of epidemics and the disinclination to work, "the motive with most of those who run away," Fathers Gonzalez and Carranza of Santa Cruz report to Governor Boríca, "is the ungovernable passion for other women. Those at this mission cannot entirely gratify their lust, because of the vigilance of the missionaries. Hence they run away in order to give full sway to their carnal desires."[39] In the same report the Fathers give an instance where an Indian became absolutely intolerable because of his lust. "We send you," they write, "in charge of two soldiers a neophyte whose name is Andrés. We do not know him except for the information we have of his deeds. We are convinced of his incorrigibility; for on all occasions when they arrested him no sooner was he set at liberty than he resumed his evil life. Finally, as the Fathers of Santa Clara write to us, who dismissed him, he has rendered himself insufferable to the very pagans. We therefore supplicate Your Honor to deign to relieve us of this molestation."

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[38] Bancroft, i, 711. See note 28 for the true reasons.

[39] Fathers González and Carranza to Borica, about 1799. *Archb. Arch.*, No. 126.

Thus complaints were made by some of the neophytes at all the missions because they hated work, or chafed under the restraint put upon their animal propensities. If they discovered a willing listener, their tales would be correspondingly embellished. At this time some of the neophytes at San Diego also accused Fr. Panella of cruelty. Fr. Lasuén investigated on the spot, and then reported to Governor Borica that there was little foundation for the charge.[40] Fr. Panella himself explained to the governor that on a certain festive occasion he merely had not allowed the Indians to have their way.[41]

Azanza

As to poor Fr. José Maria Fernández, he plainly could be of no use in the missions. He was therefore sent back to the College along with Fr. Antonio de la Concepcion who had gone insane at San Miguel before he had been stationed there a month. Both took passage on the *Concepcion* in September, 1797. Governor Borica later on reported to the viceroy that Fr. Fernández was "a good religious, whose mind was somewhat deranged."[42] Viceroy M. J. Azanza, however, took note of the reports about the runaways, and wrote to Fr. Lasuén that, since the excursions of neophytes in search of their fugitive companions resulted in much trouble, he wanted them to cease. Christian Indians should not be sent on such errands save in urgent cases, and only with the consent of the governor.[43]

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[40] Fr. Lasuén to Borica, September 30, 1798. *Archb. Arch.*, No. 159.

[41] Fr. Panella to Borica, November 21, 1798. *Archb. Arch.*, No. 166.

[42] Borica to the Viceroy, July 1, 1798. *Cal. Arch., Prov. Rec.* iv, 403-404.

Franciscan poverty was perhaps never more keenly felt by the venerable Presidente of the California missions, Fr. Lasuén, than when, through Governor Borica, he received the information of his aged sister's indigence in Spain. The friars lived so absolutely detached from family ties that no correspondence passed between them and their relatives; at least none is extant. Not as much as an allusion to relatives is made in any of the several thousand letters found in the various archives, save in two cases of which this is one. In a communication addressed to the governor and dated Santa Barbara, December 13, 1797, Fr. Lasuén writes: "Two thousand thanks to Your Honor's sister, Doña Bernarda, for her kind affection towards my poor, dear sister Clara. She says of her that she is a good woman, and therefore there need be no fear that she may perish from want. I venture to say that, if I possessed much wealth, I would give it with good cheer, even to reducing myself to the state of mendicancy in which I find myself, in order to assist her.[44] I am infinitely glad that the application has been made through Your Honor; for no one else will be so well able to inform her of my absolute poverty, and to undeceive my poor, dear relative, as your sister. I have forwarded the letter to my Superior at San Fernando College with the remark that 'the governor has sent me this letter of his sister, which, as may be seen from it, intercedes in behalf of my poor sister. I am poorer than she, for I am absolutely supported by means of alms of the Franciscan friars. If there be any way of aiding her from there, I shall be much pleased, and God will repay it.' "[45]

From this letter it is evident, first, that the wealth and gold mines of the Franciscans, which are still current talk among the Mexicans in California, are a myth. Surely Fr.

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[43] Azanza to Fr. Lasuén, November 8, 1798. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[44] "Me atrevo á decir que si yo tuviera mucho caudal, lo daria de buena gana hasta quedarme en el estado mendicante en que me hallo, por tal de soccorrerla."

[45] *Cal. Arch., St. Pap., Indexes* ii, 452-453.

Lasuén would have helped his sister if he possessed anything. Secondly, that the Franciscans observed their vow of poverty strictly. Not even for the sake of a penniless relative would they break it. Thirdly, that they managed the property of the missions, which they regarded as sacred to their convert Indians, with scrupulous fidelity. Were it not so, Fr. Lasuén, the Presidente of all the missions, would have found means to appropriate some of the funds entrusted to him for the benefit of his indigent sister in her old age. Instead he appeals to the College, which likewise possessed nothing, but which might discover a benefactor.

CHAPTER VII.

Colonization Schemes.—Opinions of Fathers Salazer and Señan.—Efforts and Success of the Missionaries.—Failure of the Colonies.—Recommendations.—Borica's Inconsiderate Choice of Pueblo Site.—Protest of the College.—The Royal Decrees on the Subject.—The New Colonists.—Branciforte Established.—Its Failure.—Carmelite Monastery Proposed.—Opinion of Fathers Peña and Murgártegui.—Scheme to Reduce the Number of Missionaries.—Protest of the College.—Another Scheme of Borica Against the Friars.—Protest of the College.—Still Another Wild Project.

WHILE the missionaries by degrees induced the natives to embrace Christianity and thus secured the territory for the Crown of Spain, the government sought to insure its claim on California by means of white colonies. The result in the case of the settlements at San José and Los Angeles proved far from encouraging, but the fear of a French invasion caused Viceroy Branciforte[1] to make special efforts towards colonizing the country. When on May 4, 1796, he learned that Fathers Alonso Isidoro Salazar and José Senañ had returned from the missions, he called upon them for their views. What he wanted to know was, why after nearly thirty years of Spanish occupation no greater progress had been made; whether it was expedient to establish new pueblos in suitable places; whether a pueblo near the presidio of San Francisco would be practicable, where discharged Catalonian volunteers might settle down with their families, and take up land for cultivation and stock-raising; and finally, whatever the Fathers should deem conducive to the advancement of the territory.[2]

Both Fathers independently of each other drew up long statements on the situation and delivered them to the viceroy. Fr. Señan's is the more complete, though both agree on the points treated, only a synopsis of which can be given here. Fr. Salazar began his exposition of the conditions by declaring that the wealth and fertility of the land had been much exaggerated; that water was not abundant, as he had observed only eight rivers which empty their water into the ocean; but most of them were mere arroyos from which irrigation could be effected with the greatest difficulty in order to render the soil productive. In the first four years the missionaries made a precarious living by searching for food for themselves and their Indian converts after the manner of birds. These years must therefore be subtracted.[3] The beginnings had been very small, as the first missions altogether, with the presidios, possessed only two hundred oxen and cows and two hundred sheep. Grain was exceedingly scarce. This could be inferred from the fact that when San Luis Obispo was founded, only an *almud*[4] and a half of wheat could be allotted to the missionary with which to begin agriculture. Notwithstanding such meager aid, after twenty-two years the herds had increased to 15,000 horses, 1500 mules, 38,000 sheep, and 50,000 head of cattle,[5] though every year 6000 were slaughtered for food. The average annual yield of all kinds of grain was about 43,000 fanegas. The value of the thirteen missions was estimated at $800,000.[6]

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[1] Don Miguel de la Grua Talamanca y Branciforte succeeded Viceroy Revilla Gigedo in July, 1794.

[2] Salazar, *Representacion,* May 11, 1796. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

In the spiritual order, Fr. Salazar explained, the progress was still more notable, inasmuch as the Fathers of the thirteen missions, two of which had been established but five years before, had baptized 23,000 Indians.[7] This result was all due, under God, to the immense labors of the missionaries who, as occasion demanded, saw themselves acting as tailors, farmers, masons, carpenters, tanners, and shoemakers. Withal they were very economical in everything. Yet these friars had been far better acquainted with their theological and philosophical books than with such a variety of manual labor.

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[3] "estuvieron los padres como los pájaros buscando un triste alimento para sí y los Indios, con que se pueden dar por muertos," (i. e. los años).

[4] An almud was less than a peck.

[5] This is an estimate. The official reports reduce the figures about one-fourth.

[6] Fr. Salazar must have included the value of the land. The estimate is too high.

[7] The official report of December 31, 1796, has 21,853 Baptisms.

The question was how, with all these duties on his hands, the friar was to comply with the obligations of his religious profession? How could he devote himself to spiritual exercises, when from morning till night he was occupied teaching the Christian doctrine to the neophytes and to the gentiles who applied for admission, visiting the sick, preparing the dying to receive the Sacraments, burying the dead, and uniting couples in marriage? Yet he would accompany and show the Indians how to dig irrigating ditches, cultivate the land, sow the grain, cut wood, bring stones, make tiles, look after the stock, and do countless other things until, like a Father of Santa Clara, he dropped down exhausted in the sierra a fit subject for the last Sacraments!

Turning to the subject of pueblos or white settlements, of which there were only two, San José and Los Angeles, Fr. Salazar says that after twenty years there was indeed no material progress visible, and he gives the reasons. The principal cause is, that the colonists of either town, if indeed the places deserve the name, find it more necessary to gamble and to play the guitar than to teach their children and attend to their work.[8] "Whatever is effected in those pueblos," Fr. Señan agreeing with Fr. Salazar writes, "is due more to the gentile Indian of the neighboring rancherias than to the settlers. It is the hired Indian that plows, sows, harvests, in a word does nearly everything. Hence it is, what is more deplorable, that these Indians who, owing to their intercourse with the colonists, should be the first to receive Baptism, stimulated either by their bad example or personal interest,[9] are still in the shadows of paganism, whilst those of distant rancherias in great part are already found in the bosom of the holy Church."[10] The Indian for his labor, Fr. Salazar continues, is given his meals and a blanket.

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[8] "quienes será mas fácil hallar con la baraja en la mano, que con la azada ó el arado";—"whom it is easier to see with a pack of cards in the hand than with the spade or plough," as Fr. Señan has it.

[9] The unscrupulous colonist found it more profitable if his Indian servant was not a Christian; the pagan Indian liked it better because he could continue his loose habits.

[10] Señan, *Representacion,* May 14, 1796. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

With this garment he then struts about prouder than any one, and unwilling to trouble himself about Religion or Baptism. Nevertheless, the priest from the neighboring mission is expected to attend to the spiritual needs of such settlers, baptize, marry, and bury them without any compensation whatever.

Fathers Salazar and Señan find the shadow of an excuse for the colonist's indifference to work his land. There is no storehouse whence to procure what he wants, save the government store, they tell the viceroy. There he must pay the highest price for goods, but is obliged to accept the lowest price for his grain. Frequently he cannot obtain what he needs, and is compelled to take articles for which he has no immediate use, or which only serve to foster luxury. As he cannot sell his produce anywhere else, he is discouraged, and contents himself with raising what is absolutely necessary. Hence, Fr. Señan insists, unless trade with others is encouraged, the country can never prosper, as the missionaries fare just as poorly with the produce from the missions.[11]

The two Fathers now proceed to recommend what in their opinion would render colonization successful and beneficial to the country. Fr. Señan, who goes into particulars, insists that in the first place the settlers must lead honest, industrious and Christian lives. This is absolutely necessary; for no one can contribute to the welfare of society, who is accustomed to pass his days in vice and idleness. This is the more necessary in a country which is inhabited largely by pagans or neophyte Indians who need the encouragement of a good example.

In the second place the settler must be enabled to enjoy the fruit of his industry, and therefore he should be free to trade his goods with any one at a reasonable price and for what he needs. As it is, Fr. Señan writes, "the purchaser of the products of the land has an advantage which I believe exists nowhere in any other part of the world. The price list imposed by the government, which fixes the price for grain here, is little less than an article of faith: unchangeable. I know very well, Sir, that there are certain necessary evils, but I believe that this one, of which I speak, cannot be counted in the list of them."

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[11] Governor Borica on November 16, 1797, admitted that the pueblos had a surplus of 2000 fanegas of grain for which there was no sale. Bancroft, i, 605, note 9.

The third requisite for successful colonization in things temporal is, that in each pueblo there be a person who has some authority. He should be a man of sufficient knowledge, and a faithful executor of the governor's orders. He should take notice of scandals, and should prevent idleness which is one of the chief enemies of a colony's happiness. I am aware, Fr. Señan says, that there are in the pueblos established an alcalde and a comisionado; but if these men are of the same character, or have relatives among the colonists, the population will do as it pleases. Such officials will be of no more service than to take the lead in creating fresh disorders.[12]

With regard to the location of new pueblos, Fr. Señan says, that it is not expedient to erect them close to a mission. These people to whom God and nature have given these lands would be materially injured by a pueblo in their immediate neighborhood. Various troubles would arise from the commingling of the cattle and from the cattle entering the cultivated fields. "After all, the Indians are the original inhabitants of the country, whom it is not the wish of our Catholic monarchs and of just laws, which all breathe affection and benevolence for the Indians, to injure by entering their territory, but to render more happy spiritually and temporally." About midway between San Francisco and Mission Santa Cruz there are two places on the coast which are very suitable for a colony, as there is sufficient land with enough water and no Indians to suffer damage. In case the settlement is located at a great distance from a mission, a priest should be provided from the very beginning, otherwise the people will lose holy Mass, grow up ignorant, and possibly die without the Sacraments before a Father from the missions could reach them. A resident priest could remedy much, as the wicked would be afraid, and the alcalde would feel bound to do his duty. The friars would be glad to be relieved of the care of these pueblos and presidios. The ships are provided with salaried chaplains, why not the towns and presidios?[13]

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[12] Thus Ignacio Vallejo alcalde at San José, was on August 11, 1786, reproved by Governor Fages for immoralities. "Advierto Vm. por última que si no quiere experimentar un sobreojo, se aparte totalmente de dicha mujer (daughter of a certain Gonzáles) dandome á mi, y al público, la satisfaccion que corresponde con no verla oirla, ni atenderla." *Cal. Arch., Dep. St. Pap., San José*, i, 72-73; Bancroft, ii, 172.

Meanwhile Governor Borica with Engineer Alberto de Córdoba[14] and Lieutenant-colonel Alberni examined the country for suitable sites on which to establish the new pueblo. Three localities were proposed, the vicinity of San Francisco presidio, Alameda Creek, and a place near the outlet of the Rio San Lorenzo. The region near the presidio, for lack of good land, water, and timber, was deemed unsuitable; the land along Alameda Creek it was thought difficult to irrigate; finally a spot was chosen at the northern extremity of Monterey Bay, on the east side of the Rio San Lorenzo, just opposite Mission Santa Cruz. Notwithstanding the reasons Fathers Salazar and Señan had given the viceroy against such a measure, Branciforte on January 25, 1797, approved of Borica's proposition, and directed him to notify the Fr. Presidente that the Villa of Branciforte should now be established, and that he expected the missions to aid the project by contributing whatever was necessary, at the prices fixed by the government heretofore.[15]

Fr. Lasuén on May 1, 1797, informed the College, which on August 30th sent a protest to the viceroy against the founding of a white colony so near a mission. The document was signed by the temporary Superior and all the discretos. "The College," the Fathers say, "regards the project itself with favor as something useful. Nor does it venture to make representation in order to hamper or embarrass Your Excellency. It merely desires to see the plan executed in accordance with the laws. Otherwise there will arise disputes, disorders and delays. To avoid all this, Law 9, title 12, book 4, demands that no lands shall be granted to the prejudice of the Indians, and those that have been granted shall be restored. Law 12 of the same title and book determines that the pastures for the cattle should be allotted apart from the fields and villages of the Indians. We find the same regulation in Law 20, title 3, book 6. Coming to particulars, we know that the river which forms the boundary between the mission and the proposed pueblo is scarcely a stone's throw from the latter. Moreover the neophytes of Mission Santa Cruz have been in the habit of pasturing their cattle on the other (pueblo) side of the river on account of the proximity to the mission. On this account, and because the cattle are accusomed to the place, they will necessarily mix with those of the new pueblo. It is evident that damage will result. To avoid this, Law 6, title 3, book 6, provides that lands, mountain ranges, and a common of one league should be allotted for the cattle. All this is confirmed and explained by the decree of King Philip V, of glorious memory, dated Madrid, September 15, 1713, which decree we subjoin:

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[13] Señan, *Representacion*, May 14, 1796. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[14] Córdoba had arrived with Alberni in 1796.

[15] Borica to Fr. Lasuén, May 2, 1797. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

"'Being well disposed,' the king says, 'towards the Ordinances and Laws concerning Indians, and especially the 8th of title 3, book 6 of the Recopilacion, which provides that the new reductions or mission pueblos that are being formed for the Indians, be given a location which has the convenience of water, arable lands, ranges, entries and exits, that they may live from their own labor, and a commons of a league in every direction of the wind, where their cattle may graze without mixing with those of the Spaniards: I command my Viceroy of New Spain, the Audiencia, the governors, etc., that, in conformity with and in observance of these laws, they exercise all their vigilance and efficiency, so that the said newly-converted Indians be given the lands, public commons, and water that have been conceded to them.'[16]

"We pass over, Sir, many other laws, which demand that no lands be granted to the injury of the Indians, as for instance Law 8, title 12, book 4, which forbids the mission Indians to be despoiled of the lands they possess; or Law 9, title 3, book 6, etc., because it would be a tedious task, and because it could perhaps cause some annoyance to the superior attention of Your Excellency. The explanation given suffices to convince us that Your Excellency was not informed with that sincerity and truth, which the matter required, as to the site or location on which the new pueblo is projected against the express intent of such grand and equitable laws. We also suspect, with much reason, that most advantageous sites have been disregarded, which are not only without these objections, but also proportionately much larger. They lie between the missions of Santa Cruz and San Francisco, as is apparent from the information which by higher order Fr. José Señan, missionary of this College, gave on May 14, 1796. These sites could be proposed, so that in any of them Your Excellency could realize your highest ambition, as well as ours, without detriment to the Indians or the missions, and with the well-founded hopes that the new establishments will subsist and even enjoy much progress. This, however, it would be difficult to bring about, if they were founded in the confines which have just been mentioned, inasmuch as from the very beginning arise difficulties that are the cause of all the complaints, disturbances, and appeals for relief which occasioned such just laws. These laws were passed in order to obviate the delays and whatever is prejudicial to the missions, 'which,' as the said law says, 'have been founded with such great labor on the part of the missionaries.' God our Lord guard the important life of Your Excellency many years. College of San Fernando August 30, 1797. Fr. Pedro Callējas, Presidente; Fr. Tomas de Pángua, Ex-Guardian; Fr. Tomás de la Peña, Discreto; Fr. Lorenzo Sócies, Discreto; Fr. Cristóbal Orámas, Discreto; Fr. Sebastian de Inestríllas, Discreto." [17]

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[16] Decree of King Philip V, September 15, 1713. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

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[17] *Sta. Barb. Arch.* This protest is only one of many which the friars made in behalf of the Indians and their rights. From the beginning to the end the missionaries insisted that the laws should be observed which invariably protected the native and his land. See also *Cal. Arch., St. Pap.* iv, pp. 672-684; xviii, p. 108.

As Viceroy Branciforte on January 27, 1797, had already ordered Governor Boríca to found the pueblo immediately, the remonstrance of the College, dated almost six months later, had no effect. The governor directed Engineer Córdoba to lay out the town, and to make provisions for a church, government buildings, and a hospital, whilst he was constructing the temporary houses. On May 12, 1797, the *Concepcion* brought the first colonists to Monterey. Boríca had asked for men of robust health among whom should be carpenters, smiths, stone-cutters, masons, tailors, tanners, shoemakers, tilemakers, a few shipwrights and sailors. Instead, the recruits consisted of nine men of whom some had brought their families along. There were seventeen persons in all who belonged to the vagabond and criminal classes of Guadalajara. No others had volunteered. They arrived in a wretched, half-naked condition, and some were afflicted with a nameless disease.[18] After naming Corporal Moraga comisionado of the colony, the governor with the recruits on July 17, 1797, proceeded to execute his grand project.

On reaching the spot, Boríca introduced the colonists to their new home, and on July 24th formally established the Villa de Branciforte just over against Mission Santa Cruz, in opposition to the royal decrees which forbade white settlements within a league of an Indian mission or town. In the following month Engineer Córdoba furnished the governor with an estimate of the cost to date to the royal treasury. It reached the sum of $23,415.[19] A copy was forwarded to the viceroy, and then work on the permanent buildings was suspended for want of funds. Notwithstanding the numerous regulations and pecuniary assistance the colony, started against the protest of the missionaries, and in violation of the rights of the Indians and of Spanish laws,[20] never was a success. The inhabitants were never noted for devotion to hard work, and their moral condition was what could be expected with such a class of people. On December 5, 1800, the governor wrote to the viceroy that the Branciforte settlers were a scandal to the country for their immorality, etc. They detested their exile, rendered no service, and daily fresh complaints of disorders were reported. Though the place had been heralded as the best between Cabo de San Lucas and San Francisco,[21] "for various reasons," Hittell says,[22] "notwithstanding the advantages it possessed, it was not fitted for a large town; a prejudice grew up against it from the very start; and consequently it never advanced sufficiently to compare with Los Angeles or San Jose." It never became a credit to the viceroy who thought to immortalize his name. When the Americans arrived less than fifty years later, it was almost forgotten that such a place as the Villa de Branciforte had ever existed.[23]

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[18] "Todos llegaron casi desnudos y algunos enfermos de gálico." *Cal. Arch., Prov. Rec.* iv, 359.

[19] If the government had been only one-fourth as liberal towards the missions how much more success could have been recorded, and what indescribable worry could have been spared the missionaries!

The new colony had not yet been formally organized when Viceroy Branciforte launched another scheme to promote the fortunes of California. This time he wisely refrained from hastily committing himself, and was therefore spared the humiliation of another failure. Advised by the fiscal of the royal treasury, he called upon Fathers Mugártegui and Peña, who had returned from the missions, to express their opinion as to the practicability of the project. It was the intention, the viceroy informed the College, "to establish a hospice or monastery at the port of San Francisco, at an expense of $25,000 or $30,000, as a most effective means for colonizing the country. It is to take up the work of cultivating the soil by means of which, if it would do so, it would render a great service to God, to the king, and to the public. In a few years not only would it refund the outlay, but it could succor all the convents of the province. No other monastery would be more adapted than one of the Carmelite Order on account of the abundance of fish on the coast. Twelve religious would cause no dearth if only one were taken from each community, and these at the port of San Francisco would be of unbounded service, first for teaching the catechism to the savages, an object preferable to any other,[24] and secondly for the cause of colonization. The inmates of the monastery, the mayordomo, the corporals, the cowherders, the shepherds, and the laborers of this plantation would compose the community and the village. Piety and devotion would naturally attract the other sex to divine worship there, and the spires and towers would not fail to awaken sublime thoughts in the sailors and strangers." [25]

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[20] Fr. Lasuén on May 1, 1797, when reporting the matter to the College declared, "This is the greatest outrage that I have seen committed in mission countries. It is an enormous violation of the whole law." *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[21] "El mejor de quantos se hallan desde el Cabo de San Lucas hasta San Francisco."—*Cal. Arch., Prov. St. Pap.* xxi, p. 642. A far better place could have been found in Pájaro Valley on the same bay, but fifteen or twenty miles to the east, without injury to the Indians.

[22] *History of California,* vol. i, 582.

[23] Hittell, i, 576-582; Bancroft, i, 565-572.

Branciforte

Had the proposition come from any other source, the Franciscans would have doubted that it was seriously meant. In the present case the two Fathers must have experienced some difficulty to respond in terms that disclosed no amusement. In their reply they described the efforts of the Friars Minor in the missions, and their success in the temporal as well as the spiritual order. The Indians submitted, they say, to the Gospel only when they perceived that they were not despoiled of land and liberty, and that whatever the soil and their own industry produced was garnered to support, clothe, and succor them. To depart from this method would be dangerous and might result disastrously as was the case on the Rio Colorado.

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[24] "objecto de toda preferencia."

[25] Branciforte to the College, January, 1797. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

The proposition itself involved some difficulties. First $25,000 or $30,000 would not be sufficient to put up the edifice with spires and towers, nor provide tools, furniture, implements, cattle, sheep, horses, mules, etc. Then, if the employees were to be Indians, whose labor was cheaper, whereas white help was costly, it would be necessary for the new religious first to reduce and instruct the savages. This would require years, at least for the number demanded by the plantation which was to refund the expenses, and even aid the convents of the province. Finally, even if it were fortunate from the beginning, and if there were a surplus of grain, live-stock, and other products, what would be the result, inasmuch as there is no market for them?

"If, however, the object of placing the twelve religious there be the conversion of the Indians only, it is nothing new that is proposed. Viceroy Bucareli had already intended such a hospice in which there should always be a certain number of religious, who might go out to establish new missions and maintain the old ones, and which at the same time was to serve as a house of retreat or retirement for the infirm and aged missionaries. Nothing had come of the plan because the managers of the Pious Fund had declared that the Fund could not bear the expense. It will scarcely be able to pay the cost now. Nevertheless, the proposal in this form would be most welcome to the College of San Fernando, which needs co-operation. The Carmelites would be heartily welcomed in the field as co-laborers in converting new tribes."[26] That was the last heard of the Utopian scheme. It is quite probable that Viceroy Branciforte used the name of the Carmelites without their knowledge. Not one of their religious appears to have had anything to do with it.

There were never wanting those that begrudged the poor missionaries the pittance of $400 annually, doled out to each friar in the form of goods, one-third to one-half of which, as stated before, was consumed by the cost of transportation. Though, generally, they enjoyed a high cash salary themselves,[27] these unkind critics, under the pretext of wanting to relieve the depleting royal treasury, sought to enforce Neve's infamous Article Three, which allowed but one priest at each mission. Whether or not such a measure destroyed the efficiency of the missions did not affect these men who displayed so little love for Religion and much less for the Indian, despite the well-known wishes of the Spanish kings. Neve's Reglamento had in some way or the other[28] received the royal approbation, but thus far the government had not ventured to enforce Article Three. On April 30, 1796, however, Fr. Guardian Antonio Nogueira wrote to Fr. Lasuén: "The fiscal asks why one of the religious of a mission near a presidio does not reside at the garrison, and why there must be two friars at the other establishments"?

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[26] FF. Mugártegui and Peña to Branciforte, January 28, 1797. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

In his reply of October 23, 1797, Fr. Pedro Callejas[29] tells Viceroy Branciforte that "from the earliest days it was established in Law 24, title 7, part 1, that no religious should be permitted to dwell alone in a town, castle, or parish church, but that he must reside in his convent. If it should happen that he must be stationed in another place, he must live in the company of another friar, and this is what holy Church commands in order to strengthen and fortify him to battle with the devil, the world, and the flesh, which are the enemies of the soul; because as Solomon says, 'Woe to him that is alone; for when he falleth he hath no one to lift him up.'[30] It is this that King Philip V. and King Fernando VI. decreed respectively on November 13, 1744, and December

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[27] The governor received $4000 cash salary, as much as was nominally assigned to ten missionaries, who were his equals, if not his superiors in solid learning and intelligence. Fr. Lasuén, though the superior of the missions, was not allowed even the pittance of $400 in mission goods, because he was not in actual charge of a mission!

[28] In the same year the king approved an opposite measure, as will appear presently.

[29] Fr. Nogueira, the guardian, had died; Fr. Callejas filled out the unexpired term under the title of "presidente in capite" of the College.

[30] Eccle. iv, 10.

4, 1747. The former, desirous of making intelligent provisions for the better spiritual and temporal conquest of California, declared it to be 'highly important that in all Indian missions there were two missionaries.[31] This is the more necessary in the frontier missions in order to advance the convert Indians; for in these, besides the general usefulness to all, this especial benefit would follow that one of the missionaries could enter the region of the gentiles for the purpose of attracting and winning them without leaving the converts in the missions deprived of the instruction and control they need, because the other religious will give it to them. Another benefit is that the Indians will not be without some one who watches them, lest they scheme some treason or rebellion of which there is danger when they are left alone. From this soon necessarily results much greater solid and lasting progress.' Thus it was that provisions were made in said decrees for increasing the number of missionaries. . . .

"Don José de Galvez, after experimenting with one missionary in order to relieve the royal treasury, declared it indispensably necessary that two religious should control the temporalities of the converted Indians. Therefore it was, doubtless, that King Carlos III. on May 20, 1782, approved the statutes for governing the missions compiled by Fr. Manuel de la Vega, the commissary-general for the Indies, which statutes in paragraph 6 directed 'that no missionary should live alone in pueblos, missions or missionary stations.'[32]

"The College, therefore, has always met Neve's speculative theories with the practical knowledge of all the missionaries who at all times have protested against the solitude, and supported by the royal decrees continue to remonstrate in order to avoid what one of them has so beautifully and concisely called 'a life without consolation, an infirmity without assistance, a death without the Sacraments.'[33] This is not the opinion of those that look upon the work with indifference, but of those that bear the burden and the heat of the day, who carry the staff in their hands, and who do not want to risk their salvation while devoting themselves to the salvation of others. They engaged themselves to serve both Majesties, trusting to the liberality and supreme affection with which our sovereigns have regarded and still regard those that are occupied in such a holy and beneficial ministry, notwithstanding the subtleties which some invent to save expenses to the royal treasury."[34]

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[31] See for the original text volume i, this work, p. 262, note 6.

[32] King Carlos III, by approving Neve's Reglamento on October 24, 1781, containing Article Three, reversed King Phillip's decree. Apparently he was deceived, for he later on repealed Article Three, as we have seen in its place. Viceroy Revilla Gigedo also disapproved of it. See Bancroft, i, 581.

When informed of the protest of the College of San Fernando, Governor Borica on November 16, 1797, counseled the viceroy to relieve the Pious Fund, which showed a deficit of $52,142, in another way. He proposed to continue two missionaries at each mission, but at the stipend of only one, because after all they spent no more on themselves. This was a most ungracious move against the hard-worked friars, and scarcely less inconsiderate than his previous blunder which in defiance of the laws and the protests of the Fathers planted a colony of worthless adventurers close to Mission Santa Cruz. The new viceroy, Don Miguel José de Azanza, who on May 31, 1798, had succeeded Branciforte in Mexico, on August 28, 1799, brought Borica's proposition to the notice of the College. The result was that Fr. Guardian Miguel Lull, after consulting with the discretory, issued the following emphatic statement in reply:

"I submissively obey the superior order of Your Excellency, but I protest that it is only this that moves me to expose the reflections which on this particular subject have been expressed in the discretory of this Apostolic College. The governor ought not only to suspect, but to state it as a matter of course, that this College opposes the idea and unjust project of placing only one religious at each mission;

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[33] "una vida sin consuelo, una enfermedad sin asistencia, y una muerte sin sacramentos." As such Fr. Lasuén described the lonely life.

[34] Fr. Calléjas to Branciforte, October 23, 1797. *"Sta. Barb. Arch."* Fr. Nogueira on May 13, 1796, had answered Branciforte to the same effect. *"Museo Nacional,"* Leg. 8, No. 15; Leg. 6, No. 30.

for it always has opposed and always has rejected it as perilous, because it endangers the salvation of the missionaries, and is prejudicial to the missions themselves and to their spiritual and temporal progress, inasmuch as it occasions greater expenses to the Pious Fund, or even to the royal treasury. Moreover it is in no way conformable to the laws and to the sovereign and pious intentions of our Catholic monarchs. The governor himself knows very well the necessity of two missionaries. In the representation which His Honor made to Viceroy Branciforte that chaplains should be sent to the presidios of his governmental district, he adduces as the most just and true cause the impossibility of the neighboring missionaries to attend them, because, as he very well declared, though there were two missionaries, the burden of their hardships is so great, especially on Sundays and festival days, that they have to overwork themselves and do more than mere men in celebrating holy Mass, explaining the Christian Doctrine, mustering the neophytes, correcting defects, distributing clothes, etc. . . .

"The governor of California will scarcely have perspired much in forming that grand project, or attempt to conciliate and combine the consolation of the missionaries with the parsimony of the stipends. The mere withdrawing of one stipend from each mission, or one-half a stipend from each missionary, according to his manner of reasoning, levels the whole mountain of difficulties which has caused so much discussion to the administrators of the Pious Fund, to the gentlemen of the Tribunal of Accounts, to the Fiscals of the royal treasury, and to Your Excellency's predecessors. The poor missionaries tire themselves much more in trying with their meager stipend to provide what is necessary for the divine service, for the support of the missions, the advancement of the temporalities, to meet other imperative demands for the reduction of the gentiles, the instruction of the neophytes, and to place their respective missions in such a state that they can be secularized and turned over to the bishop, so that from being missions they may become pueblos, be able to maintain their own curates and aid the State with their contributions. Until they are placed in such a condition the task belongs to the missionaries, but thereafter, in conformity with the regulations of their Institute, they must resign them and pass on to new spiritual conquests.[35]

"The governor in his recommendation says that he has been informed by various missionaries that what is transmitted for themselves from the capital each year to the missions scarcely reaches the value of $350 or $370, and that thus there results a surplus of $400 which they have constantly ceded in favor of their respective missions, without any instance to the contrary.[36] His Honor also affirms that the missions purchase nothing, and he might have added, sell nothing, nor can they sell anything, and consequently there are no means, nor funds upon which to rely for procuring farm implements and all else that His Honor enumerates, whilst he suppresses other countless things not the less urgently needed, which the missionaries annually crave, and which are forwarded from Mexico, Guadalajara, and Tepíc, such as wax for divine service, altar wine, holy oils, etc., medicines for the sick, not only for the Indians, but for the soldiers and other white inhabitants who find no other place to approach, copper vessels and earthen ware for the Fathers and Indians, and lastly whatever is needed in a commonwealth for its necessary offices. Moreover, it must be remembered that the freight charges as far as San Blas amount to twelve reales for each arroba![37] Hence is was that Don José de Galvez assigned $400 to each missionary.

"From this follows that, if the stipend of the California missionaries is cut off or decreased to the extent which the governor baptizes with the beautiful name of "surplus," the farm implements will cease, planting will cease, and the missions will cease; the gentiles will remain in the hills and shore haunts, and the Christians will have to do the same or perish for want. It follows likewise that the execution of the governor's arrangement, far from being useful and advantageous to the progress of the conquest and towards lightening the expenses of the Pious Fund and of the royal treasury, will be the total destruction and loss of what has been established and advanced at the cost of so much toil, privations, and sufferings of the missionaries, and will increase the cost to the Fund and to the royal treasury.

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[35] From this it is evident that the Franciscans never thought of establishing themselves in the missions permanently, as closet-historians and magazine writers have claimed.

[36] "que constantemente han cedido á favor de sus respectivas misiones, sin que haya exemplar de lo contrario." Another and official proof that the Franciscans were not hoarding up treasures, as the mission despoilers and their defenders have asserted. The Franciscan Rule forbade it.

[37] A reál is equivalent to 12½ cents, an arróba is equal to 25 lbs.

"Even if the missionaries from this College should not have always ceded the stipends or alms assigned in favor of their missions, but should have expended them for their own comfort and convenience, they would not have prejudiced, burdened or defrauded either the governor, or the Pious Fund, or the royal treasury; for they know very well, and the governor ought to know it, that such use is the pious royal intent of our sovereign, which is expressed in Law 14, title 15, book 1 of the Recopilacion, and this too was the mind and last will of the founders of the California Mission Fund, as can be seen from the testaments of the donors.[38]

"Finally, Sir, our profession as religious mendicants does not admit stipends, rents, or legal payment for our ministry, but only alms, as at the request of the Religious is declared in said Recopilacion in Law 25, title 15, book 1, and thus Your Excellency may determine what may be your superior pleasure. . . . College of San Fernando de Mexico, September 3, 1799. Fr. Miguel Lull."[39] Thereafter no attempt was ever again made to deprive the missions of the necessary number of missionaries, or to hamper the friars by lessening the amount of goods which their stipend procured for their missions.

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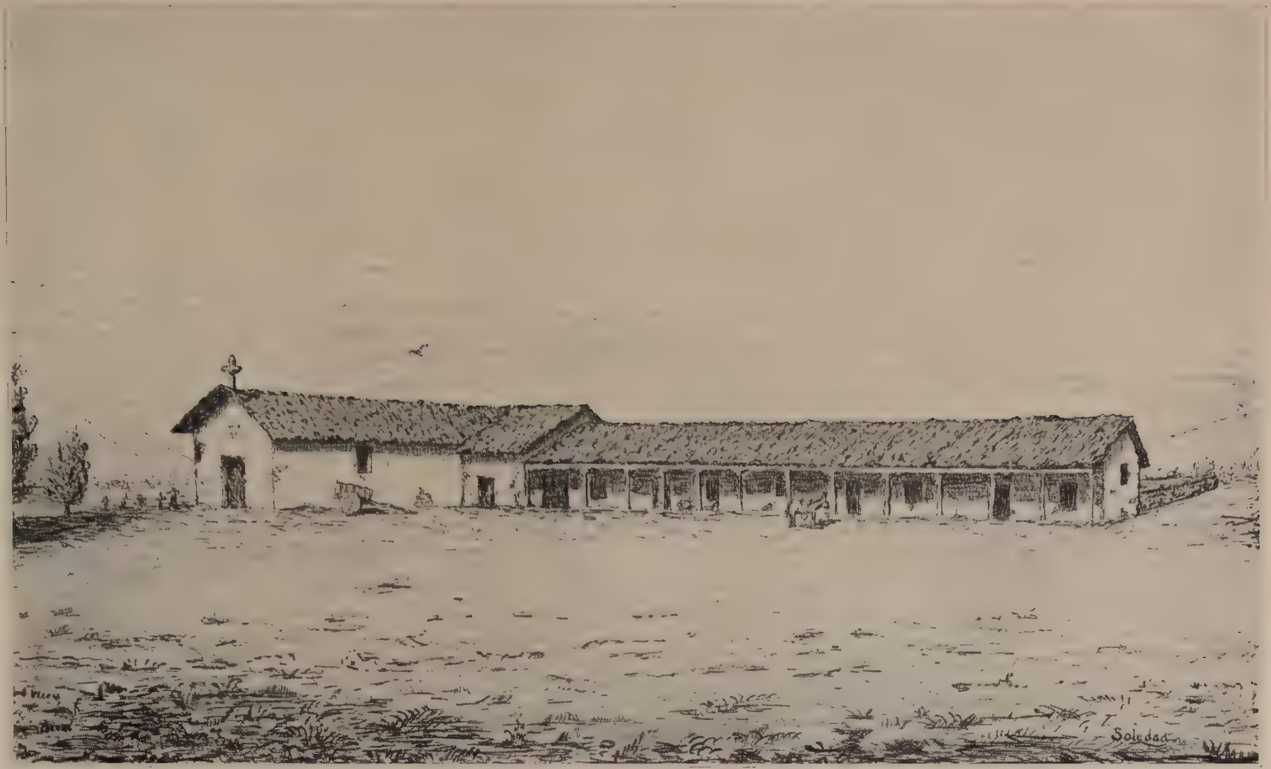
[38] See vol i, this work on Stipends.

[39] *"Santa Barbara Archives."*



XIII. MISSION NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LA SOLEDAD, FOUNDED OCTOBER 9, 1791

Another proposition, however, was set afloat to keep the Pious Fund managers from accumulating debts. This was to establish a hacienda or plantation in Jacobin Valley, fifteen leagues from San Diego, and place it in charge of the Fr. Presidente of the missions. Asked for his opinion, Fr. Pedro Calléjas replied, "I believe that the creation of such a hacienda under the administration of the Fr. Presidente would have to contend with the same difficulties and still greater ones than those which Fathers Mugártegui and Peña have shown made the founding of a monastery in charge of the Carmelites impracticable."[40] As Borica himself disapproved of the hacienda because there would be no market for the produce, the plan was abandoned.[41]

It is strange that, when the government proposed to entrust an offshoot of the Pious Fund Property to the management of the friars, it did not occur to the viceroy and his advisers that they might relieve themselves of all anxiety by transferring the whole Pious Fund Estate in Mexico to the said religious. These unsalaried churchmen, who successfully established and controlled so many missions, would doubtless have directed the Pious Fund Property, donated for Church purposes, far more economically. They would not only have prevented a deficit, but insured a handsome surplus, as in Jesuit times, for the benefit of the California missions. Such a just proceeding, however, would have rendered the missionaries independent of the politicians, and that is why the politicians would not permit the transfer. Hence it was that the poor missionaries had ever to contend with indifferent government officials for the bare necessaries of life, and that is why the stipends were doled out to the friars as though they were munificent gifts from the government, and not of right due the missionaries through the will of testators.

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[40] Fr. Pedro Callejas to Branciforte, October 23, 1797. *"Sta. Barb. Arch."*

[41] Bancroft, i, 581.

CHAPTER VIII.

Friars Disheartened.—Causes.—Lack of Volunteers in Mexico.—Mechanical Arts Fostered.—Master Mechanics.—Their Wages.—Branciforte's Decision.—Fr. Lasuén's Reply.—War Between Spain and England.—Contributions.—Elections of Indian Alcaldes.—Fr. Lasuén Appointed Vicario Foraneo.—Subdelegates Several Fathers.— Religious Indifference of Colonists and Troops.—Shabby Treatment of Traveling Missionaries.—Fr. Peña's Remonstrance.—Fr. Esteban Tápis Named to Succeed Fr. Lasuén.—College Chapter.

TROUBLES like those set forth in the preceding chapter disheartened some of the missionaries and produced a deep aversion for California among the friars in Mexico. Applications for retirement from the missions were frequent in the last decade of the century. "Doubtless," says Bancroft,[1] "the patience of the missionaries was often sorely tried by the indolence and insolence of the individual soldiers," but they had no serious complaint to make against the personal conduct of the governor. Borica, indeed, would not permit the friars to be insulted, a fact which the two corporals Gabriel Moraga and Ignacio Vallejo discovered to their cost, when on January 7, 1797, he ordered them to apologize to Fr. Magín Catalá of Santa Clara for their rudeness. He went further and asked the Father to bear a little with the manners of men who had not been educated "in the college of nobles, nor in the Roman school." [2] Nevertheless, his grave blunder of locating a settlement of white vagabonds close to Mission Santa Cruz in spite of the protest of the Fathers and in opposition to the Spanish laws; above all his unkind proposition to reduce the number of missionaries to one at each mission, or to cut down their meager allowance, were measures which would have rendered missionary efforts useless or so difficult that no degree of personal respect could make up for the damage.

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[1] *History of California*, vol. i, 583-584.

[2] "V. R. sabe que no recibieron su educacion en el Colegio de Nobles ni en el Romano, por lo que es preciso dispensar sus toscos modales." Borica to Fr. Catalá, January 7, 1797. *Cal Arch., Prov. Records* vi, 651-652.

Most of the applicants for retirement were entitled to the permit on account of constant illness, or because they had served their term of ten years. A few desired to leave before the end of their ten years, because they were dissatisfied with the conditions and the obstacles encountered in working for the conversion and perseverance of the Indians. The Fr. Guardian, however, thought that as they had volunteered it was best not to grant their petition save for the most urgent reasons.[3] Without doubt their discontent would have vanished if these Fathers could have confined themselves to the spiritual duties of preaching, instructing, administering the Sacraments, and attending to their religious exercises, as all most probably had imagined would be the case when they exchanged Spain for America. Could a method have been devised which would have insured the perseverance of the Indians in the Faith under the guidance of the missionaries without compelling them to provide food, clothing, diversion, and occupation for the converts, peace and joy would at once have entered the hearts of the most discontented. As it was, the friars had to slave for the bodily needs of their overgrown Indian children, who never seemed capable of attaining to man's estate intellectually or morally, so as to provide for themselves.[4] In the meantime the spiritual guides had to set aside their own religious exercises so that they found themselves unable to cultivate union with God through detachment from everything worldly. Such arguments, of course, were not conclusive; for no legitimate exterior occupation need necessarily interrupt, least of all prevent, union with God. Fathers Serra, Sarría, Catalá, for instance, utilized their distracting secular occupations, since they were necessary for winning and retaining souls, to reach a high degree of sanctity and union with God. It is gratifying to learn that but very few failed to evince this lofty conception of their missionary status. Bancroft undertakes to name about half a dozen out of the one hundred and thirty who labored in the missions of California down to the period of Mexican independence; but among these are two whom Fr. Lasuén reported as nearly crazed with mental afflictions; the third was entirely sound; about the fourth there is grave doubt; and as to Rubi and Gili see Chapter V. The most common ailments of those who retired on account of illness were sore eyes, chronic rheumatism, deep melancholy, violent headaches, and stomach trouble. Two friars, as already stated, went insane at this period.

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[3] Fr. Nogueria to Fr. Lasuén, April 30, 1796. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[4] "Los Indios deben salir (segun las leyes de Indias) de la tutela á los diez años; pero al paso, que van los de la Nueva California, no saldrán ni despues de diez siglos."—"According to the laws of the Indies the Indians ought to emerge from tutelage after ten years; but at the rate those of New California are advancing they will not come out in ten centuries." Borica to Alberni, August 3, 1796. *Cal. Arch., Prov. St. Pap., Benicia,* Mil xxiv, 7, 8.

Fr. Lasuén would gladly have allowed any applicant to leave, but there was the question of how to find substitutes. Fr. Guardian Lull, writing to Fr. Lasuén on January 4th, 1800, in reply to a petition for more missionaries, says: "I see the justice of your request, and likewise of the permits to retire which you have granted; but it seems to me, as I behold the friars, that I shall have to avail myself of obedience if the discretos agree with me. It is some days since I presented Your Reverence's petition to the community. No one has made a move to offer himself. I feel pained in my soul to see myself obliged to take such a resolution, but it seems I shall be compelled."[5] As the friars before leaving Spain volunteered for any mission to which the College might destine them, the Fr. Guardian could have sent them to California without asking their consent; but it had been the practice to allow them to offer themselves for that purpose. In view of the aversion aroused by past military assumption and the peculiarly difficult nature of the California missions, it would have been unwise for the Fr. Guardian to exercise his authority in the manner indicated. Fortunately he escaped the dilemma. Only one month later he informed Fr. Lasuén that Fr. José de Miguel and Fr. Martin Landaeta, who had left California on account of illness, and had now recovered, generously offered to return to the scene of their activity, and that Fr. Domingo Ytúrrate and Fr. José Garcia would accompany them.[6] On March 5, 1800, Fr. Miguel Lull, fearful lest the aged Fr. Presidente himself might break down under the weight of his age and cares, wrote to Fr. Lasuén, "I only pray you to take care of yourself, and that you do not avail yourself of the night for work; for otherwise, if Your Reverence should be seized with illness, or rather if your infirmities should grow more serious, you would not be able even in the daytime to apply yourself to your arduous duties."[7]

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[5] Fr. Miguel Lull to Fr. Lasuén, January 4, 1800. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

Fr. Miguel Lull

Despite the many grievances which weighed heavily on the missionaries, early in the last decade of the eighteenth century honest efforts were made to introduce additional mechanical arts among the neophytes. The Fathers had already taught what they knew of agriculture, horticulture, carpenter work, masonry, weaving, tailoring, tanning, and other simple trades such as the needs of the mission population demanded. They now desired to perfect their wards in these and all other useful employments in order to make the missions independent of Mexican supplies as much as possible. At their solicitation Governor Fages on September 10, 1790, represented to the government that fifty-one skilled artisans, besides teachers, millers, and a surveyor, were needed. About twenty of these arrived before 1795. They were under contract for five years. A few of the master mechanics received $1000 a year, whilst journeymen were paid from $300 to $600. According to the viceroy's intention a carpenter, for instance, was expected to teach his trade to twelve neophyte youths in four years.[8] A few of the artisans settled on the coast permanently, but the most of them returned to Mexico at the expiration of their contract.

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[6] Fr. Lull to Fr. Lasuén, February 6, 1800. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[7] Fr. Lull to Fr. Lasuén, March 5, 1800. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

Some of the mechanics, it seems, belonged to an undersirable class; for Fr. Lasuén writing to Governor Arrillaga on December 21, 1792, says: "I have not assigned the tailors, chiefly because from what I saw and heard they are not suitable. . . . The little which the Indians might learn would soon be lost to them for lack of practice. At present all are tailors from necessity, and because of the simple clothes that are worn. The same is more or less the case at the presidios. Moreover, it does not please me to send Indians there, as no priest is there, and the soldiers occupy the Indians at domestic work, so that they do not only not receive the instruction pretended, but in great part lose what they have learned of their Religion. Notwithstanding that this is true, we should appreciate the generosity of the king who exempts us from paying for the instruction.[9] You could ask for two or four tailors of good conduct and who are capable of giving instructions. To each of them a number of mission youths might be assigned, and he could also be directed to go with his apprentices from mission to mission. In this matter the Indians, with the aid and prudence of the missionaries, would acquire sufficient knowledge. . . . A few days ago Antonio Domingo Henríquez came here from San Diego with his Indian wife. At all the lower missions, as far as San Luis Obispo inclusive, he has made spinning-wheels, warping-frames, looms, and all the tools of the art, save the instrument for carding. He taught carding, spinning, and weaving. . . . Some of the missionaries already wear clothing made of the woolen cloth[10] woven under his direction. At San Gabriel and at San Luis Obispo he has also taught the weaving of cotton cloth.[11] Fr. Lasuén and other Fathers praised Henríquez so highly for his industry, skill, and patience with the Indians that Governor Arrillaga engaged him at ten shillings a day.[12]

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[8] "Que puede contratar á 10 reales diarios al carpintero, que indico por carta no. 3 de 27 de Mayo ultimo, entendiendose por 4 años de los cuales ha de enseñar á lo ménos á 12 Indios de la Mision ó Misiones á que fuere destinado." Revilla Gigedo to the governor, August 11, 1791. *Cal. Arch., Prov. St. Pap. x,* 467-468; Bancroft, i, 615.

[9] Not entirely, as will appear later. The missionaries were too anxious to have the king stand out as a munificent lord. Thus they credited the stipends and other contributions from the Pious Fund to the generosity of the Spanish monarch!

The missions were not allowed to enjoy this instruction without compensation. Of the value of the work produced by the master mechanic and his Indian apprentices, by direction of Viceroy Gigedo one-half went to the royal treasury, one-third to the Indian apprentices, and one-sixth to the instructor.[13] This is what Fr. Lasuén generously styled free instruction, because through the share which the Indian pupils received, the mission which furnished the material was reimbursed to that amount. When Governor Borica on November 9, 1794, arrived in California he appears to have thought that this viceroyal arrangement favored the missions too much, though it was for the sake of the neophytes that the viceroy had sent the mechanics under contract to teach their trades. He regarded the expenditures of more than $20,000 in behalf of half-hearted settlers quite in keeping with the royal intent of securing the country to the crown, but scrupled that even one-third of the goods produced by the neophytes under the supervision of the mechanics should go to the missions in return for the material. Yet the missions and missionaries were far more potent factors in securing the possessions on the Pacific coast for the crown of Spain than all the troops and settlers combined.

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[10] "Sayal Franciscano," Fr. Lasuén calls it.

[11] *Archbishop's Archives,* No. 48.

[12] Fr. Lasuén to Arrillaga, April 20, 1793. *Archb. Arch.,* No. 50.

[13] "Pertenece á la Real Hacienda el valor de las obras, que executen los artesanos con rebaja de la mitad, de la que han de hacerse tres partes, una para el artesano, y dos para los aprendices." Arrillaga to Fr. Lasuén, June 7, 1794. *Archb. Arch.,* No. 63.

Borica on May 12, 1795, reported the situation and his views to the new viceroy, who was not nearly as interested in the welfare of the Indian missions as Revilla Gigedo. In his answer, of which Branciforte forwarded a copy to Fr. Lasuén on December 20, 1796, the viceroy says: "I have determined, in conformity with the opinion of the fiscal of the royal treasury, that the labor or work of the contract teacher must be paid to the royal treasury, save that one-eighth should be deducted and paid to the person concerned (i. e. the tutor), because the king does not pay the wages in order that the master mechanic should serve for the convenience of the missions, but that he might have apprentices and so teach Indian neophytes. Therefore the practice and the excuse of the missionaries is unjust, since they can find men who will work their wool at moderate prices, and who will teach their Indians to weave for nothing."[14] What the viceroy meant to convey is not hard to understand. However, Fr. Lasuén soon found the right answer.

Borica had proposed that the artisans should ply their trade at the presidios, and he wanted the Fathers to send neophytes there for instructions. After making the experiment Fr. Lasuén refused to repeat it, and on April 26, 1797, transmitted the following dignified reply to Branciforte's ungracious insinuations: "The artisans," he wrote, "who are destined for the missions always had Indian youths whom they instructed in their trades, and we missionaries have not failed to select those capable of profiting by the instructions. The missionaries, however, do not find it expedient to send neophytes for instruction to this[15] or any other presidio, first, because by the very grant of the free use of the artisans it was ordained that these artisans should be distributed among the missions; and secondly, because it has been discovered that away from the missions our neophytes have not advanced in any good lesson. This, Your Excellency, is what I have to say with regard to the points to which you call my attention. I am not content with not breaking orders which emanate from higher authority, but I sacrifice myself at the cost of great hardship to fulfill them in the best way I can. It is simply impossible, as long as God helps me, that as far as depends upon my submissiveness a custom should be introduced which you already know is contrary to higher orders."[16]

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[14] *Sta. Barb. Archives.*

[15] Monterey.

As already indicated, the missionaries by direction of Fr. Lasuén made the experiment of sending four young men from each mission to the respective presidios, "not in the hope that they might obtain any benefit therefrom," the venerable Fr. Presidente writes, "but in order in a practical manner to disillusion the governor so that he may see that the parsimonious expedient of the royal treasury destroys the intent of the king."[17]

Viceroy Miguel José de Azanza,[18] more kindly disposed than Branciforte, proposed to settle the question to the satisfaction of all. He wrote to both Fr. Lasuén and the governor, and asked them to agree on some plan which would give the Indians the benefit of the mechanical training under masters without detriment to the Christian education and morals. This letter reached the Fr. Presidente at San Luis Obispo in January, 1800. Borica had meanwhile resigned his office and with his family was on his way to San Blas. The lieutenant-governor still tarried at Loreto. No plan could therefore be formulated. Fr. Lasuén in a lengthy communication to Azanza explained the situation, as well as Borica's action and Branciforte's curtness, and then showed that even if the artisans taught their trade at the missions but on condition that the missions paid for the articles and goods produced by means of the mission apprentices, the arrangement would impose burdens which the missions could not carry. It was enough that the missions furnished the apprentices, the materials, and the personal servants to the artisans. The goods produced would be of no use and could not be sold. The payment for them would therefore be so much loss.[19] Meanwhile the contracts of the mechanics expired. The neophytes had acquired sufficient knowledge for the needs of the missions, and thus the trouble righted itself by the close of the century.

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[16] *Sta. Barb. Archives.*

[17] Fr. Lasuén *Circular,* July 22, 1796. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[18] He succeeded to the office on May 31, 1798.

While these difficulties agitated the missionaries, considerable excitement prevailed in California by reason of the war which the King of Spain on October 7, 1796, had declared against England. The news reached Monterey in March 1797, and on the 13th of the same month Governor Borica issued a proclamation. He at the same time asked Fr. Lasuén to bring the subject to the knowledge of the missionaries, and to allow the Indians to work at the fortifications in order to put the territory in a state of defense. The Fr. Presidente in a circular announced the war to the Fathers and directed them to sing the Litany of the Blessed Virgin with the neophytes every Saturday. The *Salve* with the prescribed prayers was to be added in conclusion. Whilst the struggle between the two nations lasted, the Fathers were also to sing a High Mass or celebrate a Low Mass at every mission on one Saturday of each month for the success of the Spanish arms.[20]

At the request of Viceroy Azanza the bishops called upon their people for contributions to defray the expenses of the conflict. Under date of November 13, 1798, the Bishop of Sonora urged the missionaries on the Pacific Coast to contribute, and asked Fr. Lasuén to collect the money. In his reply, which, however, left no doubt about the patriotism of the Fr. Presidente, Fr. Lasuén on March 4th respectfully submitted that not one of the forty friars then toiling in the missions received or possessed any money whatever; that thirty-six in charge of eighteen missions indeed received a small stipend in the form of church goods and other articles, but these were devoted to the Indians; that even the donations occasionally made by sailors and settlers were applied to win and maintain the natives; that four of the Fathers, among whom was the Fr. Presidente himself, as supernumeraries, received absolutely nothing for their labors, and that as the King of Spain had heretofore been satisfied to obtain only the spiritual contributions which it was in their power to give he would doubtless expect nothing more from them now.[21] The Fr. Presidente nevertheless allowed the bishop's letter to make the rounds of the missions as a circular. It returned signed by the two missionaries in charge at each mission with the remark that to their sorrow they had nothing to contribute, because they received no money stipends from Mexico.[22] The contributions from the soldiers, settlers and mission Indians amounted to $3460, including $1000 from Governor Borica.[23]

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[19] Azanza to Fr. Lasuén, September 21, 1799; Fr. Lasuén to Viceroy Azanza, January 22, 1800. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[20] Fr. Lasuén *Circular,* March 14, 1797. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

The question of Indian alcaldes and regidores once more became a subject of correspondence at this period. Borica on September 15, 1796, notified the Fr. Presidente that the annual elections must be held; he also reported to Viceroy Branciforte that the friars were remiss in this matter. Fr. Lasuén in a circular directed the Fathers to comply with the governor's demand, and to see that Indians were chosen for said offices, but only in the capacity in which it was possible to have such native officials at neophyte establishments, since there was no royal law which prescribed them under such circumstances. The elections were to be considered mere object lessons which were to prepare and instruct the natives to appreciate full citizenship in time; but as for allowing the missions to be governed by such Indians, that was out of the question until the king himself should declare that these establishments ceased to be missions and became pueblos or curacies. In that event the friars would withdraw. More than three months later Branciforte's order of December 20, 1797, arrived. Fr. Lasuén on April 3, 1798, replied that the elections had already been held.[24] The elections for an alcalde and two regidores thereafter took place at each mission on January 1st of each year. The names were reported to the governor, and with that formality Borica was satisfied.

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[21] Bishop Francisco of Sonora to Fr. Lasuén November 13, 1798; Fr. Lasuén to the Bishop, March 4, 1799. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[22] Missionaries' Replies, March 5 to April 20, 1799. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[23] Bancroft, i, 544.

From the day of their arrival the Franciscans had exercised their priestly duties among the Indians in virtue of the faculties granted to the missionary College of San Fernando de Mexico by the Holy See independent of the bishops. As there were no other priests in California, "through necessity and out of kindness and charity," the Fathers also administered the Sacraments to all others who needed them or applied for them. On September 30, 1796, the Right Rev. Francisco Rouset de Jesus, O. F. M., Bishop of Sonora, Sinaloa, and California, unasked granted all his faculties to Fr. Lasuén with authority to subdelegate them to the missionaries under his jurisdiction. At the same time his lordship also conferred upon the Fr. Presidente the titles of Vicario Foraneo and Juez Eclesiastico, and on October 22nd, in virtue of his position of Vicar-General of the Spanish Army and Navy, the title of Vicario Castrense. Thus Fr. Lasuén was given spiritual jurisdiction over the soldiers and colonists in California. Governor Borica affixed his *pase,* or permit to exercise the authority, on March 22, 1797. As far as the Indians were concerned the titles added nothing to Fr. Lasuén's faculties, and in a letter to Governor Borica the Fr. Presidente so intimated.[25]

In virtue of the authority received from the bishop for the white people, Fr. Lasuén subdelegated his powers to the following Fathers: Fr. Juan Mariner for the colonists and soldiers of the mission and the presidio of San Diego; Fr. Miguel Sánchez for those of Los Angeles, and the missions of San Gabriel, San Juan Capistrano, and San Fernando; Fr. Estévan Tápis for the presidio of Santa Barbara and the missions of Santa Barbara and San Buenaventura; Fr. Miguel Girivet for the guards and other white people of the missions of Purisima, San Luis Obispo, and San Miguel; Fr. Mariano Payéras for those in the missions of Soledad, San Antonio, San Juan Bautista, San Cárlos, and the presidio of Monterey; Fr. Magín Catalá for the pueblo of San José and missions of Santa Clara, Santa Cruz and San José; Fr. José de la Cruz Espí for the soldiers and settlers of the presidio and the mission of San Francisco.[26] Fr. Lasuén took the oath required by the bishop before Fr. Pascual Martínez de Arenaza, missionary of San Carlos, on March 20, 1797. Governor Borica certified to the appointment on March 22nd.[27]

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[24] Branciforte to Fr. Lasuén, December 20, 1797; Fr. Lasuén to Branciforte, April 3, 1798. *Sta. Barb. Arch.; Cal. Arch., Prov. Rec.* vi, 640-641.

[25] Bishop Francisco of Sonora to Fr. Lasuén, September 30th, October 22nd, December 15th and 18th, 1796; June 19, 1797; Fr. Lasuén to the Bishop, March 27, 1797; Fr. Lasuén to Borica, March 20th; Borica, *Certificate,* March 22, 1797; Fr. Lasuén, Notas on the faculties, March 23, 1797; *Sta. Barb. Arch.;* Fr. Lasuén to Borica, March 20, 1797. *Archb. Arch.* No. 116.

Another dignity was conferred on the venerable Fr. Presidente when the officials of the Spanish Inquisition in Mexico on October 15, 1795, appointed him Commissary of the Holy Office for California. During the remaining years of his life Fr. Lasuén had occasion to order only a few edicts to be published which had been transmitted to him from Mexico. Besides this he confiscated and forwarded to the capital four copies of a forbidden game called El Eusébio. Inasmuch as the Inquisition concerned the white people, the edicts were affixed to the church doors of such missions only in whose neighborhood a presidio or pueblo was located.[28]

Were it not evident from secular records that the soldiers and colonists at this period and long after conceded to Religion but little influence over their morals, the circulars on the subject of which the following is a sample, would demonstrate that the *gente de razon* must have been poor Catholics indeed. "The carelessness of many of our parishioners," Fr.

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[26] Fr Lasuén *Circular,* January 26, 1798. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[27] Borica *Certificate,* March 22, 1797. *Sta. Barb. Arch.;* Bancroft, i, 579.

[28] *Sta. Barb. Arch.* See next volume for the Inquisition.

Lasuén complains in a circular of January 14, 1798, "to comply with the precept of annual confession and Communion at the proper time is too well known to us missionaries, notwithstanding that we have applied the means, since it behooves us to remedy this. Continuing in this lively zeal you will, as may be expedient, begin with the first Sunday in Lent to repeat the instruction that holy Church, our Mother, whilst she imposes these precepts also commands a due and proper disposition in observing them.

"I charge Your Reverences to report to me those who will not by the second Sunday after Easter[29] have performed this duty, and you will somewhat later report those who may comply with the duty subsequently. I see it is necessary to avail myself of the governor and the bishop in order that the delinquents may experience the due penalty; for it can be supposed that this carelessness results from the absolute lack of punishment which those concerned have noticed. I also declare that all must receive the Easter Communion in their own parish, which for them is the mission or presidio in which they reside. You need not regard as sufficient a certificate from another place when Your Reverences do not deem the reasons for such a dispensation to be just. Lastly, you should, as far as possible, for that season institute a previous examination in the Christian Doctrine; this you will never omit in the case of those who intend to marry."[30]

The last five years of the century brought to California twenty-five religious who were sent to the five new missions or replaced those that had retired or had died. Owing to the niggardly provisions made for them by the government, and by reason of the greed of ship owners or captains, which in these nominal Catholics appeared to have suffocated all regard for priestly dignity or interest for Religion, the zeal of the new-comers had to undergo a severe test even before they reached their destination. Viceroy Martin de Mayorga and the Conde de Galvez had directed that each friar should receive $200 from the royal treasury for traveling expenses to the port of San Blas, and at the rate of seven and three-fifths reales[31] per day for the voyage thence to Monterey. This arrangement the king on February 10, 1797, approved, but gave orders that the money advanced from the year 1767 to date, $3944, 3½ reales, should be returned to the royal treasury by the Pious Fund, on the ground that missionary traveling expenses were necessary for the propagation of the Faith which the original donors of the Pious Fund had had in mind.[32]

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[29] The Paschal Season for the annual holy Communion in California closed on the Sunday after Easter. Fr. Serra to Fr. Lasuén, April 22, 1778. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[30] Fr. Lasuén *Circular*, January 14, 1798; Decree of the Bishop of Sonora, November 29, 1800. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

The viático, or the money for the journey by land to San Blas, was paid to the College síndico, who provided whatever the missionaries needed; the passage money at the rate of ninety-five cents per day for the voyage to California was advanced by the royal commissary of San Blas.[33] The friars who returned from California received the $200 for the journey to the capital from the same commissary at San Blas who charged it to the Pious Fund.[34] On April 20, 1793, the king abolished this practice and decreed that the missionaries destined for California should receive the annual allowance of $400 beginning with the day of departure from the missionary college, and from this stipend they should pay their expenses to California. Likewise the Fathers that returned should have their allowance continued to the day of arrival at the capital, but receive no other aid for the journey. This new arrangement furnished each friar with the munificent sum of one dollar and nine cents a day! From this he was expected to pay his board, mule hire, and passage on board the ship! Supernumeraries, on the other hand, were to receive enough money to pay their expenses to their destination.[35]

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[31] Ninety-five cents.

[32] General Ugarte to Pedro Fages, September 12, 1788. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[33] Revilla Gigedo to Fr. Noriega, October 31, 1789. *Sta. Barb. Arch.* Ramon de Posada, Fiscal, April 23, 1787. *Archb. Arch.* No. 30.

[34] Fr. Pángua to Fr. Lasuén, January, 1793. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[35] Viceroy Gigedo to Fr. Pángua, January 10 and 21, 1794; Fr. Pángua to Fr. Lasuén, March 8, 1794. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

A royal order of September 11, 1795, permitted vessel owners to charge each passenger eighteen reales[36] a day for the voyage from San Blas to Monterey. The commander of the transport *Concepcion,* Jacinto Caamaño, by order of Viceroy Branciforte had taken eleven missionaries to California. He insisted that the friars were not exempted from the general tariff as regulated by the king, and therefore demanded the eighteen reales per day for each one of them. He would not take any of the missionaries aboard the ship for less, notwithstanding a decree of the viceroy dated September 16, 1799, which forbade any innovation in the past custom until the king should declare that the friars were subject to the same charges. Inasmuch as the allowance amounted to only one dollar and nine cents a day, not one-half the sum required, the College of San Fernando faced a dilemma. It had no other income than the voluntary alms of the faithful, and other ship owners likewise refused to furnish board and passage to California for less than the new tariff permitted.[37]

"I leave to the high comprehension of Your Excellency," Fr. Thomas de la Peña wrote in bringing the matter to the notice of Viceroy Azanza, "to weigh the grave inconveniences that may result from this, not counting the expenses for food and cooking and for the kitchen utensils.[38] These religious, as generally happens, might become seasick on the first days, and be exposed to infirmities; who, then, will provide their food and maintenance during the time in which they will need it, or may need the help of others? Besides, such an arrangement is altogether contrary to our state as religious, and unbecoming a priest. Our Catholic sovereigns have ordered and disposed in their laws that their chaplains[39] should be treated and served with the distinction that is due them, and particularly the missionaries, who sacrifice themselves for the conversion and instruction of the poor Indians, and thus execute the pious and royal intentions of their Majesties. To this end they are recommended to their Excellencies, the viceroys, and the governors, that, setting aside every other regard for the interest of the royal treasury, they may help, protect, and show every favor by animating and encouraging them to continue in such a sacred ministry lest for lack of those aids the propagation of the Faith and the preaching of the Gospel be delayed.

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[36] $2.25.

[37] Fr. Tomás de la Peña to the Viceroy, August 6, 1800. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[38] It seems, if they did not pay in full, the Fathers were compelled to do their own cooking, besides furnishing the vessels and provisions.

[39] The Fathers frequently so styled themselves for serving the king in the missions or on board the ships.

"The allowance for the traveling expenses, which is furnished the missionaries for the long journey by land to the port of San Blas and for the voyage to California, is so scanty that it does not by far suffice for the most necessary outlay, however much the religious may restrict themselves to the greatest economy and moderation. The keen insight of the fiscal of the royal treasury has known and acknowledged this, and the experience of all the years demonstrates it with as many as went to that destination. Now, Your Excellency, if by itself the allowance is insufficient for the journey overland, how will it be able to bear the additional expense that is demanded for the voyage by sea? I also call Your Excellency's attention to the fact that the ship captains are accustomed to exact the passage money in advance for sixty and more days for which they calculate the voyage; and even though it happens, as it has happened, that they reach there in half the time, they never returned or refunded to the síndico of the College what they received over and above, because they say that this belongs to the perquisites of the captains.

"In view of this and of what has been reported to the predecessors of Your Excellency since the year 1797, in which the arrangement relative to this matter was made, I as procurator of the missions with the greatest submission and humility supplicate Your Excellency to deign to decree what you may judge expedient until the declaration of the sovereign arrives, which declaration will never be one that obliges the religious to pay what they do not possess, nor that they should go aboard the ships like cabin boys or sailors on the rations of a man-of-war. The chances now are that the missionaries run the risk of faring even worse; for Your Excellency cannot be ignorant of the poor accommodations and little space which the transports of San Blas offer for so many kitchens, pantries, and tables. God, etc. . . . College of San Fernando de Mexico, August 6, 1800. Fr. Tomas de la Peña."[40] What the result of this remonstrance was, which should have aroused a feeling of shame in the Spanish officials, is not known.

Another incident, reported to the viceroy by Fr. Peña, shows with what little consideration the haughty treasury officials and others treated the missionaries, who for the sake of a higher end had deprived themselves of every worldly possession, and wandered bareheaded and barefooted through the country, anxious lest they be a burden to any one. Fathers Miguel Girivet, José Espí, Benito Catalán, and Agustin Merino, the former two at the expiration of their term, the other two mentally exhausted to the verge of insanity, retired in January, 1800. They were on the way somewhat less than five months, two of which by order of the viceroy, so through no fault of the friars, were passed in the harbor of San Diego. When they presented their certificates and vouchers at the capital, the treasury officials allowed the expenses for only fifty-eight days. This, Fr. Peña complained[41] to the viceroy, covered less than one-half of the cost of the voyage and journey, so that the College had to draw upon alms to pay the expenses which the Fathers incurred in the service of the king. Thus the friars were not only hampered in their missionary work among the Indians, begrudged their meager allowance, and had to bear the insolence of petty officials in California, but every step of the way going and coming was rendered as disagreeable as religiously indifferent government employees could make it.

Fr. Presidente Fermin Francisco de Lasuén now counted nearly eighty winters. It was reasonable to fear that he might pass away at any time, though his mental faculties, as we shall see in the next chapter, were not in the least impaired. To provide for an emergency Fr. Guardian Miguel Lull and the discretos of the College on January 26, 1798, elected Fr. Estévan Tápis of Mission Santa Barbara to succeed Fr. Lasuén in case the latter should die or be incapacitated.[42]

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[40] Fr. Peña to viceroy, August 6, 1800. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[41] Fr. Peña to Viceroy Azanza, September 26, 1800. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

In a circular dated October 21, 1800, Fr. Lasuén announced to the Fathers that the triennial chapter had been held at the College on May 31, 1800, and that the election had resulted as follows: Fr. Joseph Gasol, guardian; Fr. Baldoméro López, vicario; Fathers Agustin Garijo, Miguel Giribet, Miguel Bonilla, and Juan Calzada, discretos; Fr. Miguel Giribet, master of novices. Fathers López and Giribet had served in the California missions.[43]

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[42] Fr. Miguel Lull to Fr. Tápis, January 26, 1798. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[43] Fr. Lasuén, *Circular,* October 21, 1800. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

CHAPTER IX.

Fr. Conception Horra Goes Insane.—Accuses the California Missionaries.— Borica's Fifteen Questions.—Replies of the Four Comandantes.—Fr. Lasuén's Introduction to His Replies.—Fr. Tápis's Answers.—The Food of the Indians.—Ever Hungry.—Pretexts for Running Away.—Clothing of the Neophytes.—The Monjerio and Its Inmates.—Work of the Indians at the Missions and Presidios Compared.—Work of the Women.—Indian Divisions.—Card Playing.—Excursion.—Fondness for Wild Fruits.

THE dawn of the nineteenth century brought fresh afflictions to the missionaries, and occasioned much distress to the aged Fr. Presidente. However, as the unhappy occurrence compelled the Fathers to break their studied silence regarding the hardships they suffered, the failures they experienced, and the successes they achieved, we must regard it as fortunate from an historical point of view; for the correspondence to which it gave rise affords us a better insight into the daily activity than all other reports thus far obtainable. In order to comprehend the better what follows we must go back a few years.

When on July 25, 1797, the foundations were laid for Mission San Miguel, Fathers Buenaventura Sitjar and Antonio de la Concepcion Horra were appointed resident missionaries. Less than four weeks later Fr. Lasuén had to write to Governor Borica: "It is useless to describe to Your Honor my grief on the subject which Fr. Antonio de la Concepcion has communicated to you. Destined for the important and singularly happy Mission of San Miguel he has become insane, or manifested a very grave disorder of the brain, so that what was assigned him to cultivate in that new mission he destroys. May it suffice to say that it has obliged Fr. Buenaventura Sitjar to absent himself from his post in order to come to Santa Barbara with incredible haste to tell me personally what in writing he could not have done sufficiently so that I might obtain a perfect idea of the wild freaks[1] of said poor friar, and of the misgivings as to greater ones, and the manifest risk of impeding or frustrating the conversion of the Indians. Fr. Buenaveutura dares not stay with the man. The soldiers of the guard are terrified and perplexed. The neophytes of San Antonio and San Luis Obispo, who are employed about the mission, are withdrawing to their own missions, and the pagans are horrified and frightened because he shouts and acts like a madman and shows signs of violent fury. I have therefore determined that Fr. José de Miguel of this Santa Barbara Mission should at once proceed to San Miguel, and by gentle means if he can, or any way he may, bring him to your presidio and present him to Your Honor. I have resolved, as far as concerns me, that he should embark as soon as possible on the frigate *Concepcion*." [2]

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[1] He fancied himself a great ruler, compelled the soldiers to fire rounds of cartridges and the Indians to discharge their arrows. In short order he threw everything into confusion. Hittell, i, 482-483.

After consulting with the two surgeons at Monterey, Don Pablo Solér and Luis Paba, Governor Borica pronounced the poor friar undoubtedly insane. A careful examination disclosed the fact that he had concealed a pair of pistols in his habit.[3] He was accordingly put aboard the ship in order to make the voyage in company of three other Fathers who were retiring to the College.[4] Fr. Lasuén reported the sad case to the Fr. Guardian who brought the letter to the viceroy.[5] When he had arrived at the College poor Fr. Horra secretly addressed a long memorial to the viceroy in which he bitterly complained of the treatment received at the hands of Fathers Sitjar, Lasuén, and Miguel. He then accused the friars of cruelty to the Indians, general mismanagement of the missions, and concluded with the request that, as his life was not safe at the College, he be sent to the Franciscan College of Santa Cruz, Querétaro, where there was more virtue, and where he could be of more use in saving souls.[6] The viceroy granted his request, and Fr. Lull, writing to Fr. Lasuén, expressed the hope that the poor friar might stay at Querétaro for the peace of San Fernando College, though Fr. Horra had already petitioned the viceroy to return him to San Fernando.[7]

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[2] Fr. Lasuén to Borica, August 19, 1797. *Cal. Arch., Prov. St. Pap.* viii, 22.

[3] Fr Lasuén, *Respuesta,* June 19, 1801; No. 4. *Sta. Barb. Arch.—Cal. Arch., Prov. Rec.* iv, 190-191; viii, 678-680.

[4] Fathers Diego Garcia and Pascual Arenaza, who were ill and had served ten years, and Fr. J. M. Fernández of San Francisco only less insane that Fr. Horra, as we have seen in chapter vi.

[5] Fr. Lausén to Fr. Lull, February 12 and 28, 1799; Fr. Lull to Fr. Lasuén, May 14th. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

Notwithstanding that this friar was evidently insane, as even Hittell remarks,[8] the viceroy on August 31st forwarded Fr. Horra's charge to Governor Borica with orders to investigate. Borica privately instructed the four presidio commanders to procure information on fifteen questions which embodied Fr. Horra's and a few other accusations. The replies were sent to the viceroy who in turn forwarded them to the Fr. Guardian of San Fernando. On February 6, 1800, Fr. Miguel Lull communicated the substance of Fr. Horra's denunciations to Fr. Lasuén. Later he transmitted the fifteen questions and the reply of Comandante Felipe de Goycoechea of Santa Barbara with the remark that answers of the other three commanders correspond with it in substance. Not having copies of the latter, Fr. Lasuén seems to have called upon the Fathers of Mission Purisima and Santa Barbara only, as the ones concerned, for their views on Goycoechea's answers to Borica's fifteen questions. Fr. Gregorio Fernández of Purisima crowded his observations, which were to the point, on little more than three folio pages.[9] Fathers Estévan Tápis and Juan Cortés of Santa Barbara refuted the charges and Goycoechea's ill-natured remarks on twelve closely written folio pages in the exquisite handwriting of Fr. Tápis. This document leaves nothing to be desired. It was dated October 30, 1800.[10]

With the reports of the Fathers before him, and from his own knowledge of all the missionary establishments, "in order

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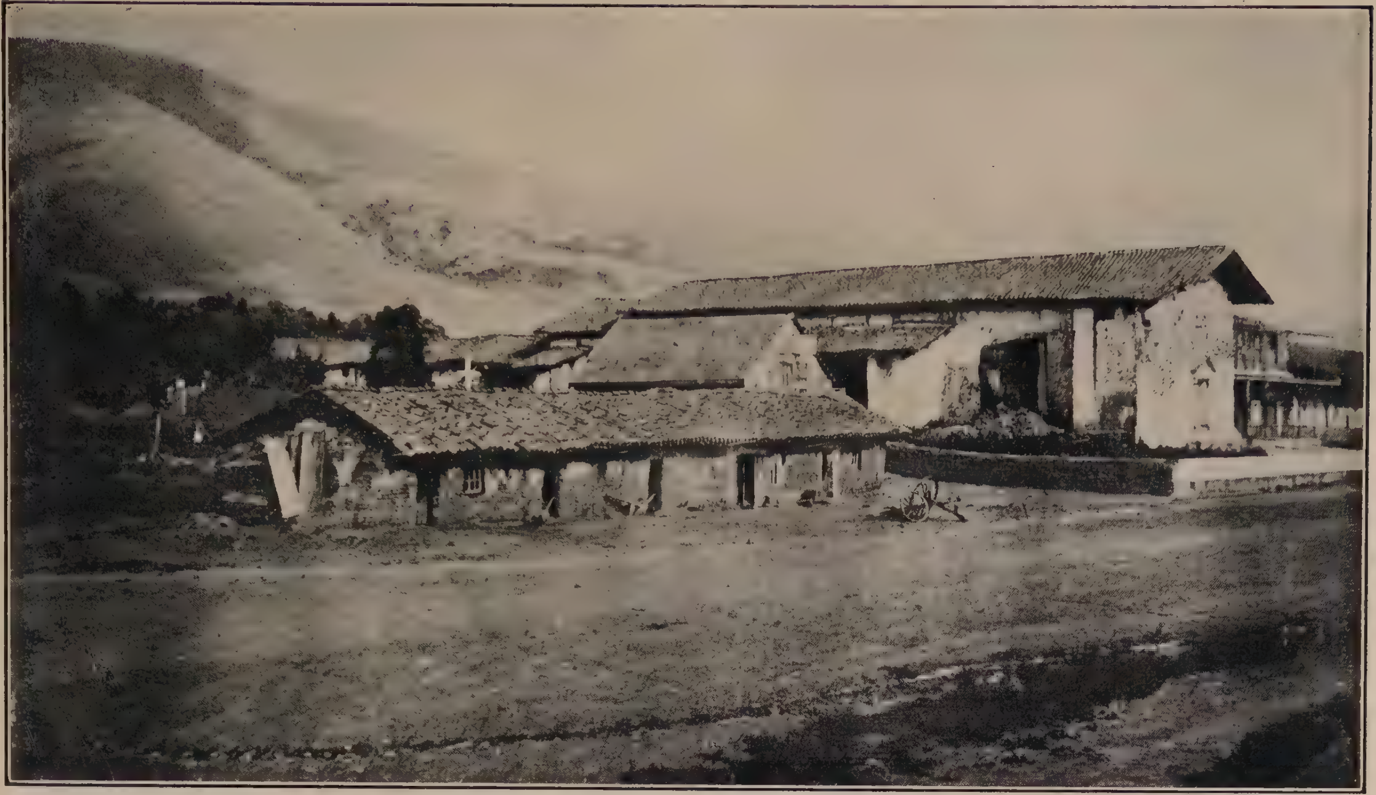
[6] Fr. Horra to the viceroy, July 12, 1789. *Cal. Arch. Prov. St. Pap.* xvii, 91-98.

[7] Fr. Lull to Fr. Lasuén, May 14, 1799. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[8] Hittell, i, 483.

[9] Fr. Fernández, *Respuesta,* December, 1800. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[10] Fathers Tápis and Cortés, *Respuesta,* October 30, 1800. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*



XIV. MISSION SAN JOSÉ, FOUNDED JUNE 11, 1797

to comply with the command of the Fr. Guardian," the nearly eighty years old Fr. Lasuén devoted seven months,[11] to prepare what Bancroft calls "a comprehensive exposition of the whole subject, which is not only the leading production of the venerable author's pen, but the most eloquent and complete defense and presentment of the mission system in many of its phases which is extant."[12]

"From the start," Fr. Lasuén declares, "I confess that there are defects, and in the nature of things there must be some defects; but there is none that is criminal, none that is serious, none which if recognized is not corrected, none (which if it is permitted at all) is permitted except to avoid greater evils; none that signifies the rule of our procedure, as the general defectiveness would demonstrate which is attributed to us all without excepting even one missionary among so many; none that takes away the evidence that in general the Fathers labor in a manner that the defects might be as few as possible; and none finally which might not have been better remedied by means of a mere charitable correction than by a noisy accusation. Our public conduct condemns and wipes out the disgrace which is heaped upon us by robbing us of our good name. However I am ordered to explain and I proceed to do so."[13]

As Fr. Lasuén's statement is too lenghty and includes much other matter, we shall give the substance of Fr. Tápis' replies along with the questions. Goycoechea's remarks will be included when they differ from the presentation of the case as stated by Fathers Tápis and Fernández. In addition, we shall draw upon Fr. Lasuén's "Respuesta" in order to complete or illustrate the arguments. Thus we shall obtain a clear idea of the conditions prevailing at the Indian missions in the beginning of the eighteenth century.

Question 1. "Is the Christian Doctrine taught the Indians in their own language or in Spanish? Name the mission where one or the other is practised."

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[11] From November 12, 1800, to June 19, 1801. *Respuesta,* No. 130.

[12] Bancroft, i, 589.

[13] Fr. Lasuén, *Respuesta,* No. 10.

Answer. It is taught in Spanish in the morning; in the afternoon the instructions are in Indian. Fr. Lasuén quite justly adds: "Let no one speak of instructing pagan applicants, or the greater part of the neophytes, in Castilian; for that is intolerable folly. What kind of instruction can that be which is not understood? How will those understand it who are baptized at the ages of fifty, sixty, or more years?"[14]

Quest. 2. "Are the Indians before Baptism instructed in the necessary points of Faith and the principal precepts of our Religion?"

Ans. Not only eight or ten days, as Goycoechea asserted, but as long as it is found necessary for the comprehension of the Indian; for the missionaries well know that the omission of adequate instruction would render them enormously culpable.[15]

Quest. 3. "Are the Indians obliged or only permitted to speak Spanish?"

Ans. The Fathers speak Spanish and urge the neophytes to learn it, but the Indians are not compelled. Some of the Fathers do not know the native idiom, and of necessity they converse in Spanish; rewards are bestowed for progress in Spanish. All that could be desired has been accomplished in this matter.[16]

Quest. 4. "Are there instances where Indians have been rebaptized?"

Ans. Fathers Tápis, Fernández, and Cortés know of no case of that kind. Fr. Lasuén remarks that out of 27,000 baptized to date, despite the utmost care, it had happened that one male and two female infants were rebaptized by mistake. The Indians are cautioned and the doctrine is clearly put before them, that no one must be baptized more than once. The names of the parents, children, sponsors, and habitation are scrupulously entered in the records.[17]

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[14] Fr. Lasuén, *Respuesta,* No. 15.

[15] This was one of the foolish charges of demented Fr. Horra.

[16] On July 23, 1793 (see Fr. Lasuén, *Circular,* February, 23, 1795), the king issued an order prohibiting the Indian and commanding the Spanish language to be taught to the Indians. The Fathers as well as Governor Borica, wisely judged the spiritual and material improvement of the natives of more immediate importance than the substituting of another language. Hence those who, like Fr. Sitjar, spoke Indian, instructed the Indians in their language directly; others employed interpreters. Spanish was also taught, and in fact became the common medium of conversation among the Indians of different dialects.

Quest. 5. "Do the missionaries permit the neophytes to wander about the mountains for an unlimited period?"

Ans. No such permission is granted. The baptized Indians live at the mission, save those who were baptized in a dying condition in the camps of the pagans. Those living at the mission receive permission to visit their friends and relatives, or for other purposes, but they are obliged to return at a specified time.

Quest. 6. "What kind and what quantity of food is given the neophytes? State whether it is warm or cold, and whether it is sufficient in view of the work that the Indians are expected to do."

Ans. The Indians are given three warm meals a day. In the morning each one receives a dipper full of *atóle,* at noon a dipper full of *pozole,* and in the evening again a dipper full of *atóle.* Four heaped dippers are equal to an almud of wheat.[18] That this is sufficient any one can see who has eyes and wants to see, for some of the pozole remains and is then fed to the cattle. Besides this daily quantity, in the harvest season each laborer in the field receives an extra quarter of an almud every day; to the others every three days the same extra allowance is served at the mission. The same is done every Sunday in Lent and on the principal feast days after holy Mass. No salt and *manteca* are added, because experience has taught us that it does not agree with the most of them; yet those who want them, may have them for the asking, as well as anything else. The sick are denied nothing they desire and is procurable. We should like the comandante to point out one case where it has cost him anything whatever to feed a neophyte. There are few who steal or run away. If, according to Goycoechea the deserters run away for want of food, then surely all ought to be running away or stealing.

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[17] The insane Fr. Horra had charged the mistake as a general practice.

[18] There are twelve almudes in a fanega. Taking the fanega as equivalent to a hundredweight, though some contend that it is much more, the almud would amount to something more than eight pounds. In that case each Indian for breakfast and also for supper would receive two pounds of thick atole, and for dinner an equal quantity of still more substantial pozole.

Fr. Lasuén here remarks: "The missions are communities whose funds must be produced by the labor of the members. Now one-third, that is to say, the aged, the children, the sick, and invalids contribute nothing, but only consume. Nevertheless, all are treated as well as possible; nothing is denied them; still they will run away occasionally, despite the chronic state of hunger among the pagans in the mountains. I have seen Indians so prostrated that they were excused from holy Mass on Sundays who, besides the regular three rations from the kettle, in the morning and evening were given a portion of corn *atóle* like that prepared for the sick, a good dish of mutton at noon, more than two cuartillos [19] of milk daily, and a good plateful from the table of the missionaries with a piece of bread (this is customary when they say they desire something from the table of the Fathers); yet these ran away! When they were brought back and upbraided for running off to the mountains, they would reply that they had been hungry!

"On one occasion some of these hungry ones asked me for leave to go to the mountains for a week. With a touch of indignation I said to them: "Yes go; better tell me that, even if you are given a bull, a sheep, and a fanega of grain every day, you would still be hankering for the mountains and for the beach. One of them, more intelligent than the others, with a smile somewhat shamefacedly confessed, 'It is true, Father; it is as you say.' Do such complaints from such Indians deserve to be placed before the government in the form of official accusation against the missionaries? Fasting as a punishment is never imposed upon an Indian for any transgression whatsoever; nor are the rations curtailed. The truth is, that those among our neophytes who leave the mission least are the most robust and healthy. To cite another example of the senseless action of the runaways, I refer to San Diego. Owing to the lack of wild fruits many of the pagans around the country died from hunger; yet, with such frightful havoc before their eyes, neophytes would ask for permission to go to the mountains!

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[19] Cuartillo is equal to sixteen ounces of liquid. *Dic. de la Acad.*

"The inclination exists even among women. In the pagan state they are the slaves of their husbands, whom they must support by their labor, and in return are maltreated, beaten, and even killed. Nevertheless, among these women, from force of habit or because of the example of their elders, some frequently fall into the ungrateful weakness of the Israelites, from whom neither the food received from heaven in liberty, nor light work took away the affection for the gross food which cost cruel hardships in the most oppressive slavery of Egypt. What then would suffice to take away from the men the fondness for their beastly free and lazy life? What would stop their grumbling?"[20]

Quest. 7. "What clothing do the Indians receive annually to dress themselves decently, and to protect themselves against the rigor of the seasons?"

Ans. At the end of every year each one receives a blanket; every six months the males are given a new pair of breeches, and every seven months a new shirt. Females receive chemises every seven months, and skirts also. All the clothing is of a bluish wool. The skirt of the females is of a kind of sack-cloth made at the mission. Fr. Lasuén reports that the changes are made twice a year. The men get two or three pairs of pants a year. Some rather go without them, for they lose or burn them; they will protest they lost them, when perhaps they have sold or lost them while gambling. The missing clothes are replaced as soon as the Indians present themselves, or when it is observed that the clothing or dress is insufficient. Cloth for this purpose is procured in Mexico, and is purchased when possible at the presidio storehouse. After the looms have been introduced, the clothing of the neophytes is improved in proportion as the industry produces it. In some missions already the women wear dresses of this texture, and at others they are beginning to do so. The cattle-herders wear mangas,[21] boots or shoes, when possible leggins of leather, and hats. Before the neophytes receive the new clothes, they must deliver up the old ones.[22] For the infants the women are given whatever they need in the way of cloth. To alleviate the sufferings of the infirm mattresses are provided. In short care is taken for the temporal and eternal life of all, so that those who labor have clothing and food, and that both are provided for those who cannot work.

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[20] Fr. Lasuén, *Respuesta,* Nos. 26-28.

Quest. 8. "In what condition are the quarters of the Indians in general, and of the girls and single men in particular?"

Ans. "Outwardly they do not differ from those of the gentiles, for they are made of palisades and grass. They protect against the weather, but are not secure against fire. Until now it has not been possible to provide more convenient quarters, owing to the necessity of constructing the requisite buildings for the produce and other goods; but they are very decent and comfortable, round in shape. They are not as small and narrow as those of the pagans, inasmuch as they measure six yards in diameter, some even seven and eight yards. Adobe structures are being erected gradually and covered with tiles. Thus in 1798 twenty such dwellings were raised for as many Indian families. The adobe houses are between six and seven yards long and four and one-half yards wide. Each has a door and a window. It is not easy to build larger, because of the difficulty of hauling the timber with oxen from a distance of more than fourteen leagues, and over bad roads." Fr. Lasuén states that at the missions of San Francisco, Santa Clara, and San Luis Obispo similar dwellings have been erected, and other missions are following this style by degrees. "I do not know why the governor and some comandantes have not so reported," he complains.

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[21] An oblong piece of cloth, or a blanket, round at the ends, with a slit in the middle through which to put the head. It is used as a covering while on horseback.

[22] This cast-off clothing was burnt, as Fr. Tápis reports, lest some one wore clothes that had been used by a sick person.

"The girls and single women," Fr. Tápis writes, "are assigned a room in the mission, where they sleep at night. It is a manifest deception when Goycoechea asserts that they continually live there. During the day time they are allowed to stay with their parents in the village or rancheria when they have finished their task in the forenoon and afternoon. The room of these girls measures seventeen by seven yards, and is about seven yards high. At Santa Barbara it is floored with brick, at Purisima with boards. It has a large window high up for light and ventilation. They have all the conveniences for the night. There is a fire kept there at night, and a candle is always burning. These girls and single women do not use the permission to walk outside the mission limits as often as the married women and single men; but it is false that they never use it. They do not ask it as much as the others. When they solicit permission, it is not denied except to those who are known to use it for mischief. The guardians of these girls are the same as for the whole Indian mission population, that is to say, the alcaldes, to whom the duty is assigned of distributing the daily task of work. They never had other guardians; nor was there necessity to appoint others."

Fr. Lasuén, in addition remarks: "The girls and unmarried women (miscalled *nuns*) are assembled and at night are locked up in a large room, as that is deemed necessary, and every care is taken for their health. It has been observed that seldom any of this class dies, unless she be one of those who are given to running away and retiring to the mountains. Their room is spacious, suitable, and well ventilated. It is certainly the best room outside the church building." Speaking of San Carlos, Fr. Lasuén describes the girls' quarter as "six by seventeen yards in size. The walls are of adobe, nearly three feet thick, and whitewashed." In all else he also agrees with Fr. Tápis.

"Another clear deception of Goycoechea is," Fr. Tapis writes, "that youth and single men are compelled to sleep together in the barns or *pozoléra,*[23] or in the shops within or without the mission. The practice is and has been this: After supper the boys and single men assemble at the *pozoléra* to say their prayers together and sing a *Salve* to the Blessed Virgin. After this they are all free to sleep in the mission village; but as every night some dance or other[24] is arranged at the *pozoléra,* or in the cuadro[25] of the mission, or the same youths play the violin, viola, and guitar, or entertain themselves with some game, most of them stay until the Bell for the Poor Souls.[26] At that hour many leave. Others depart at nine, which is the hour when the gate to the cuadro is locked. Some, and they are not a few, remain to sleep within, not because they are obliged, but because they find it more convenient to sleep in the cuadro, where the *pozoléra* or the kitchen stays open, in order to be together. In the morning at the sound of the bell for prayers the gate of the cuadro is unlocked. When it is broad daylight the apartment of the girls is unlocked from the outside by one of the Fathers, unless there is an alcalde in charge."

Quest. 9. "How many hours are the Indians made to work? Are pregnant women and those nursing children, and the aged women and children, obliged to work?"

Ans. The regular hour for ringing the bell to go to work is more than one hour after sunrise. At the sound of the bell all, save those who labor at piece work, assemble in the cuadro, where the work for the day is assigned to each one. Many go to their houses, and from there to their work, which then begins not less than two hours after sunrise. Work terminates at 11:15 a. m., at which hour the Fathers dine. In the afternoon most certainly they never work more than one hour and a half; for it never happens that at the termination of the Divine Office by the Fathers, which begins in the middle of the afternoon and lasts three quarters of an hour, the Indians are found working, save those who are occupied in sowing, planting and harvesting.[27]

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[23] Pozoléra from pozole, the place where the pozole was cooked. This was done in a large iron kettle which stood under a shed or in a room having a lofty vent or chimney.

[24] Among the boys only. No females ever joined on these occasions.

[25] The mission generally was built in a quadrangular shape. The interior was the patio or court or cuadro.

[26] The bell was sounded at eight p. m. for prayers for the Poor Souls.

"In order to understand the labor performed by those who do piecework,[28] which Goycoechea regards too heavy, we shall explain it distinctly. To the women who are able no greater task is given than grinding corn on the metate in place of housework, otherwise they would be idle. Each one grinds or crushes two almudes of grain a day for the making of *atólc.* When it is intended for bread eight and at times nine women together grind seven almudes of soaked wheat. Men make the adobes. Nine men will make three hundred and sixty adobes a day, which is forty for each one. The soil is soft and water is near by. Those who work at this task never labor after eleven o'clock in the morning, and never on Saturdays, nor many times on Fridays, because during the first days of the week they have accomplished the task for the last days, and are then free. Those who make tiles, also have a certain number to make. Sixteen young men, and at times as many more middle-aged men, with two women who bring the sand and straw, make 500 tiles a day. The troughs with the clay are close by and always filled. These neophytes accomplish their task before eleven o'clock in the morning, and always include the task for Saturdays likewise, on which they are then free to make excursions or to rest. Those who are set to work at the looms, also have their tasks to perform. The weavers from the month of March to October daily weave ten yards of woolen cloth which is made into shirts, breeches and skirts. He who weaves more than ten yards is paid at the rate of two reales for each additional ten yards. Seldom do they fail to have one hundred yards to their credit every five days. They are paid with glass beads, which they prize, or with wheat. Those who weave blankets, nine spans in length, have to finish three every day. The carders comb three pounds of wool to be woven into cloth for skirts, shirts, and breeches, but four pounds when it is intended for blankets. The spinners spin one pound of yarn a day for skirts, etc.; and the others in proportion. These are all the tasks performed at Mission Santa Barbara. All concerned accomplish it with pleasure, and even insist on being put to such work. From November to February the task is shortened. The weavers then make eight yards of cloth; the carders comb two pounds and four ounces; the spinners produce twelve ounces of yarn, and so on in proportion. Most of those employed at the looms finish their task before noon.

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[27] The Indians waited for the Fathers to take the lead at work They would work under the eyes of the missionaries, but little otherwise, unless they did piece work, or were led by an alcalde.

[28] Work measured by quantity instead of by time.

"Now let us compare the tasks of making adobes and tiles at the mission with those at the presidio.[29] In 1795 Comandante Felipe de Goycoechea asked for ten Indians to make tiles. The ten most skilful and trustworthy were assigned for the task. Nearly all are still living. On the fourth day of work at the presidio, which was Thursday, they complained that they could not accomplish the work, and that their hands and arms ached them very much. They were asked what task they had performed that day. They replied they had made 500 tiles, but had to dig out the clay, throw it into the troughs, and draw water from a well fifteen yards deep or from a laguna some distance away. Moreover, they had to fetch the sand from the beach one-eighth of a league away, procure the straw, knead the clay and from morning till night they had to work, because a soldier stood by who saw that the 500 tiles were made.[30] This seemed almost incredible, and we feared that the Indians were lying. Nevertheless, they were consoled and encouraged to continue the work. On Friday night they repeated their complaint with more vehemence, and declared they had on that day made 525 tiles. They were told to be patient, to try once more, and steps would be taken to relieve them of such hardship. On Saturday Comandante Goycoechea came to the mission and was told of the complaints of the Indians. He replied that such was the task which the soldiers had formerly accomplished. It was then proposed to him to put the ten best soldiers to work with ten Indians in order to see which party laboring from morning till night made the most tiles. To this he would not agree. However, he said he had enough tiles now, and needed the Indians no longer.

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[29] It was never safe for officials to accuse the management of the missions if the accuser was not sure of his ground. The Fathers attacked no one; they tended to their duties; but if attacked officially the fault-finders invariably left the field worsted with the conviction that the beam was in their own eye.

[30] At the mission they had accomplished their work by noon.

"With regard to the number of adobes which should constitute an Indian's task for a day, Governor Arrillaga in 1793 fixed the number at fifty.[31] Last year Sergeant José M. Ortega asked for Indians from the missions to make adobes to build his house outside the presidio. He was warned that the task must not exceed fifty adobes for each Indian. He agreed to the condition; but he took it upon himself to enlarge the mould considerably. In addition the water had to be drawn from a well more than twelve yards deep. From these two instances any dispassionate man can judge which labor arouses the most compassion: that which the Indians undergo at the mission, or that which they suffer at the presidio. Let it not be said that in the presidio they were better fed. It was not so. If the Indians who went to work there are to be believed, the quantity of food was smaller than at the mission."

Fr. Lasuén here makes the observation: "Let us see how the Indians from the missions fare when they work for these same military commanders who manifest such excess of compassion for the neophytes laboring at the missions. At the presidios from early morning till midday, and from a little after until near nightfall the Indians are made to work for the mere food as people of another class. There they suffer the continued cry of 'lazy fellows,' 'badly raised,' etc., and in a voice less loud the Fathers are blamed. In truth, if the commanders had directed their accusations against such treatment they would have had some kind of foundation. Yet despite such excesses as those practised at Santa Barbara presidio, the commanders presume to counsel moderation! It would be well for them to take their own counsel. It costs the missionaries much to induce the neophytes to serve as day-laborers at the presidios. There are necessary exhortation and entreaties, which without violating their will are yet a kind of compulsion. It is well known that, though the Indian wishes to do the Father's will, he usually desires not to go to the presidio."[32]

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[31] At the mission the task was forty, as we have seen.

"Pregnant women," Fr. Tápis continues, "are never, let us repeat it, never put to work at the metate to grind wheat for atole, nor at any heavy work, notwithstanding the commander's assertion. In order that such may never happen these women take good care to send notice when they are pregnant in order that they may be put on the list of those who are with child. They are occupied in washing wool, in cleaning wheat accompanied by other women, sometimes in the orchards pulling out weeds or grass, and at other light work. These are the occupations of such women when they are at the mission, which with some is the smaller part of their period of pregnancy; for knowing that they will not be punished they will take walks the greater part of the time. After their deliverance they stay at home as long as they please. When they feel able or inclined to do anything they present themselves with their companions whose duty it is to supply the pozolera with wood. In this they have as helpers the old women who are able to work. At the time of the wheat harvest they make the atole, each one for that purpose undertakes to grind an almud of wheat. All the women who are able, when the cart is not around, help in bringing adobes to the building that is under construction. This is easy as the adobes are always quite near. They also bring tiles and brick, seldom stones and only in small pieces for the foundation. The heavy work is done by men. Of the children who are more than nine years old some are employed in combing wool, helping at the looms by assisting the weavers; others in guarding the fresh tiles and brick lest animals crush them; or in scaring away birds from the vineyards and orchards; but most of them pass their time in play." Fr. Lasuén also says: "Pregnant women are not put to work at the metate. Work for them is lessened, and lighter occupation is given them in order to keep them out of mischief. They will find excuses even from this, and then go withersoever they please, as they know that they will not be punished no matter what they do. Occasionally the Indians laugh at us for our solicitude. 'Do not the gentile women bear children?' they will say. 'Do not they work just the same? also while they nurse children they work more or less.' However, that is paganism. At all events it shows that the comandante did not report the truth." [33]

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[32] "Se conoce que al mismo tiempo que el Indio quiere hacer lo que el Padre manda, querria no ir al presidio." Fr. Lasuén, *Respuesta*, Nos. 36-37.

Quest. 10. "What kind of diversions have the neophytes? What excursions are they allowed in order to gather wild seeds and for what period?"

Ans. "The Indians," Goycoechea says, "amuse themselves with three kinds of games which they play by twos or fours. Two of them alternately guess in which hand of the opposite party a little stick is concealed. In the other game they run on a very clean and smooth plot of ground, throwing a hoop of straw or tule, and as near to them as they can some long, thin poles. The Indians enjoy the public walks here at Santa Barbara near the beach and the presidio perhaps without permission; for no Christian from the other missions is permitted to come here. They are punished if they come to the presidio, as is often the case, in order to obtain food for less work than at their community. This is irrefragable truth, and it happens that at the season of the wild fruits, when they obtain permission to gather them, they are given only two weeks more or less. The pagans being free and secure from the Christians enjoy with relish as much of the growth as they can with pity for the Christians, whose fondness for wild fruits may be imagined when it is remembered that they contribute to their support."

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[33] Fr. Lasuén, *Respuesta,* Nos. 39-40; 43.

It would have been better for Goycoechea's reputation, as in the preceding point, if he had remained silent on the subject; for this is the way gentle Fr. Tápis brings the question home to the commander who contented himself with reporting from hearsay: "The Indians divert themselves with the games mentioned by the commander; also with another which he does not mention, perhaps because he does not know it, though it has become very common in the last four years. This is gambling with cards. There is a suspicion that they have stolen candles from the church, and it is certain that they have stolen tallow candles in order to play during the night. We abhor this game as unfit for the Indians and as forbidden by the king. Many packs of cards have been burnt, in this year alone eight of them. They play not only among themselves, but also with white people. Last year the soldier Buenaventura Zúñiga came to the mission for confession. Instead of fulfilling the precept of the Church he retired with an Indian to the carpenter-shop. There the Indian won from him at the game a very good handkerchief, and because Zuñiga would not give it up the Indian complained to the missionaries. Fearing that his commander should learn that instead of going to confession he had played cards, the soldier gave up the handkerchief. In the same year when the frigate *Concepcion* lay at anchor here, notice was given in the night that two sailors were at the house of the neophyte Wenceslao playing cards with him and other Indians. One of the Fathers with the corporal of the guards went there and found them gambling. They also discovered that the Indians had won some trousers and other pieces of clothing.[34] These two instances are sufficient to show that the Indians do somewhat associate with the white people.

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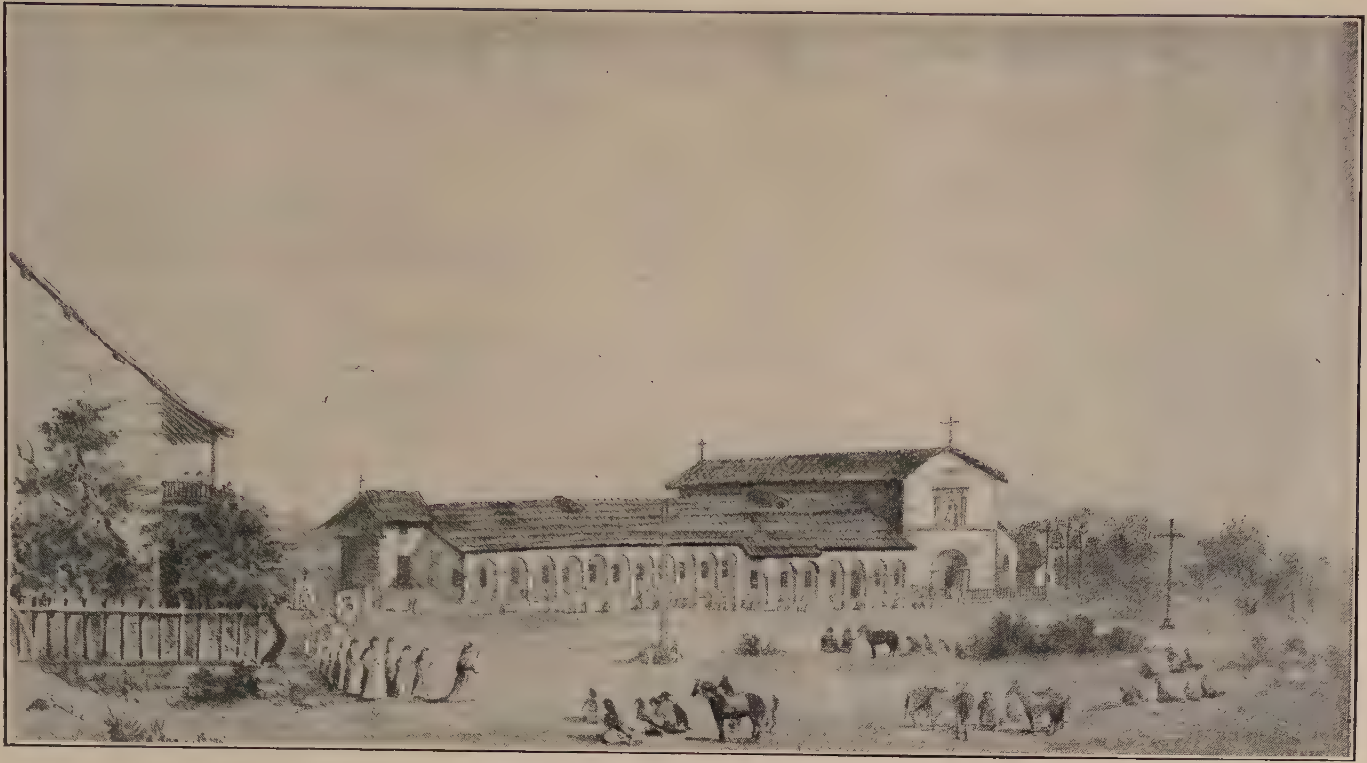
[34] Fr. Lasuén writes that some of the Christian Indians had become such experts that they defeated their white masters at gambling. There is an Indian at San Carlos, he says, who at one sitting won more than thirty dollars from two white men. Because cards and gambling caused much disorder they were forbidden. On the other hand, all the games of the pagans were tolerated as long as they did not offend against Christian morals.



XV. MISSION SAN JUAN BAUTISTA, FOUNDED JUNE 24, 1797

"Notwithstanding that the comandante declares that what he reported is irrefragable truth, though he has it only from hearsay, we shall oppose it with what has been learnt through the eyes and by experience. The practice at Santa Barbara Mission has always been this: Every Sunday after holy Mass at the church door or in front of the missionary's room the names of one-fifth of the neophytes who may go on an excursion are read out aloud. These names are written in a booklet in order to keep account so that all may have their turn at going away. To those who have come from distant rancherias [35] two weeks' leave of absence is given, and to the others one week. Moreover, if during the four weeks which they pass at the mission any one shows the necessity of going away, he is permitted to go. There are very many who during the week ask a day off in order to go fishing or to visit the presidio or the beach. They are likewise gratified. Only at the time of the harvest of wheat which lasts one month more or less, the Indians do not leave; after that all leave in parties which alternate every two weeks. No permission to leave is given during a week when a holyday of obligation to hear holy Mass occurs. In the week immediately after, however, two-fifths of the mission people have their outing.

"The wild fruits of which the neophytes are most fond, and for which they search eagerly, are the acorns and the islay or tayiyas, which is a fruit somewhat like the cherry, and which has within a kind of bitter kernel. By the aid of warm water it is made eatable. The islay is ripe in September; the acorn ripens later. We can give the assurance that in the years when they abound, a little more than one kettle of pozole is sufficient for all the people in the mission.[36] During all this time the Christian Indians live scattered in the mountains. On Saturday many come to holy Mass for Sunday, but not all. For others wild fruits have little attraction, save for the old women who use their permission to their hearts' content and go into the country to search for wild seeds. All this to our mind is irrefragable truth, and so likewise the fact that many Indians voluntarily abstain from going out during the period of the islay and acorn; for they know that afterwards they will have permission as ample as they need it. We doubt not that the pagans have more liberty than the Christians, for they have not yet subjected themselves to the yoke of the Gospel and the precepts of the Church; but this lack of unlimited freedom is compensated by having clothing and steady subsistence all the year round, and not merely during the period of wild fruits, whether they are sick or well."

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[35] That is to say, originally, whose relatives lived far away, for all the neophytes lived at the missions, as a rule.

[36] Because so few remained behind.

By way of excuse Fr. Lasuén here remarks that the French, English, and especially the Spanish navigators Malaspina and Bustamante regarded this free intercourse of the neophytes which the Fathers permitted with the pagans as highly detrimental to their perfect Christianization and civilization. "They were right; for by sharing in their former wild freedom they retained a fondness for it, and in a few weeks lost the instruction and civil ways acquired during a long period. Nevertheless, they finally agreed with me that it was a necessary evil, but a minor one than that not to let them go; otherwise, continually tempted by their pagan friends and relatives, they would leave without permission, as many do any way."[37] It doubtless reconciled many pagans and induced them to submit to the Christian way of living.

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[37] Fr. Lasuén, *Respuesta,* No. 56.

CHAPTER X

Relations of Neophytes with White People.—Goycoechea's Insincerity. —Sharp Practices of the Whites.—Gambling and Card Playing.—Dangers to Young Women.—Customary Punishments.—The Fathers Conduct Themselves as Parents Towards the Neophytes.—Prices of Goods and Live Stock.—Wine and Brandy.—Funds of the Missions. —Scrupulous Honesty and Fidelity of the Friars.—Willful or Pretended Ignorance of Goycoechea.—Fr. Lasuén Sums up the Case. —Franciscans True to Their Vow of Poverty.

QUESTION 11. "Are the Indians permitted to have intercourse with white people? Are they chastised when they visit the presidio even at the period of their vacation?"

Answer. "Consent is given to the Indians to deal with the whites," Fr. Tápis declares, "and never is any one chastised for having gone to the presidio in free time. We repeat it despite Comandante Goycoechea's assertion to the contrary. If Goycoechea had left out the clause *even at the time of license to leave,* we should agree with his report. It is certain that some Indians have been chastised, not because they worked with a soldier, but for being absent from the mission without permit. It sometimes happens that the Fathers in the morning go to the weaving room, read the list of weavers, and then find that some spinners, carders, or weavers are missing. They ask and learn that the absentees are working at the looms of Comandante Felipe de Goycoechea, or that they are washing wool for him. Two neophytes are sent after them, and on arriving at the mission they receive a few blows with the lash."

Fr. Lasuén further explains: "The Indians during free time or on holidays do not need permission to go to the presidio; hence it is that white people at all times have these Indians as cooks, washers, meal-grinders, water carriers, and wood carriers. In case of necessity they are granted Indian girls to watch the little ones, sweep, or do other work without any fixed compensation, save what the white people choose to give. This the girls enjoy without benefit to the mission community. Twenty-four Indian women have married white men since our arrival in California. Surely the Fathers do not prohibit the intercourse."[1]

"I confess," Fr. Lasuén continues, "that it requires a most firm presence of mind not to be irritated on reading this in Goycoechea's report: 'I am persuaded that the system which ordains this practice' (the alleged punishment and prohibition at the time of vacation) 'amounts to this, that an Indian is made to suffer if he is somewhat helpful to a soldier who has perhaps taught him to make shoes, sole leather, leggings, or other things of this kind for personal use or for sale, etc.' This would not only be most shameful greed," Fr. Lasuén exclaims, "but heartless envy. God forgive such black calumny. The occupation mentioned and similar ones appear foreign to the military profession.[2] They are the reason why our troops want not more civility but more servitude from our Indians. There is no such practice or system, but the very contrary custom obtains, as can be proved by all the witnesses."[3] Fr. Tápis also says that no soldier living at Santa Barbara taught the Indians to make shoes. "Only Sergeant Ortega, now of San Buenaventura, when he was at Santa Barbara Mission, instructed two Indian youths to make shoes. For this the mission was so grateful that it let him have one of the boys whenever he wanted him free of charge. We do not believe that any Indian is exasperated, as Goycoechea claims, for not being permitted to work at the presidio outside of his free time; or that he wonders why he can work there for the benefit of the mission community, but not for the personal advantage of the food and clothing he receives among the white people. The Indian is not lacking in sufficient shrewdness which would tell him that to such an argument there would be the answer that he could obtain that boasted advantage or increase of earnings without fear of punishment by working for the white people on the days when he has leave of absence.

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[1] Fr. Lasuén, *Respuesta,* No. 48.

[2] A mild allusion to the notorious indolence of the soldiers, who abhorred manual labor almost as much as did a pagan Indian

[3] Fr. Lasuén, *Respuesta,* Nos. 49-50.

"The worthy commander asserts that it seldom happens that Indian are sent to the presidio to gain wages for the community. How then," Fr. Tápis retorts, "have all the buildings of the presidio come into existence if not by means of the Indian laborer? Sometimes an Indian cannot be sent out to work because he cannot perform the task imposed. One of the Indian shoemakers, for instance, was sent to work at the house of Sergeant Ortega. As a job he was told to make a pair of shoes in one day. At the mission two days are allowed. The Indian complained, and was therefore recalled. Our Indians have been engaged by white people to grind corn or wheat. At night they would return and show their hands covered with blisters. No more Indian laborers were sent out for such work thereafter. Indians are not asked (we do not command in such cases) to work outside more than they do because they are not willing.

"The boasted advantage or profit in food and clothing which the Indians receive for working among white people consists in this: An Indian goes to work in the weaving room of the comandante; he earns two reales a day, and is then paid with a piece of flannel at the rate of eight reales! or with a manta at the rate of four reales! or also in money which afterwards usually finds its way back into the pocket whence it came. The Indian works in some orchard or at some house. His day's earnings cannot be paid in money, because this commodity has been altogether stopped. He is then paid with a piece of jerked beef, or a handful of corn. The Indian goes to the presidio to purchase something, and the seller regulates the price according to the need or fancy of the Indian.[4] During the years 1794 and 1795 there existed a dearth of provisions for all the Indians along the Channel and in the sierras. This Mission of Santa Barbara in those two years harvested not more than 500 fanegas of wheat and very little corn. Well, in those calamitous times there were sold at the presidio to the Indians the head of an ox or cow for seven reales; a backbone for four reales; and an almud of corn for more than three reales! The Indians asked the Fathers what a head, etc., was worth? They were told that a head or backbone or similar parts of an animal had no set price; but that corn at the price fixed by the government was valued at one reale an almud, and because of the freight was worth probably one and one-half reales. They told then how much they had been charged. Sergeant Ortega himself told one of the Fathers that he had sold such things at the prices named![5]

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[4] In this and what follows, those who knew this situation at the Indian reservations in the United States many years ago will recognize the same traits in the traders of both periods. Taking advantage of the Indians was the rule.

"If the Indian falls in love with a hatchet," Fr. Tápis continues, "the price is raised as high as possible. On March 24th of this year the soldier Carabantes brought two almost worthless hatchets to which the mission smith put steel edges from mission material. He was charged seven reales for the labor and material. A few days later he sold both tools for $3 apiece to two Indians, one of whom was the neophyte Elzeário Luquetse."[6] Fr. Tápis relates other instances which we are compelled to omit, but which will find space in the local annals. He then closes his arraignment as follows: "These and similar ones are the advantages which the Indians gain (not all, for not all allow themselves to be deceived) from their dealings with the presidio. These are the means which we do not oppose,[7] although we regret them, with which it is pretended to advance the civilization of these Indians. They are the means which the first conquerors of New Spain would not have employed to civilize the natives. The only thing in which the Indians, Christians as well as pagans, have made progress from their intercourse with the whites is that they have become experts in playing cards. After the cards have become inserviceable to the soldiers they are sold to the Indians at as much as seven reales. Thus they give them occasions to violate the law and to lose what they possess. These games have not been taught them either by the first conquerors or the Fathers, but by the inhabitants of the presidio, when Indians mingle with them and they with the Indians.

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[5] The motive why Goycoechea accused the Fathers seems clear. The friars protected the Indians against white rapacity.

[6] Hence Carbantes made a profit of $5.16 out of eighty-four cents.

[7] "medios á que no nos openemos." The reason is not clear. He probably means by public denunciation. As the comandante himself was guilty, that under Spanish conditions would only have caused trouble to the friar. Moreover, if the Indian was deceived, he willed it. Only experience could convince him.

"It is therefore certain that no male Indian is prohibited from going to the presidio to take a walk or to work there during free time. It is likewise certain that the young women are not allowed to go there. From time to time an alcalde is sent out to ascertain whether any of them loiter about the presidio or in the neighboring orchards. There are many cases where these women, even for a watermelon or for a corn tortilla, prostituted themselves.[8] Some of the soldiers could be named who have taken them on horseback; and some of the same and other white men could be pointed out who have had illicit relations with them; but we refrain lest we blacken their reputation, although the cases which occured are notorious. For the women of maturer age there is no such danger to be feared as for the young women; therefore they frequent the presidio on the days and at the hours when they have no particular occupation at the mission. On Saturdays the number of these women is greater; for then they carry wood there for sale without being in any way molested."

Quest. 12. "Which are the punishments inflicted on the neophytes with distinction of the sex and for what transgressions? Specify whether the Fathers have fetters, chains, stocks, and jails of their own, and whether they avail themselves only of those that are in the guardhouse of the soldiers."

Ans. "The punishments which the missionaries of Mission Santa Barbara employ with the Indians," Fr. Tapis writes, "when we see corrections and reproof without avail, are shackles, the lash, and the stocks. There is no lockup at the mission. The women are seldom punished with any of those instruments save the stocks. This information contradicts that of the comandante, for His Honor reports that the men are punished by being put into the calaboose. We assure him that there is none at the mission; for the pozolera cannot be called a calaboose, inasmuch as it is open day and night, and always visited by many Indians; but the stocks are there. The comandante also asserts that the same punishments are inflicted upon the women as upon the men, save the stocks; but we insist that this latter is the most common chastisement. Whence comes this contradiction we shall explain later. For the present we shall describe the manner in which the punishments are meted out. A man, boy or woman, either runs away or does not return from the excursion until other neophytes are sent after him. When he is brought back to the mission, he is reproached for the transgression of not complying with the obligation of hearing holy Mass on a day of obligation. He is made to see that he has freely subjected himself to this and other Christian duties, and is then warned that he will be chastised if he repeats the transgression. He again runs away, and is again brought back. Then he experiences the chastisement of the lash or the stocks. If this is insufficient, as is the case with some, seeing that a warning is useless, he is made to feel the shackles, which he wears for three days while he is kept at work. The same practice is observed with those who are caught in concubinage. With those who steal something of value, or who fight with the danger of doing harm, this order is not observed; for these are first chastised and then made to abhor theft or exhorted to keep the peace. It has been noticed that this is the most successful way of maintaining public and private tranquillity.

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[8] This shows how necessary was the *monjerio*, the institution which kept girls from contact with white or Indian libertines.

"The stocks in the apartment of the girls and single women are older than the Fathers who report on the mission. As a rule, the transgressions of the women are punished with one, two or three days in the stocks, according to the gravity of the offense; but if they are obstinate in their evil intercourse, or run away, they are chastised by the hand of another woman in the apartment of the women. Sometimes, though exceedingly seldom, the shackles are put on.

"Such are the chastisements which we inflict on the Indians in keeping with the judgment with which parents punish their own beloved children. We have begotten the neophytes for Christianity by means of our labors for them, and by means of Baptism in which they received the life of grace. We rear them by means of the Sacraments and by means of the instruction in the maxims of Christian morals. We therefore use the authority which Almighty God concedes to parents for the education of their children, now exhorting, now rebuking, now also chastising when necessity demands it. For these chastisements generally the assistance of the comandante or of the guard is not solicited. Yet it has always been asked when it appeared to us expedient. The Indians feel that they are never chastised without being well convinced of their guilt, and that, by the grace of God, they are never punished because of some ill will the missionary is supposed to have for one or the other, as Goycoechea asserts. Hence it is that the neophytes accept with humility the chastisement and afterwards they remain as affectionate towards the Fathers as before."

Quest. 13. "Do the missionaries in the sales made of mission seeds, grain, fat, hides, blankets, and other effects, conform to the price list?"

Ans. "The missionaries," Goycoechea reported, "submit to the price list when it suits them, etc." Fr. Tapis, for Mission Santa Barbara, which was typical, states the case quite differently from the commander. "In two cases," he says, "the Fathers of this mission do not conform to the price list. The one regards the hides. In the arancél or official price list they are put down at two dollars and two reales; here they sell at two dollars and six reales. The reason is that more profit is made from them by using them for saddles, sacks, etc. For this reason neither the soldiers who tan any nor the settlers, nor the missions have conformed to the fixed rates. In addition we have two other reasons. One is that bark and water are scarce and sometimes very far away, which fact increases the cost of manufacture. The other is that the corporal of the guard is paid $150 a year so that he may as an expert manage the tannery. Likewise little attention has been paid to the arancél in the sale of wool, when on rare occasions any is sold. This product so far has been scarce at the mission; but on this point there is no difference between the missions and the settlers. In this very year the frigate *Concepcion* brought twenty-two or twenty-three sacks of wool for sale. There was no one to purchase it. This mission offered to take it at the price of the arancél, but Comandante Goycoechea, who had charge of the wool, would not dispose of it at that price.

"In everything else, when the Fathers did not conform to the price list it was because they sold the products cheaper than prescribed. Governor Borica directed that the price of wheat should be $3.00 a fanega. Last July, when the crops had been secured, and it was discovered that there would be a surplus of provisions at the Mission, there were sold to the presidio nineteen fanegas of wheat at $2.62 a fanega. This year it was sold at $2.25. The corn, when there was any to spare, was sold at $1.50 in accordance with the arancél. It is certain that no heifers are sold at any price by the Mission; the comandante does not try to purchase any, because he has them on his own rancho. It is just as certain that no one buys them, because they do not need them.[9] What the soldiers and colonists purchase is the full-grown and fat cattle in order to have the advantage of the meat and the fat. For such cattle six dollars a head was asked. Now when the herds are more numerous the current price is five dollars. Blankets are not marked in the price list. They are sold at a price so just that no one, not even our rival, has occasion to complain. The comandante sells the blankets made on his looms for $1.50; the Mission last year sold them at $1.12. Now they sell at $1.25 because they are of a better quantity and heavier.

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[9] Once in a while, unfortunately too rarely, captious critics would receive the proper answer. Fr. Lasuén relates that a corporal at San Luis Obispo complained to the governor that the Fathers there would not sell a heifer to the troops. "Well, what obligation have they to sell you a heifer?" the governor questioned. "At other times they have sold them," the corporal replied. "Well, they wanted to sell, and now they do not want to sell. Retire, sir," and with this the governor angrily dismissed the officer. Fr. Lasuén, *Respuesta,* No. 95.

Quest. 14. "Do the Fathers purchase at exorbitant prices for their own use wine and brandy in addition to what comes for them from Mexico on the ships from San Blas?"

Ans. Goycoechea for once replied as he might have replied truthfully to the other questions: "I do not know." He added that a little mezcal had come for them. Fr. Tápis writes: "Never was mezcal purchased from the ships of San Blas. Nor do we consume more wine and brandy than is sent from Mexico, that is to say, one barrel of each kind. One year the wine coming from Mexico had turned sour. In order that they could celebrate holy Mass, the Fathers procured a jugful of wine from the comandante. This quantity weighed twelve pounds. For this the Mission had to pay fifteen dollars! Not only is no mezcal purchased from the ships, but not even a bottle of it from the presidio. The comandante cannot be ignorant of this; for it is evident from experience that nearly during the whole year before the arrival of the transport we did not use this beverage, not because it does not agree with us, nor because we use it to excess when we have it, but in order that at this mission no extraordinary expenses be incurred beyond the barrel that comes,[10] sometimes without being filled. On Holy Saturday, on Corpus Christi Day, and on the feast of the patroness Santa Barbara, a flask of four and one-half cuartillos is each time given to the company from the presidio.[11] To the mayordomo, when he is occupied with extra work, a drink is also given. From the presidio a visit is never wanting; it is acknowledged with a drink.[12] All this Comandante Goycoechea knows; and he also knows that we never have gone to his storehouse in order to provide ourselves with a drink, which taken with moderation could be to us beneficial; and he can infer that the reason why we abstained is none other than that we would not lay out $1.25 for one cuartillo.[13]

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[10] "para remedios," for medicinal purposes, as Fr. Lasuén says in his *Respuesta,* No. 125. With no physcian or drugs available the missionaries had to prepare the remedies themselves. There was another use made of aguardiente; this was "para probar aceite.' How it entered the manufacture of oil we are unable to ascertain. No liquor was made at the missions before the declaration of Mexican independence, as far as we could discover. Much brandy was, indeed, imported and later manufactured from grapes. All classes used it, as was the custom not only in Spanish America, but more so in the United States before its frightful abuse aroused the waves of prohibition in many localities. The neophytes, while in charge of the missionaries, had of course to be total abstainers.

Quest. 15. "State, as far as known, the cash money which each mission has at the mission, at the presidio, and in the charge of the síndico, Mexico."

Ans. "I was unable to learn," Goycoechea replied, "and I must say that the system or principle according to which the mission temporalities are managed is the more remote from me because of the caprice with which it is concealed." This ungenerous fling at the poor friars is taken up by Fr. Tápis with crushing effect in his usual thorough fashion. "In making this report the comandante certainly did not deign to look over his book of accounts; for with but little trouble he might have learned to know what funds the mission possesses; they are all accounted for at his office. All the money this mission has collected by the sale of cattle, grain, blankets, etc., the alms for 757 holy Masses, which since April, 1794, have been celebrated, and of these a good number were High Masses, and also the alms for all the rest which have been celebrated from the founding of the mission, everything with the exception of what was necessary to pay for four hundred fanegas of grain purchased in 1794 and 1795, has gone to the habilitado or storekeeper and paymaster of the presidio at the request of its comandante and storekeeper Don Felipe de Goycoechea." Fr. Tápis now gives the dates and the amount of money turned over to Goycoechea. As this statement demonstrates how scrupulous the friars of all the missions were in keeping account of the receipts and expenditures, we herewith reproduce it. What the government must have thought of Goycoechea's truthfulness has not been made public. "On September 30, 1793, Goycoechea asked for the money of the mission," Fr. Tapis reports, "and was given $300. On August 30, 1794, he was given $100. On January 23, 1798, he was given $580, and on December 31st of the same year $550. On April 27, 1799, he received $200. All this money, which amounts to $1730, is the whole amount which has been collected at the mission from 1793 to the date of the settlement of the last account which was on December 31, 1799. This sum together with what is sold and left over at the government store, constitutes the entire capital of the mission. All this has been sent to the síndico at Mexico by means of drafts furnished by the said paymaster Goycoechea of this presidio. The first draft issued in favor of the mission is dated January 17, 1794, and called for $1588.50; the second on March 9, 1796, for $1248; the third on April 6, 1797, $536.25; and the fourth on February 8, 1798, was for $560.25. To this sum which amounts to $3933 must be added $1624.50, the price received for otter skins sent to Mexico in the past years. With all this the debts have been paid which this mission contracted since its founding." Fr. Tápis here enumerates the debts made each year, giving dates and amounts exactly for each twelve months.

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[11] Probably in recognition for their attendance at the processions.

[12] A dig at the complaining comandante without doubt.

[13] A cuartillo was equal to about a pint.

It will be remembered that the College síndico collected the stipends of the Fathers from the administrator of the Pious Fund, and then with them and the drafts forwarded from California he purchased the goods which the missionaries indicated. Sometimes the list of goods, or Memorias as it was called, exceeded the amount due the missionaries, probably on account of the high rate of transportation. To that amount the friars were then in arrears with the College procurator. Sometimes, however, not all the money in the hands of the procurator was spent for goods, either because less was demanded or because they had been obtained cheaper. This is what Fr. Tápis means when he reports, "In the present year, according to the account forwarded by the procurator, Fr. Lorenzo Rebuelta, on July 3rd, there is due this mission in Mexico the sum of $528.06. Besides this there is in the hands of the present procurator, Fr. Tomas de la Peña, a draft for $1267.75, issued in favor of this mission by Comandante Goycoechea on December 31, 1799. The money on hand at the mission amounts to $309.12. At the presidio there is still due this mission the sum of $1061.06. The debts of the mission amount to $416.50. The greater part of this will be covered by the presidio storekeeper at the end of the year, and the rest as soon as he is able to pay.

"Hence," Fr. Tápis sums up the case, "if the affection of Comandante Goycoechea for the missionaries were as great as his exaggerated compassion for the Indians, he would, without being wanting in truthfulness and in obedience to his superiors, have omitted the assertion that the system or principle according to which the mission temporalities are managed is so foreign to him, especially as it is his own caprice which conceals the accounts from him. Such a statement is not at all favorable to the character of the Franciscan religious. If the system and principle according to which we manage the temporalities are unknown to him (we must believe this because he so asserts), it is because he will have it so. If he wished to see and hear he could be informed about our management and the object we have in view with the mission temporalities. Nothing is done at the mission which is not made known to him when in the course of the year we visit the presidio. Then it is we speak of sowing, harvesting, road-making for hauling lumber, of building, looms, the tannery, etc., which is all carried on for the well-being of the neophytes.

"Rev. Fr. Presidente, we have with more truthfulness than clearness perhaps endeavored to answer the fifteen questions as well as the charges reported against us by Comandante Goycoechea. We report what we see, what we feel, and what we practice among the neophytes. The comandante has reported from heresay, though he knows the facility of lying of the Indians. The comandante does not lack sufficient practical knowledge of what is going on at the mission from the frequent visits which he makes. Why then does he not report that the neophytes are downhearted, pale, and thin, as they ought to be if they had as little clothing and food as he pretends to be the case? In this way he could have given more weight to his report. However, if such were the case, how is it that the Indians continue to join the mission? Since the first of January we have baptized ninety-six pagans large and small. We are satisfied with what we have said, and for the rest we beseech the justice, mercy, and goodness of God to defend our honor which is so necessary for the fruitfulness of our ministry; and that He being good and merciful pardon those who have put us in danger of losing this honor."[14]

In summing up the replies Fr. Lasuén in his magnificent defense of the missionaries once more reverts to the question of mission funds, of which Goycoechea claimed he knew nothing; for nothing touched the friars to the quick like a charge of having been untrue to "Lady Poverty" as St. Francis termed it. With excusable pride the venerable octogenarian Fr. Presidente declares: "In all the years of my missionary life (and they are more than thirty-six) I have not heard of half a real in the use of which any missionary might have been unworthy the name of a good Franciscan. Thanks be to God."[15] Continuing Fr. Lasuén says: "We are raising in the midst of pagans a Christian people, who by their labor and industries give sure promise of a lasting happiness and of profitable usefulness for human society, Religion, and the Spanish dominion. Eighteen are the public witnesses of this truth, as many as there are established missions. You can be certain that we treat the Indians as I have described in spiritual and temporal things.

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[14] Fr. Tápis and Cortés, *Respuesta*, October 30, 1800. *Sta. Barb. Arch.* The reply here is very much curtailed for want of space.

[15] "En todos mis años de misiones (mas de treinta y seis) no he sabido de un medio real en que algun misionero haya desmerecido la fama de buen Franciscano. Gracias á Dios!" Faithful lovers of Lady Poverty; true sons of St. Francis who would scruple much at the proposition to spend a nickle or a dime for mere self-gratification.

We endeavor to educate and civilize them; we bear with them and tolerate their ways in the trying steps from wild savagery to sociable manhood, and submissive, orderly Christianity; we manage their property, which is the fruit of the toil of the most pitiful people known to the civilized world; we submit and subject ourselves to the orders and decrees of the government as if they came from the king himself; and we endeavor to fulfill all the duties of the sacred and apostolic ministry wherein God, our Lord, and our Catholic sovereign have placed us.

"Nevertheless, we are aware that we have faults which we hope will be forgiven us; and we pardon from our heart and beg others to pardon those who have calumniated and persecuted us. If (I say it without vainglory, as I seek my glory in God) the Most Illustrious Viceroy should deem it proper that some satisfaction be given us, His Excellency can be sure that, as far as the country in which we live is concerned, it is not needed; for all its inhabitants at all times can see for themselves that what I have said is true and that those who have reported adversely have erred."[16]

"The venerable friar's words and manner impress the reader most forcibly," Bancroft feels constrained to concede, "and a close study of the subject has convinced me that he was right; that down to 1800 and considerably later the natives were as a rule most kindly treated.. In the matter of neophyte labor at the presidio, pueblo, and rancho the friars here as elsewhere usually were right and the military wrong."[17] "Governor Arrillaga also made in 1804 a full anl interesting report on the missions and their management," Bancroft informs us. "The paper is a straightforward and business-like one, written by a man of good judgment and long experience. The substance is that the Indians were not cruelly treated, while it was absurd to suppose that so lazy a race could be made to do too much work. True there were shackles, lashes, and stocks, but such punishments were necessary, were judiciously administered, and were in every way better than to crowd the prisons with petty offenders and thus exhaust the 'gratification fund.' Slight defects and excesses were sufficiently guarded against by Franciscan and ecclesiastical regulations, while secular interference on account of a few isolated complaints against individuals was not advisable."[18]

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[16] Fr. Lasuén, *Respuesta,* San Carlos de Monterey, June 19, 1801. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[17] Bancroft, i, 596.

The result of the investigation in Mexico was that Fr. Lasuén's conviction that the Fathers would be vindicated was realized. Viceroy Iturrigaray wrote to Governor Arrillaga, who had succeeded Borica, the following letter which completely exonerated the missionaries: "The impressions which originated from the charge of bad management and want of exactitude of the missionaries in the fulfillment of their difficult obligations having been disproved by the last investigation, as summed up in the Expediente which was made out by this government in consequence of the representation made to it by Fr. Antonio de la Concepcion, who denounced various disorders which he had noticed in the missions which the College of San Fernando administers in New California, I have declared at the request of the fiscal of the royal treasury that the representation of Fr. Concepcion de la Horra is unfounded, and that the contents of his paper should not prejudice the favorable impression which on account of their religious and exemplary vocation, and the apostolic labors of all the members of said College, all the religious subject to the same have always merited for themselves; and having voiced it so to the Rev. Fr. Guardian of said College for his better information, I have exhorted him that for his own sake and that of his community and of the missionaries of their missions they should continue in the love and zeal with which they have labored until now in spreading the evangelical seed among the multitude of unbelievers who inhabit those vast provinces. I make all this known to Your Honor so that you on your part and by means of the comandantes of the presidios, to whom you will give the orders that are expedient, may concur in this work so acceptable in the eyes of God and recommended by the piety of our sovereign, caring and making them take care to observe most perfect harmony with the missionaries, aiding them with the means that are necessary for the perfect discharge of their duty; for you must not doubt that they will conduct themselves towards you and said comandantes in the same manner; and it must be expected from this mutual good co-operation that the laws of Religion and of the State will have their due observance, and with it the accomplishment of the high aims of their institution."[19] On the same date the viceroy wrote similarly to the Fr. Guardian.

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[18] Bancroft, ii, 27; 163.

Long before this decision, August 31, 1802, it was found advisable to remove the antagonist of the missionaries, Felipe de Goycoechea, from California to Mexico, where he was appointed to the office of habilitado-general or paymaster-general. Later on he succeeded Arrillaga as governor of Lower California.[20]

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[19] Iturrigaray to Arrillaga, April 19, 1805. *Cal. Arch. Prov. St. Pap.* xix, 125-128. Bancroft, i, 596-597

[20] Bancroft, ii, 116-117. See vol. i, this work, 589-633.

CHAPTER XI.

Mission Enemies Looming Up.—Neve's Idiotic Plan Once More.—Fr. Lasuén's Refutation.—Effects of Leaving Neophytes at Their Rancherias.—Fr. Lasuén for Religious Tolerance.—Decision of Viceroy Iturrigaray.—Spanish Policy Regarding Trade.—The Eighteen Missions.—Achievements in the Spiritual and Temporal Order.—Reduction of Guards Mooted.—Death of Fr. Lasuén.—Fr. Estévan Tápis Succeeds.—Changes at the College.—Changes in Government Circles.—Lower California Separated from Upper California.

THE wild charges of demented Fr. Concepcion Horra, to which Goycoechea's accusations had lent some color, revived the hopes of those in Mexico who begrudged the missionaries the control of the missionary establishments. Their motive certainly was not the betterment of the spiritual and temporal condition of the Indians; for the neophytes had no complaints to make. They were happy and contented, and the Fathers with heroic patience exhausted their health and their mental faculties trying to transform the savages into peaceful subjects and practical Christians. Although the friars could expect no sympathy for their work from their defamers, nor such lively interest in Mexico for the spread of Religion as we witness even among non-Catholics in behalf of foreign missions,[1] they hoped and prayed that they might at least not be hampered at every turn by their own co-religionists.

Carping critics at no time had the least reason to trouble themselves about the establishment of Religion in California, since they contributed not as much as the mite which could have been expected from men who called themselves Christians, but whose chief tenet appears to have been the accumulation of wealth and the gratification of their ease and ambition. The missions cost the government nothing, as we have had occasion to show elsewhere; nor were any collections taken up in either Spain or Mexico for the spread of Religion among the Indians. The fund from which the annual pittance and the thousand dollars for the erection of a new mission were derived, had been donated by truly Christian sympathizers a century before. The only expenditures which the royal treasury was called upon to make were due to the three or four guards at each mission. This was hardly an additional expense, for these soldiers would otherwise have had to be supported at the presidios. In return, however, the missions were peacefully securing the territory and its savage inhabitants for the crown of Spain, a task which soldiers alone had failed to accomplish for centuries even at enormous cost.

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[1] Hundreds of thousands of dollars are annually collected by Protestants and Catholics for their foreign missions. The Fathers in California lacked this encouraging sympathy entirely; nay, they were begrudged the small revenues from the endowments made for the missions a century before.

While the venerable Fr. Lasuén was still at work writing his refutation to Goycoechea's accusations, it was moved in Mexico to adopt Neve's idiotic[2] scheme regarding the management of the California missions. Fr. Guardian José Gasol communicated the news and asked Fr. Lasuén to state his opinion on the subject. Nearly at death's door, and just one year after signing the above-mentioned refutation, the

Fr. Josef Gasol

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[2] In using this adjective we are employing a mild term, for if the late governor's plan was not that it was malicious and unworthy a Christian, because the system proposed of necessity resulted in the destruction of Christianity among the Indians, an aim attributable only to a Voltairian.

Fr. Presidente, now eighty-one years of age, on June 16, 1802, once more seized his pen to write the last word on the vexed question. It is one of his last lengthy literary productions, but it shows no abatement of mental vigor or lessening of missionary zeal. "I beg Your Reverence's holy blessing," he writes, "to comply with your order of January 27th last, which I received on the 3rd of the current month. You want me to inform you as thoroughly as possible on the subject which has been revived at various periods of instructing and baptizing the Indians in their rancherias and of permitting them to stay there after they are baptized.[3] There are so many objections to this as there are advantages derived from the method thus far employed. If there be any one who has observed that these advantages are not expedient, or that continuing them would result in damage, and if he would tell which they are, it would be easy to make a comparison between the one and the other method, and to come to a clear conviction that the new method is as inexpedient and useless as the system in vogue is expedient and advantageous.

"On the Rio Colorado they were determined to make an experiment, notwithstanding that various well-informed men opposed the attempt. When the disastrous outcome became known, the Fathers were allowed to continue founding missions on the old plan until now. . . .

"There is no doubt that in all pagan rancherias heathen practices prevail. Who will remove the opposition which the Christians encounter, if they continue to live among their tribesmen at the very scene of those heathen customs? and who will prevent them at the same time from joining their tribesmen or even witnessing the orgies? Accustomed to their abominable feasts, and every hour finding their recollections revived, what place will they give to the catechism, and to the obligations contracted in Baptism which they have received? They possess no energy to apply themselves to what is conducive to a rational social, and civilized life. Upon the vigilance of the missionaries and their incessant care it then necessarily depends that they observe what they have learnt; for it is indeed not only to this manner of life that the king wants the Indians to be brought, but to the Christian way. How will this royal and Catholic intention be carried out if the Indians are left to their wild freedom and in their rancherias after they have been baptized?

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[3] This was recommended by Goycoechea, and shows how little he understood the character of the Indians. Goycoechea to Gov. Borica, March 12, 1796. *Cal. Arch., St. Pap., Missions,* ii, 550-552.

"Little less irregular and mistaken the method appears to me which is proposed, namely, not to ask the Indians to be baptized whilst they are in sound health, but to be content with urging and persuading them when they are sick, and in danger of death, to call for the missionary that he baptize them. Let us see the effect of this custom at San Diego and in Lower California.

"At that mission they keep just enough Indians to enable the place to be called a mission, and in order that there be a refuge to which those may have recourse in their inevitable needs who stay at their rancherias. What good and what progress has been achieved? O my venerable Father! What anxieties! What disconsolation! What sleepless nights! What anguish! What daily and nightly toil for the missionaries! What licentiousness! What changing of the neophytes from Christian civility to heathen barbarity![4] Much more would this be the case among the Indians here in Upper California than among those of Lower California. I know both![5] Those of the peninsula are less intractable and much more attached to Christianity, and decidedly more willing than those of Upper California to extricate themselves from their heathen habits and customs.

"Let it be sincerely borne in mind that if at San Diego and in Lower California that method is employed it is through dire necessity; because those sterile lands by no means produce the provisions necessary for the support of all the neophytes collected. This impossibility compels the missionaries to permit the Christians to live scattered in their rancherias, obliged to visit the mission only from time to time. To let them live thus is thought to be a smaller evil than to let them remain pagans. There it is a necessary evil, and the result is disastrous; here in our missions it would be a voluntary evil and the baneful consequences therefore would also be voluntary.

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[4] Fr. Lasuén had been stationed at San Diego, and therefore knew.

[5] Fr. Lasuén had also passed five years in Lower California. See vol. i, for *Barrenness of the Soil.*

"It would be manifestly imprudent to leave the neophytes at their rancherias under the plea of a smaller evil, when the really good way is not only possible but already observed in our Christian communities where the Indians form a civil association, and where they receive the daily instruction of which they are capable, just as the king demands. Nevertheless, through necessity, and for the sake of expediency, the Indians are granted what is less good, as for instance leave of absence at stated periods to visit their native rancherias, and to stay a short time. This is conceded to them so that they may always feel and be assured that their domicile is not the mountain but the mission.

"If now it is desired to begin the method of leaving the others in their rancherias after they may have been baptized, it will not be possible to retain the domesticated neophytes unless they are allowed the same liberty. In that case the missions would be in possession of unnecessary fields without people to cultivate them; as on the other hand the missions of Lower California had enough people but no lands to support them. If the increasing number of Christians should at any time cause the unfortunate necessity (which as yet does not exist) of scattering into the rancherias, that operation will naturally be easier, and they will be less exposed to evil consequences, when they have been reared in the manner which now obtains at the missions.

"Even as it is, for the last four or five years the rumor has spread among the pagans of the Santa Barbara Channel that they might determine to become Christians and afterwards be sure that they should have to dwell in their own rancherias. Notwithstanding that they are barbarians they doubted that the missionaries would consent to such an arrangement. Well, they declared that in such a case they would become Christians, but would continue to live like heathens. To please the comandante of the neighboring presidio, I witnessed at Mission Santa Barbara the first attempt to admit some pagans of a nearby rancheria to the catechism with the new privilege of staying at their rancheria. I had learned that it had been intimated that those who refused to present themselves with that purpose in view should be expelled and banished from their homes. Who does not see that this violence would be very unjust? When they had assembled I most firmly and confidently impressed it upon them that no one should suffer such vexation, but that those who wished to become Christians as well as those who did not want to become Christians should keep peaceful possession of their own habitations.[6] I saw that even with the privilege of being allowed to stay in their hovels, various Indians did not want to become Christians, and that of those who applied some availed themselves of the permission and others did not. Afterwards I saw that many from the different rancherias along the Channel, who have embraced Christianity, paid no attention to the privilege, but all made their homes willingly and gladly at the mission, and there they continued quietly, tranquilly, and happily.

"Finally, my venerable Father, I have come to the conclusion that if I said more on the subject I should offend against human intelligence, and especially against the intelligence of Your Reverence;[7] for said idea which has been revived is not good. That it is better not to change the established method is to me as clear as the light of the day."[8]

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[6] "Ya juntos los Indios les impuse en toda firmeza y confianza, de que á nadie se le haria tal vejacion, sino que tanto los que quisiesen ser Cristianos, como los que no, quedarian pacificamente en el propio solar de sus habitaciones." This was in accordance with Catholic doctrine. No one must be coerced. Here again we find the monk truly tolerant, whilst the State official employed intimidation.

[7] The plan was idiotic indeed if the purpose: Christianization and civilization of the savages, was kept in view.

[8] Fr. Lasuén to Fr. Guardian Gasol, June 16, 1802. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

The venerable Fr. Presidente's arguments seem to have been regarded as unanswerable in Mexico. At all events, Viceroy Iturrigaray on February 2, 1803, decided that no change in the mission system should be attempted.[9]

The Spanish government, however, seriously injured the territory in another way. California as yet had no trade with the outside world, though occasionally some meat, tallow, hides, and grain were exchanged for goods brought by vessels which had arrived for other than commercial purposes. "It is sad," writes Costansó on October 17, 1794, "not to see a single ship-owner on the Pacific coast, no trade in the South Sea, and therefore no revenue, a lack of population, and great expense to the crown. A grand commerce might be developed, affording California settlers a market for their products, including fish and salted meats."[10] The Spanish laws strictly forbade all trade not only with foreign, but also with Spanish-American vessels except the regular transports and for articles they carried. At first supply ships had been forbidden to bring other goods than those included in the regular invoices to the habilitados and to the missionaries, and great precautions were taken to prevent smuggling. After 1785, however, trade was free with the transports except that no foreign goods could be introduced. The comandantes of the presidios, as well as all other officials and marine employees were forbidden to engage in such trade.[11]

Within the boundaries of California trade consisted in the delivery of goods from the presidio warehouse to the soldiers in payment of their wages, and to the settlers in return for grain and other supplies. The missions also sold supplies to the presidios, and sometimes received goods in payment; but generally they preferred to keep an open account[12] which was settled once a year by a draft from the habilitado or paymaster on Mexico. With this the síndico and procurator of the College procured the articles needed by the friars for themselves, their neophytes and the churches. The goods were then sent to the missions free of duty. An occasional cargo of tallow found a market at San Blas.[13] In May, 1797, the habilitado-general for the California troops made a long report in Mexico in favor of sending special invoices by the government for the trade with the colonists, as Governor Borica had recommended. He declared that nothing but a market for their produce could arouse the Californians to devote themselves with energy to various industries. Fathers Salazar and Peña before him, as we have stated elsewhere, had proposed the same plan, but it seems the matter ended there. Every year an appropriation from the royal treasury was made to cover the expenses of the officers, soldiers, artisans, and settlers. After 1796 this amounted to $81,000. In March or April a list of articles needed in California, but which could not be purchased there, was sent to Mexico. From the appropriation the amount of drafts for supplies procured from the missions and colonists was deducted, and also the amount of various royal revenues retained in California. The largest item of royal revenue was that produced by the sale of tobacco. The net proceeds from cigars, cigarettes, and snuff in the last years of the century amounted to nearly $8000. In 1790, for instance, 7,751 packages of cigars, 71,323 packages of cigarritos, and thirteen pounds of snuff were consumed. The government storekeepers received five per cent. of the sales. Postal revenues amounted to about $700 a year. The habilitados or storekeepers served as postmasters, and received eight per cent. of the gross receipts as compensation for their services. Aguardiente or brandy was imported. There is no proof that brandy was manufactured in Upper California before the year 1800; but José Ortega, says Bancroft, had a still, and it is probable that a beginning was made in this industry.[14]

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[9] Bancroft, ii, 6.

[10] Costansó, *Informe*, October, 17, 1794.

[11] Iturrigaray to Gov. Arrillaga, April 30, 1803. *Sta. Barb. Arch.* Bancroft, i, 624-625. Iturrigaray took possession of the viceroyal office on January 4, 1803. Iturrigaray to Arrillaga, January 5, 1803. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[12] Fr. Lasuén, *Respuesta,* June 19, 1801; Fr. Tápis, *Respuesta,* October 30, 1800. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

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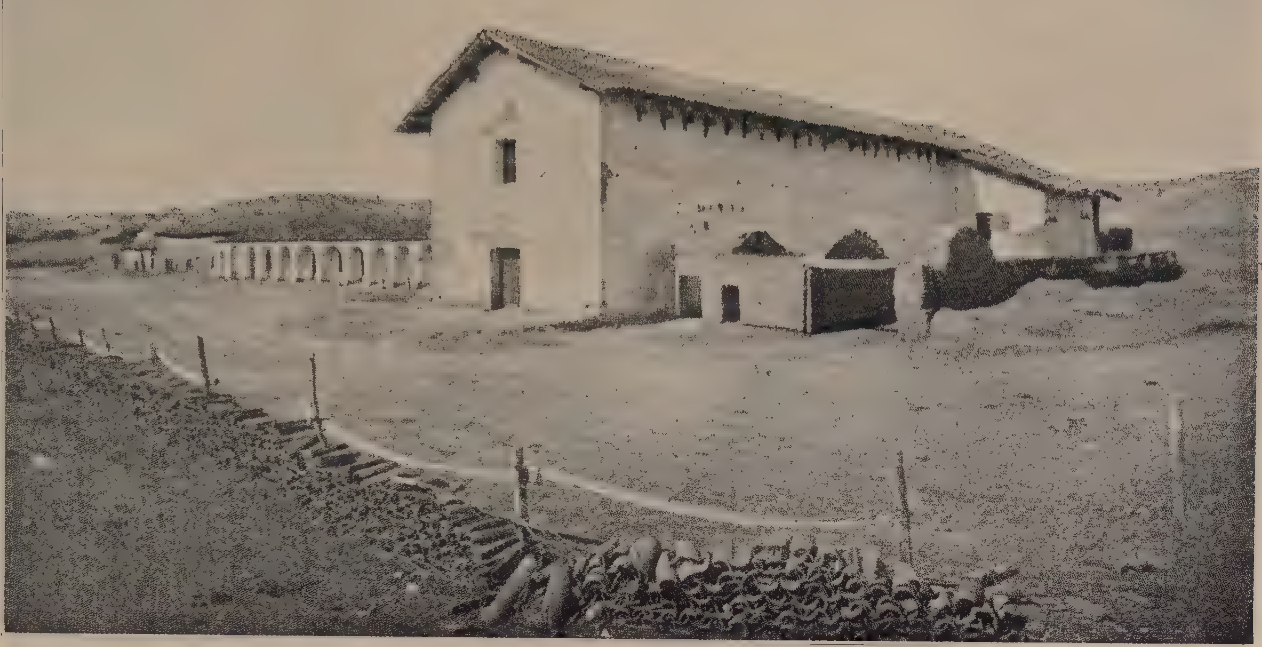
[13] Fr. Lasuén, *Circular,* July 22, 1791. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[14] Bancroft, i, 628-641.



XVI. MISSION SAN MIGUEL, FOUNDED JULY 25, 1797

The settlers had to pay a tax of one fanega of corn per year. This yielded over $100 to the king. Another source of revenue for the royal treasury, strange to relate, but characteristic of the ecclesiastical situation in the Spanish dominions, was what to all appearances looked like the sale of so-called Papal Bulls. These were dispensations from fasting and abstinence and were granted in consideration of a small pecuniary outlay intended to be given as an alms. Neither the Church nor the missionaries had anything to do with the collection of the money. The collection was made by the government habilitado and netted between $100 and $200 a year for the king.[15]

Lastly the king claimed and collected the ecclesiastical tithe or contribution for the privilege of membership in the Church. This properly belonged to the bishop; but as he had ceded it to the king for a consideration, the tax was a regular source of revenue for the royal treasury. This forced contribution, nominally ten per cent. of all the products, was paid by the settlers after their first five years in the country and by the rancho del rey or royal farm. It was collected in kind for grain and even for live-stock when the animals could be used at the presidios. The habilitados received ten per cent. of the gross receipts for the trouble of collecting the tithe. The net proceeds, paid by drafts into the branch treasury at Rosario, or at Guadalajara after 1795, amounted to more than $1200.[16]

We have now to take a glance at the state of the eighteen missions, in order to learn what the Fathers achieved in the thirty-two years of their activity. In his biennial report of February 21, 1803,[17] which happens to be the last drawn up by Fr. Lasuén, the venerable Fr. Presidente informs the College and the viceroyal government that, as a rule, "the church buildings are in a fairly good condition, and sufficiently well provided with vestments and whatever is necessary for divine service. The Christian doctrine is taught in the churches at least twice a day. Though it cannot be affirmed that all the neophytes receive instruction with pleasure and docility, many, indeed all as a rule, attend it as well as the ecclesiastical functions and religious devotions. Every day it is observed that, with the good treatment which they experience, the neophytes endeavor to persuade more pagans to join, and it is hoped that by this means the conversion of the rest will be effected."

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[15] See next volume for the explanation. Bancroft, i, 632.

[16] Bancroft, i, 632.

[17] *Santa Barbara Archives.*

Fr. Lasuén then goes on to relate that there are thirty-six friars in the eighteen missions of whom each one draws a stipend of $400 in goods from the Pious Fund. These regular missionaries are assisted by three supernumeraries receiving no compensation whatever. They are needed for any emergency, otherwise a mission might for a long time be attended by only one missionary, who could not perform the work which the position demands. These thirty-nine Fathers have charge of 7945 male and 7065 female Indians, or 15,010 in all, who live in community at the missions. This was a gain of 1894 over the previous biennial report in 1801. In his general report for the year 1802 Fr. Lasuén says that down to said date there had been baptized in all the missions during the last thirty-two years as many as 33,717 persons who were nearly all Indians.[18] That meant the rescue of as many souls from paganism! This record was probably never equaled in the history of Indian missions anywhere in the United States. Mission Santa Clara with 4173 baptisms after an activity of twenty-five years had won the first place. During the same period 7614 marriages were blessed and 16,869 dead interred.[19] How the friars, in spite of opposition from the officials, the scandals of the soldiers and settlers, and the degradation of the natives, contrived to achieve this result will never be known until the Day of Judgment; for in their modesty and indifference to worldly applause they contented themselves with recording as much and no more than the royal commands exacted—the dry figures; but to those who know anything of mission work among Indians these figures tell a story of self-sacrifice, mental and physical exertion, incessant prayer, and mortification which it would require volumes to describe but imperfectly.

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[18] Five of these missions were only five years old.

[19] By subtracting the 15,010 living at the missions and the 16,869 dead from the 33,717 baptized persons we obtain the number of runaways and of the Baptisms of white people.

The friars, however, were not only messengers of the Gospel and dispensers of the mysteries of God, but captains of industry through necessity; otherwise they could not have gained the savages for Christianity. We shall likewise have to gage the material progress of the missions and the activity of the Fathers by the figures which they reported in obedience to the royal commands; for that is all they deemed necessary to perpetuate. At the end of 1802 the eighteen missions owned 67,684 head of cattle, 106,632 sheep, 1142 goats and swine, 14,148 horses, and 878 mules. For the same year 1802, which produced poor crops in comparison to some previous years, the missions harvested 55,786 bushels of wheat, 7816 bushels of barley, 11,458 bushels of corn, 2983 bushels of beans, and 1730 bushels of peas, lentils, and horse-beans. When we remember that five of the eighteen missionary establishments had been founded only five years before and that the friars knew more about theology and philosophy than about agriculture and stock-raising, we can but wonder how they succeeded in making the land so productive which before the arrival of the missionaries produced absolutely nothing, save acorns and wild fruits. The orchards abounded in a variety of fruit trees all brought to the territory by the Fathers. About one-half of all the missions raised grapes for the table and for the manufacture of wine. In some missions olives were cultivated, and Mission San Diego already succeeded in making very good olive oil.[20] Unfortunately no reports were demanded for fruits, for this reason the Fathers kept no record of them. Besides agriculture and stock-raising various in-

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[20] "En algunas de las misiones se empieza á coger aceytunas; y ya en San Diego se ha hecho un poco de aceyte muy bueno." Fr. Lasuén, *Report,* February 21, 1803. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

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dustries were fostered by the friars and exercised by the neophytes, though the latter before embracing Christianity regarded it beneath their dignity to do any kind of work. On this head enough has been said elsewhere so that we may now continue the narrative.

It had been proposed to reduce the guards at the old missions. The venerable Fr. Presidente, who knew the fickle character of the Indians, cautioned the governor against any step in that direction. "Generally," he said, "the neophytes have not as yet enough affection for Christianity and civilization. Most of them are excessively fond of the mountains, the beach, and of barbarous freedom and independence, so that some show of military power is necessary, lest they by force of arms deny the Faith and the law which they have professed. It is hoped that the easy and frequent intercourse with the pagans may cease. This has been effected in the new missions with regard to the surrounding savages. Then without risk of disastrous consequences, which still threaten, the guards may be reduced at the old missions. To this end the founding of a mission a little more north of the parallel of Mission Santa Barbara, on the other side of the Sierra and beyond the Rio Santa Rosa,[21] would contribute considerably. A good place is situated there in the vicinity of ten or more populous pagan rancherias. The Indians desire a mission, but they do not want to join any of the three on the Channel. The locality has all the requisites for collecting and converting a large number of gentiles."[22]

Fr. Lasuén also took occasion to remind the government "that more than eight years have elapsed since the expiration of the faculty to administer the Sacrament of Confirmation. It was first granted for ten years;[23] it was then renewed for ten years more.[24] Of these twenty years more than half were lost through delay in receiving the documents. Nevertheless 15,440 persons received Confirmation.

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[21] Now the Santa Inés River.

[22] Fr. Lasuén, *Informe Bienal,* February 21, 1803. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[23] To Fr. Serra.

[24] To Fr. Lasuén.

It is most important in this country, more so than in others, if I may say so, that the neophytes do not lack this salutary divine assistance."[25]

Only four months after this report had been signed by the venerable author, California was called upon to part forever with Fr. Fermin Francisco de Lasuén. He must be numbered among the territory's best men and greatest benefactors. As presidente he guided the destinies of the missions with a master hand since the year 1785, the year after Fr. Serra's death. We have no details of Fr. Lasuén's last days and death, save that, as Fr. José Viñals writes, "he died after receiving all the Sacraments with truly religious resignation at two o'clock in the afternoon of Sunday, June 26, 1803, at Mission San Carlos. Before passing away he declared in the presence of Fathers Buenaventura Sitjar, José Viader, Francisco Gonzalez, Baltasar Carnicer, and José Viñals, that Fr. Estévan Tápis had been chosen by the College to succeed as presidente."[26] Fr. Viñals at once notified Fr. Tápis, who two days later in a circular from Santa Barbara announced the death of the Fr. Presidente to the missionaries. He also informed them that he had assumed the office of presidente, and asked each one to offer up twenty holy Masses for the repose of the soul of the deceased Superior in accordance with the ancient agreement, "though, because of his known virtue and having died with the holy Sacraments, we should piously believe that his soul enjoys God."[27]

In notifying Governor Arrillaga Fr. Tápis remarks that his appointment to succeed Fr. Lasuén in such an emergency was dated Mexico, January 26, 1798.[28] A biographical sketch of Fr. Lasuén as of all the Fathers will be found in a subsequent volume. Bancroft[29] here takes occasion to revile Fr. Serra while ostensibly lauding Fr. Lasuén. The latter in his estimation ranks above all the friars, which certainly would not be the case if the deceased had been such a specimen of friar as Bancroft paints him. The malicious historian shows that he understood neither Fr. Lasuén nor Fr. Serra, but that he only lauds Fr. Lasuén in order to give expression to deep-seated hatred for Fr. Serra. In our opinion, if Fr. Lasuén had been in the position of Fr. Serra when Bancroft's ideal Neve oppressed the missionaries, Neve would not have found in him the mild and ever submissive friar Serra, but the fearless and immovable Palóu, and that Fr. Lasuén would have left the country rather than submit to unwarrantable interference of the arrogant governor.[30]

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[25] Fr. Lasuén, *Informe Bienal,* February 21, 1803. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[26] Fr. Viñals, to Fr. Tápis, June 26, 1803. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[27] Fr. Tápis, *Circular,* June 28, 1803. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[28] Fr. Tápis to Arrillaga, June 30, 1803. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[29] *History of California,* ii, 8-9.

Meanwhile a chapter had been held at San Fernando College at which on July 9, 1803, Fr. Thomas de Pángua was elected guardian. The discretos chosen were Fathers Domingo Galiana, Pedro Callejas, Antonio Maya, and Antonio Dantí.[31] Of these only Fr. Dantí had ever been stationed in California.

In government circles important changes also took place. Viceroy Miguel José de Azanza, who had entered upon his duties on May 31, 1798, on August 30, 1800, gave way to Felix Berenguer de Marquina. The new viceroy soon came to the conclusion that Lower California ought to be separated from the civil and military jurisdiction of Upper California. The king, however, desired more information on the subject before giving his decision. Marquina therefore asked the Fr. Presidente of the Franciscans for his opinion.[32] Fr. Lasuén replied that he regarded the plan as most beneficial for the welfare of the missions in both territories, because questions frequently arose which demanded prompt gubernatorial action. If the governor happened to be in the other part of his extensive territory, action would be delayed and much hardship might result.[33] The proposition was again submitted to the king, who on March 26, 1804, issued the decree which divided the Californias and gave a governor to each department. The dividing line was to be the Rio Rosário or Barrabas, the same that formed the boundary between the Dominican and Franciscan missions, between fifteen and twenty miles below San Diego. Lieutenant-Governor José Joaquin de Arrillaga, who since the departure of Borica ruled both Californias, was placed in command of Upper California with instructions to administer the affairs of the peninsula until a governor should be named for that territory. When Felipe de Goycoechea [34] had been appointed for Lower California, Arrillaga sailed from Loreto up the Gulf of California to Bay San Luis, and thence traveled overland to Monterey where he arrived on January 20, 1806.[35]

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[30] See vol. i, this work, section iii, cap. iii, and his action regarding alcaldes in this volume.

[31] Fr. Pángua to Fr. Tápis, July 13, 1803. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[32] Marquina to Fr. Lasuén, April 14, 1802. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[33] Fr. Lasuén to Viceroy Marquina, July 21, 1802. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

Marquina

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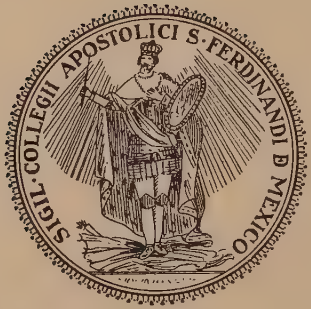
[34] It was he who had reported against Santa Barbara Mission.

[35] *Cal. Arch., Prov. St. Pap.* xviii, 44; *Prov. St. Pap., Benicia,* xxxix, 493-494; Prov. Rec. x, 23. See also vol. i, this work, 531-534, 585-586.

SECTION III.

FR. ESTÉVAN TÁPIS, PRESIDENTE.

(1803-1812)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Seal of San Fernando College.

CHAPTER I.

Golden Age of the Missions.—Expedition for New Sites.—Founding of Mission Santa Inés.—Friars Not Free in Building.—Postage Again.—Dispensation from Abstinence.—Church and State in Spain.—Decree of the King.—Brief of Pope Pius VI.—The "Pase" at Last Affixed.—Fr. Tápis Appointed Vicario Foraneo.—Mortality Among the Indians.—Dr. Benites's Opinion.—Zeal of the Friars.—Guards Must Attend the Fathers.—Treachery of the Indians.—Excitement at Santa Barbara.—Hittell's Misstatement and Its Correction.—The King Supreme in Spiritual Affairs!—God Almighty Still Recognized in Mexico.

THE first decade of the eighteenth century may be designated as the Golden Age of the California missions. It was not as eventful in noisy episodes as the preceding or subsequent periods, but in Arrillaga the territory possessed a governor thoroughly in sympathy with the work of Christianizing and civilizing the savages, and an official who ruled according to the spirit as well as the letter of the Spanish laws concerning Indians. Withal he knew that preaching the Gospel, administering the Sacraments, and enforcing the Ten Commandments, pertained absolutely to divinely constituted ministers; and that it belonged to him to protect them in the free exercise of these duties. He therefore kept his place and let them alone. Hence no such clashes occurred as under Neve and Fages. Fr. Estévan Tápis, hardly less capable and pious than his venerable predecessor, ruled the missions as presidente with zeal and wisdom. The missionaries, too, labored with a will for the salvation of the Indians and their own sanctification. It need not surprise us, then, that more savages entered the fold at this time than at any other period of equal length. The prospects of winning the savages east of the coast range of mountains were so promising that plans were devised for more missions even before Fr. Lasuén had passed to his reward.

As early as October, 1798, by order of the late Fr. Presidente Fr. Tápis in company of Captain Felipe de Goycoechea of Santa Barbara surveyed the region of Calahuasá and the country east of the sierra. On the strength of Fr. Tápis's report[1] Governor Borica recommended Calahuasá to the viceroy as suitable for a mission, and Iturrigaray soon after his accession to the viceroyalty agreed to the proposition. Writing to Governor Arrillaga on the subject the viceroy said: "After considering how helpful the founding of a mission at Calahuasá, on the site of Alajulápu, must be to preaching the Light of the Gospel to the pagans of that district, I have resolved that it should be effected. I have given orders to the officials of this treasury to pay to the síndico of the Apostolic College of San Fernando the $1000 which the Reglamento assigns, and I have charged the Rev. Fr. Guardian of said College to send at an opportune time two religious who merit his confidence. I notify Your Honor so that you may detail the troops necessary for the security of the mission according to custom," etc.[2] Later the Fr. Guardian informed Fr. Tápis that the $1000 had been paid for the purchase of goods, tools and implements, that the viceroy was hastening everything necessary for divine service, and that the College was daily expecting him to name the patron of the new mission.[3]

Arrillaga in turn from Loreto sent a copy of the viceroy's order to the Fr. Presidente, and requested him to state whether or not a guard of five soldiers and a corporal were sufficient.[4] As Fr. Lasuén had just died, Fr. Tápis replied that in 1798 he had examined the country in question, and had discovered thirteen rancherias comprising altogether two hundred and seventy-seven habitations; that in keeping with his experience he had estimated four souls to every cabin, and therefore believed the population of the thirteen rancherias to consist of 1108 Indians. These were in constant intercourse with the Tulares savages who were of a bad disposition and inclined to murder at the word of their wizards or medicine men. The mission, he thought, would be less visited, because it would be situated far from the regular road, and access to it could be had over the mountains by only two trails both of which were rough and difficult to travel. A strong guard would therefore be a necessity.[5]

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[1] Fr. Tápis to Fr. Lasuén, October 23, 1798. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[2] Iturrigaray to Arrillaga, March 2nd; Arrillaga to Fr. Lasuén, April 29, 1803. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[3] Fr. Pángua to Fr. Tápis, November 30, 1803. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[4] Arrillaga to Fr. Lasuén, April 30, 1803. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

Active preparations were then set afoot for the ceremony of founding the mission. This took place on September 17, 1804. Fr. Tápis assisted by Fathers Marcelino Cipres, Antonio Calzada, and Romualdo Gutiérrez set up and blessed the Cross in the presence of Lieutenant-Commander Raymundo Carrillo and soldiers of the Santa Barbara presidio, and many neophytes of the missions of Santa Barbara and Purisima. Thus the nineteenth missionary establishment was inaugurated under the patronage of Santa Inés, Virgin and Martyr.[6]

It will have to be remarked here that the Fathers were not entirely free to follow their taste, ambition, wisdom, and piety in the erection of church buildings. A royal decree, which Fr. Lasuén had already communicated to the friars in a circular of April 3, 1802,[7] imposed a restriction of which Viceroy Marquína reminds the Fathers as follows: "In the royal decree of December 22, 1800, His Majesty among other things forbids the missionaries of Upper and Lower California to undertake the erection of new church buildings in the missions in their charge without first agreeing with the governor of the territory. In this way they will avoid the impropriety that for want of means for the expenses the Indians suffer from lack of support, in that many might be obliged to work when there are means for maintaining but few."[8] Art critics will do well to bear this in mind. The friars were not nearly as independent in the administration of their missions as Bancroft, Hittell, and other superficial or malevolent writers would make the world believe.

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[5] Fr. Tápis to Arrillaga, June 30, 1803. The Fr. Guardian, September 26, 1803, directed Fr. Tápis to insist on more than six guards. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[6] Fr. Tápis to Arrillaga, September 17, 1804. *Sta. Barb. Arch.* Records of Mission Santa Inés.

[7] Fr. Lasuén, *Circular,* April 3, 1802. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[8] Marquína to Fr. Lasuén, November 5, 1801. *Sta. Barb. Arch.* Marquína to Arrillaga, December 22, 1801. *Cal. Arch. Dep. St. Pap.,* xviii, 317.

The question of postage once more came up at this period; but Viceroy Iturrigaray on December 23, 1803, decided that letters of the missionaries to one another, as well as those to and from the College, should be delivered free of charge in accordance with the viceroyal decree of December 21, 1773.[9]

Fr. Guardian Thomas de Pángua on November 30, 1803, notified Fr. Presidente Tápis that on the 27th of the same month the privileges regarding the precept of abstinence conceded to the people of the Spanish dominions by Pope Pius VII, had been published in Mexico. Thereafter flesh meat, eggs, and milk might be used every day during Lent and on the vigils which prescribed abstinence, except Ash Wednesday, the Fridays of Lent, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, and Saturday in Holy Week, and the vigils of Christmas, Pentecost, Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and Saints Peter and Paul. The regulation for fasting, however, continued for all who were not dispensed by their confessors or by order of the physician. Thus, whereas formerly only twenty days of fasting admitted the use of meat, now more than one hundred were not days of abstinence, as the Fr. Guardian remarked.[10]

Fr. Tomas de Pangua
G. n

Among the friars in late years disputes seem to have created some agitation with regard to the full meaning of certain privileges. As these points touched the constitutions granted to missionary colleges by the Holy See, they required the interpretation or decision of the Pope. The Most Rev. Commissary-General for the Indies, Fr. Pablo de Moya, therefore resolved to lay these and kindred doubts before the Holy Father. One should suppose that this could have been done without interference from royalty or the secular power, and that the Papal decision could have been communicated without a formal sanction of the king, inasmuch as these things concerned the discipline of the friars, as Catholic religious and priests of the Church exclusively. This would seem evident from their position of ambassadors of Christ and messengers of the Gospel, whose authority in things spiritual is derived from the Church, not from the State or the politicians who regard themselves as the State. Christ nowhere directed his disciples first to ask the good pleasure of worldly potentates. He sent them out to preach the Gospel to every creature, and to teach them to observe what He had entrusted to them, without let or hindrance from the secular power or politicians who happened to force themselves to the front.

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[9] Iturrigaray to Fr. Guardian, December 23, 1803. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[10] *Sta. Barb. Arch.* This dispensation did not concern the Franciscans. With them every day of fasting was also a day of abstinence in virtue of the Rule of St. Francis.

The secular power of Catholic Spain took quite an opposite view. We have already had occasion to point out this anomaly, the result of the unfortunate union of the Church and State as untoward circumstances had helped to shape and Spanish monarchs presumed to interpret it, but which was not intended and only reluctantly permitted by the Church as the lesser evil. Spanish royalty did not regard itself as the mere protector of the freedom of God's Church, but claimed the privilege of being her absolute master even in things purely spiritual and religious. In consequence, royalty demanded that nothing should be brought to the knowledge of the Spanish subjects by the Head of the Church, unless it had first received the sanction of the royal government. Nor were the Catholic subjects free to place their difficulties and scruples in moral or religious matters before the Supreme Pontiff without the formal consent of the king or his ministers, who as under Carlos III. might for that matter be infidels. The State thus practically claimed to own the souls as well as the bodies of its subjects.[11]

We wonder that the Spanish kings did not feel some degree of shame for the indignity inflicted upon Mother Church and her spiritual children by this unnatural servitude. They could scarcely have the lofty conception of the dignity of God's Church which Christ and His disciple St. Paul emphasize so strongly. Nor could their idea of the Divine Majesty have been very exalted, since they treated the Vicar of Christ with such little consideration. At all events, those kings were filled with an exaggerated opinion of their own grandeur, when they assumed the attitude which their actions manifest.[12] Catholics look upon the Head of the Church in things spiritual as upon the common Father of all, to whom all have an inherent right to appeal, and whom all have the duty to reverence without permit from any one. Catholics, moreover, regard the Church as their Mother. Surely communication between the mother and the child should be held sacred and free. The ungraciousness of prying into the confidential letters which pass between the mother and her children appears the more inexcusable since the king, who himself called the Church his Mother, was absolutely certain that such intercourse could not endanger the loyalty due to himself. On the contrary, it is seen the world over that true Catholics are the most loyal subjects of the State. Rebellion is not one of their tenets, but obedience to the power that is. Of course, if the king, like unscrupulous politicians, regards the Church as a merely human institution, a huge machine bent upon its own aggrandizement, then the king's attitude is intelligible. In that case, however, he was disloyal to his Catholic convictions and instincts; for such a notion is diametrically opposed to Catholic belief.

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[11] Lest the reader imagine that we exaggerate, let him consult pages 305-306; 318, vol. i, and Appendix G, this volume.

[12] This may explain why the kings permitted the remarkable term "Ambas Majestades," Both Majesties, i. e. Divine and Royal, in the same breath. See vol. i, 352, 361.

After this digression the following transaction will be better comprehended and appreciated at its true worth. A decree of the Spanish monarch concerning the disputes in question read thus: "I the King. Whereas Fr. Pablo de Moya of the Regular Observance[13] of St. Francis, and Commissary-General of all the Provinces and Colleges of my dominions in the Indies, has presented various appeals from his subjects, the missionary religious of those regions, which ask for a declaration on the various doubts that have arisen (because in the year 1768 the offices of commissaries-general residing in said countries have been abolished), inasmuch as said declaration would bring about the quietude, tranquility, and peace of mind of said missionaries which is deemed necessary for the punctual observance of the Bulls of Pope Innocent XI. containing the Statutes that regulate the government and must be observed by the Apostolic Colleges of the Propagation of the Faith; and whereas they likewise petition that some monastic rewards corresponding with their apostolic labors be established, the said Fr. Moya has thought it expedient for the pacification of their minds that the twenty-eight doubts proposed should be solved. He has therefore framed the petitions accordingly so that, after they have received the *pase* of my Council of the Indies, they may go to the Apostolic See for approbation. After the said *pase* had been obtained, His Holiness was supplicated for said favor. The Pope thought it right to grant the petition, and on December 12, 1797, commanded said Brief to be issued which approves the declarations made on the twenty-eight doubts proposed to the Commissary-General, and which Brief literally and with its translation is as follows."

This Brief of Pope Pius VI. enumerates the twenty-eight doubts in as many paragraphs. We quote only those that concern the Fathers in California. "1. The ten years of service of the friars who join missionary colleges for the purpose of laboring in the missions must be computed from the day of embarking for the Indies. 3. On returning to their mother province, after having labored ten years in the service of the missionary colleges, the said friars are eligible to all the offices of which they are capable. 4. The friars who have served laudably in missions for twelve years should rank with the preachers-general in their mother province; those who have served sixteen years on returning to their province should rank with the Fathers who have been *definidores,* and they may choose any convent of the province for their domicile; those who have served twenty years, and during that time have been commissaries, college guardians or discretos, and those who for fifteen years have been teachers of any branch in the college may not only choose their domicile, but should enjoy the privileges of ex-ministers-provincial."[14]

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[13] One of the branches into which the Franciscan Order was then divided.

The Pope's decision now had to go before the Council of the Indies in order to receive the *pase.* The king graciously condescended to subjoin this announcement: "After the presentation of said Brief in my Council of the Indies along with its translation which solicited the *pase,* and after I had consulted with our fiscals concerning the matter, I concluded to concede the *pase,* and commanded that it be communicated in regular form to my dominions in both Americas along with the corresponding auxiliatory circular decree, so that it may attain the effects intended without prejudice to the power which number twenty-eight confers on each college, in order that, having noted its contents, the college, if it pleases, may decide to admit it in all its parts, or to make representation upon some of its contents to the Commissary-General of the Indies, and he to my Council, so that it may deign to provide all that is to my royal pleasure. I therefore command all my viceroys, presidentes, and governors who are vice-patrons, and I ask and charge the Most Rev. Archbishops and Right Rev. Bishops, and the General of the Order of St. Francis, to care for the observance and execution of said Brief in the form in which the *pase* concedes it,[15] and to communicate it for the same purpose to all the other persons whom it in any manner may concern as contained therein in the terms expressed. Given at Aranjuez, January 22, 1804. I, the King—By order of the king, our lord, Silvestre Collar."[16]

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[14] Brief of Pope Pius VI, December 12, 1797. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

As indicated above the king wanted his governors considered as clothed with the vice-patronato. Hence it was that special privileges received by the Father Presidente of California were officially communicated to the governor. When Bishop Francisco de Rousset of Sonora received the information of Fr. Lasuén's death, he on September 1, 1803, wrote to his successor, Fr. Tápis, "With regard to the faculties and jurisdiction of Vicario Foraneo of this Episcopal See, which the late Fr. Lasuén exercised, Your Paternity and those who succeed in the office of presidente of the missions may use them in accordance with their literal tenor."[17] In another letter of June 6, 1804, the bishop again notified Fr. Tápis that he might exercise "the same jurisdiction and faculties of Vicario Foraneo and Juez Eclesiastico which he had conferred on Fr. Lasuén." Fr. Tápis took the required oath before Fr. Juan Cortés at Santa Barbara Mission on August 2, 1804.[18] On the following day he dutifully informed the governor who acknowledged the receipt of the official notification at Loreto on

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[15] From this it would seem that the monarch and his council assumed the right to change the wording of the Papal Brief or to eliminate what did not suit them. At all events, they refused the *pase* when they saw fit. Truly, the union of Church and State in that sense meant servitude for the Church. She had to pay too much for the "protection" accorded by her own son.

[16] Decree of Carlos IV, January 22, 1804. *Sta. Barb. Arch.* At last, more than six years after it had been issued by the Pope, the Brief received the sanction of the royal government. They were in no hurry.

[17] "Por lo que respecta á las facultades y jurisdiccion de Vicario Foraneo de esta Sagrada Mitra, que exercia el difunto P. Lasuén, puede V. P. y los que en el oficio de Presidente de Misiones le succedieren usar de ellos arreglandose á su literal tenor." *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[18] Bishop Francisco to Fr. Tápis, June 6th; Fr. Tápis to the bishop, August 2, 1804. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

September 11th. Arrillaga then himself sent the information to the four presidio commanders.[19]

In a circular dated January 19, 1806, Fr. Tápis allayed any lingering doubts of the Fathers concerning reserved cases in the Order by informing them that all the missionaries in California enjoyed the respective faculties according to a late declaration of the College.[20]

Considerable anxiety was felt in Mexico as well as in California on account of the great mortality among the neophytes as reported annually by the missionaries. Viceroy Iturrigaray decided to ascertain the cause, and therefore directed the military surgeon at Monterey, Dr. José Benítes, to make an examination among the soldiers and neophytes of his department. The doctor complied and then reported the chief cause among both soldiers and Indians to be dysentery, fevers, pleurisy, pneumonia, venereal diseases, scrofula, moist climate and continuous fogs. "The causes of the first-named diseases," the doctor reports, "are: impure water which they (Mexican soldiers) use in the preparation of their food; want of cleanliness in their habitations and lack of inclination to cleanliness; want of care and prudence in eating when ill; the lack of vegetables and aversion for them; the continued exposure to the dampness, fogs, and rains in their season, when they are in the habit of letting the clothing dry on their bodies which results in eruptions. The causes of the venereal and kindred diseases among the Indians," the doctor continues, "are impure intercourse, filthy habits, sleeping huddled together, the sick with the others, the interchange of clothing, passing the nights in dancing and gambling on which occasions they shout and exert themselves exceedingly; finally the unreasonable use of the temescal or sweat-house from which perspiring freely they jump into cold water. Despite the zeal of the Fathers, who for the sake of charity took me to the rancherias in order to apply some remedies, the rudeness of the Indians reached such a degree that they declared the missionaries wanted to kill them. The sick would refuse medical aid. They would wash their sores and wounds, and would scarify them with a flint, even the eye-lids. I omit other barbarous customs." [21]

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[19] Fr. Tápis, to Arrillaga, August 3, 1804. *Sta Barb. Arch.*, *Archb. Arch.*, Nos. 282, 284.

[20] Fr Tápis, *Circular*, January 19, 1806. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

The viceroy referred the doctor's report to the fiscal, and then together with the fiscal's recommendations to the Bishop of Sonora for action. What the bishop had to do with the matter is not clear. However, he transmitted both documents to Fr. Tápis with the remark that the viceroy wished some remedy to be applied. On the other hand, Dr. Benítes received orders from the viceroy to continue the investigations at the other presidios and missions. Fr. Tápis replied to the bishop that he would gladly contribute to the relief of the patients. In a circular he accordingly instructed the Fathers to afford Dr. Benítes every facility to ascertain the causes of the diseases in order to find the proper remedy.[22]

Josef de Iturrigaray

As may be supposed from their character, the missionaries could not confine their zeal to the neophytes and to the savages who would occasionally visit the missions and manifest an inclination to embrace Christianity. They desired to win the pagans of all the surrounding rancherias. In the first place the zealous friars endeavored to secure Baptism for dying infants of pagan parents. The adult savages who lay dangerously ill in their hovels next claimed the care of the missionaries. Not one must go before the Eternal Judge with the excuse or charge that the priests had not taken the trouble to visit and enlighten him as to what was necessary for life everlasting. There were others among the gentiles who, like many white people, though convinced of the truth of Christianity, put off conversion to the last in order to enjoy themselves unchecked by the moral restraints which Religion imposes. To reach all these the friars had to leave their missions, the "ninety-and-nine," in order to recover the lost sheep lying at death's door mayhap in some far away shack or brushwood shelter.

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[21] Iturrigaray to Dr. Benítes, September 4, 1804; *Benítes's Report,* January 1, 1805. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[22] The fiscal to the viceroy, April 27, 1805; the Bishop to Fr. Tápis, September 26, 1805. Fr. Tápis to the Bishop, December 2, 1805; Fr. Tápis, *Circular,* January 19, 1806. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

Owing to the treacherous character of the natives, the government had wisely forbidden the missionaries to travel alone on such occasions. One or two guards were placed at their disposal, on condition that they return to their post for the night. Sometimes the distance to be traveled was so great that the messenger of peace could not accomplish the task in a day. Then a conflict would arise between the plain spiritual duty of the priest and the military orders of the soldier. To remove the difficulty, the late Fr. Lasuén appealed to the viceroy for a modification of the regulations, so that the guards might be permitted to pass the night abroad with the Father, in cases when it was inevitable. Fr. Rebuelta, the friar in charge of the petition, failed to present the case properly, so that to the surprise of Fr. Lasuén, "the petition received the most acrid repulse and refusal." [23] The reply was forwarded to Governor Boríca who then forbade the missionaries to travel to places that would keep the guards on the road at night.[24]

Meanwhile, however, the Fr. Guardian had taken the case in hand, and succeeded in obtaining the concession which

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[23] "Tuvo por primera vez una repulsa y negativa la mas agria," Fr. Lasuén writes in his *Circular* of March 5, 1796. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[24] Borica, Order, March 2, 1796. *Cal. Arch., Prov. Rec.* vi, 292-293; iii, 76.

Fr. Lasuén desired. The government at the same time declared that the matter when first presented had not been considered as it deserved. Fr. Lasuén only three days after Borica had issued his prohibition, in a circular to the missionaries notified them of the viceroyal decision in their favor, so that thereafter they could in urgent cases detain the guards away from the mission at night.[25]

Hence it was that Raymundo Carrillo, commander of the Monterey presidio, instructed the guards of Mission San Carlos that "when it is the duty of the Rev. Missionary Fathers of this mission to go forth to exercise the functions of their apostolic ministry, to administer the Sacraments, to baptize infirm gentiles, etc., it is always in order for the said missionaries to notify the corporal and to ask for a guard. In that case the corporal must not refuse this necessary assistance of two soldiers . . . even in the event that it be necessary to pass the night among the gentiles . . ."[26]

The soldiers at Mission San José seem to have refused protection nevertheless, for on one occasion Fr. Pedro de la Cueva in duty bound visited a distant pagan rancheria alone, because he could obtain no guard. When Governor Arrillaga heard of it he complained to Fr. Tápis, and declared that no missionary must leave the mission alone. Fr. Tápis replied that "Fr. Cueva went after he had been informed that three gentiles lay sick unto death. This is a temptation in which it is easy to fall, not only for Fr. Pedro but for any other missionary, inasmuch as there is no greater charity, according to Christ Jesus, than to expose one's life for the neighbor. The request that such sick people should be taken to the mission is very easily made, but in my opinion very difficult of execution, not only because they are supposed to be dying or in danger of death, but also because, however great the assistance may be at the mission, the Indians prefer to die in their mountain camp, as is frequently observed among the neophytes who take sick at the mission. Unknown to the missionaries they will have themselves removed to the habitations of their relatives in the pagan rancherias." [27] Fr. Tápis, however, promised to instruct the Fathers to begin their sick-calls early in the morning so that they might be at home with the guards when night sets in.[28]

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[25] Fr. Lasuén, *Circular*, March 5, 1796. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[26] "aun en el caso de que sea forzoso pernoctar entre los gentiles," Carrillo, *Instruccion*, July 10, 1801. *Cal. Arch., Prov. St. Pap., Benicia*, xxix, 159.

There was much reason to distrust the Indians. This same Father, a few months later, "January 16, 1805," Fr. Tápis reports [29] "left Mission San José to visit some neophytes who had run away and now lay sick at a rancheria about five leagues distant from the mission. He was escorted by two soldiers and accompanied by the mayordomo and some neophytes. One of the latter, who acted as guide, favored by a dense fog maliciously led all astray, and conducted them to another rancheria of gentiles by whom they were received with bows and arrows which the savages discharged at them with such force that two neophytes and the mayordomo were killed, the Father was wounded in the cheek by an arrow, and one of the soldiers was stricken in the thigh by another arrow. Those who survived through good fortune managed to return to the mission pursued by the pagans who would have finished all had not one of their own number been killed in the skirmish." As soon as the news reached San Francisco, Sergeant Luis Peralta and eighteen soldiers were despatched to punish or capture the aggressors. On their way about fifteen settlers from San José joined the expedition. The savages had abandoned their rancheria, but were overtaken. Eleven were killed and about thirty, mostly women, were captured. Many fugitives then voluntarily returned to their missions, and some of the gentile chiefs from distant villages came to assure the Spaniards that they had not taken part in the outbreak.[30]

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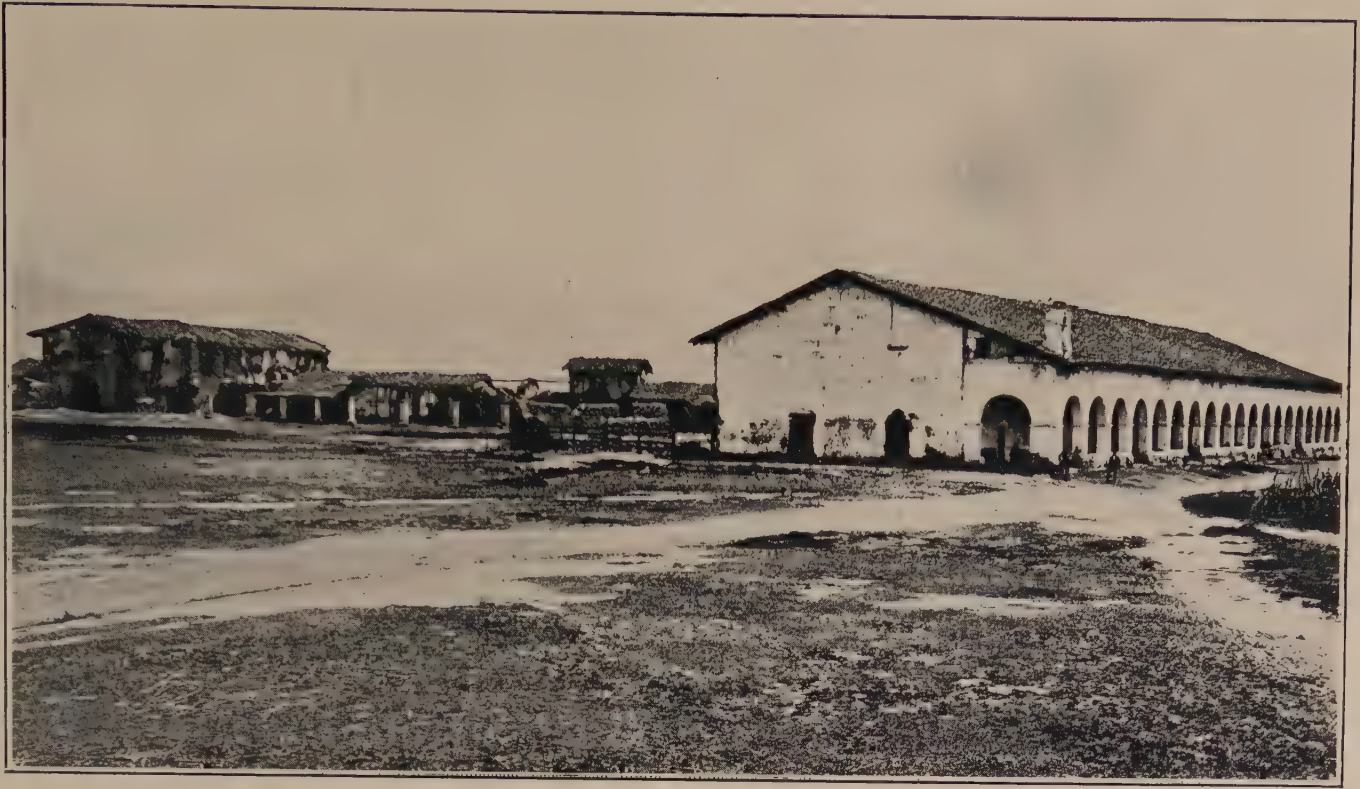
[27] Indian missionaries and teachers in either mission or government reservation schools can tell of such vexations to the present day.

[28] *Archb. Arch.*, No. 298, no date.

[29] Fr. Tápis, *Informe Bienal,* February 21st; Fr. Tápis to Arrillaga, March 1, 1805. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[30] *Cal. Arch., Prov. Rec.* ix, 178-179.



XVII. MISSION SAN FERNANDO REY, FOUNDED SEPTEMBER 8, 1797

In writing to Governor Arrillaga about the matter,[31] Fr. Presidente Estévan Tápis urged an increase of the military force at the missions which, except at Mission Santa Inés, as a rule consisted of only two soldiers. "This scarcity of troops," he says, "makes me fear that some day all may be lost that has been gained during many years. The greatly increased number of neophytes is for me a principal motive for prudent fear. They know the weakness of the military force, and the time that must elapse before the comandante of the neighboring presidio can arrive with assistance. On the other hand, the gentiles are most secretive about their projects." The Fr. Presidente then recites an incident which old Indian missionaries of our day can well appreciate, as it graphically demonstrates the fickle and superstitious nature of the Indians.

"In 1801, when an epidemic of pneumonia and *dolor de costado* carried away many gentiles and Christians, one Indian neophyte woman was sufficient to delude the Christians of Santa Barbara. After a feigned trance she declared that Chupu[32] had appeared to her, and had assured her that all the gentiles would die from the epidemic if they allowed themselves to be baptized, and that the same would happen to the Christians who failed to offer alms to Chupu, and refused to wash their head with a certain water. Immediately, though it was midnight, the news of the revelation spread through all the cabins of the mission, and nearly all the neophytes, the alcaldes included, hastened to the habitation of the visionary in order to offer seeds, beads, and trinkets, and to renounce Christianity. It is to be noted that whilst the mischievous imposition ran through all the rancherias of the channel and the sierra, the missionaries knew nothing of the commotion; for Chupu had at the same time revealed that those who informed the Fathers should die immediately. For three days we were in ignorance of the trouble, until at last one neophyte conquered his dread, and related to us all that had occurred. Now, if the Indian woman had added that, to stop the epidemic, it would be necessary to kill the missionaries and the two guards, the alcaldes and the rest would have given credit to this part of the revelation as well as to the other. Who would have escaped death, and who would have notified the presidio, though it is only half a league distant? Through the goodness of God this did not happen, yet it is enough that it might have occurred. The neophytes know how to scheme at night so secretly that the missions of a thousand and more converts ought not to be entrusted to only two or three soldiers who compose the guards." To corroborate what was said, Fr. Tápis goes on to say that only two months before, December 25, 1804, a neophyte Indian struck a missionary at San Diego in the head with a stone, because the Father had detected him in the very act of a crime.

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[31] March 1, 1805. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[32] See chapter xiv, section i.

Hittell seizes the attack of the gentiles at San José Mission for a tirade against the missionaries and Governor Arrillaga. We might let him enjoy himself that way, but in addition he makes a serious misstatement. "In 1808," he asserts,[33] "several Indian women were publicly flogged with twenty-five lashes each at Mission San José. Arrillaga objected strenuously to the publicity, but not to the whipping; and, as his action was of a piece with the general treatment the Indians received throughout the country, their hostility and desperation increased." Hittell gives as authority for the public whipping the California Archives.[34] We reproduce the document here entire, so that the reader may draw his own conclusions about the honesty of the historian. "The Rev. Fr. José Viader has informed me," Governor Arrillaga writes under date of August 6, 1808, "that when he (Fr. Viader) asked the corporal of the guard of San José why he had inflicted the penalty of twenty-five lashes upon an Indian woman in the guardhouse,[35] and again in the guardhouse[36] likewise twenty-five lashes upon another Indian woman, the said corporal had retorted that he had no other satisfaction to offer save that he had done this by higher order. In consequence I demand that Your Honor inform me in detail as to what has occurred, and which higher order exists for inflicting such chastisements upon women in the guardhouse, for I desire to know."

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[33] *History of California*, i, 612.

[34] *Cal. Arch., Prov. Rec.* xii, 728.

[35] "25 azotes á una India en la guardia," hence privately.

[36] "en la guardia," hence not publicly, but privately.

From this it is clear that not several, but just two Indian women, were punished; that it was not done by authority of either the missionary, as Hittell insinuates, or of the governor; that it was not done in public, but in private, and doubtless by means of another woman as was the custom when that punishment was inflicted upon women at all; that a missionary called the corporal to account, and reported him for the misdeed to the governor; that Arrillaga disapproved of the officer's action even though it was not public; and that it is a bold assumption to place the occurrence at Mission San José, which did not concern Fr. Viader, when doubtless it happened at the town of San José, which came under the jurisdiction of Mission Santa Clara where Fr. Viader was the missionary.

The foregoing incident illustrates Hittell's manner of propping up his theory that whatever cruelty was perpetrated upon the Indians, and whatever disorder was created by the Indians, must be laid at the door of the friars. In this case the governor is made to share the blame with the missionaries, because, unlike Hittell's ideal Neve, Arrillaga saw that it was but just, and beneficial to the natives, to allow the friars to perform their arduous task without molestation from the military.

The enemies of the friars have much to say about the absolute power wielded by the missionaries. If the preceding pages have left any doubt, an incident which occurred at this time may help the unbiased reader to obtain a clear view on the subject. Fr. Francesco Antonio a Farnesio, an Italian Franciscan, arrived at Monterey on the *Concepcion* from China by way of the Philippines in the latter part of December, 1804. He had labored in the Chinese missions until at the age of fifty-eight years ill-health compelled him to depart with the permission of the ecclesiastical authorities. He came to California in the hope of regaining his health and of passing the remainder of his life among his brethren in the mild climate of the coast. The missionaries received him kindly, but referred him to the Fr. Presidente for permission to stay permanently. He accordingly applied to the Fr. Guardian of San Fernando for leave to devote himself to the California missions. This petition he sent to Fr. Tápis for transmission to the College, and at the same time asked for the necessary faculties until the reply of the Fr. Guardian should be received. Fr. Tápis in exquisite Latin answered at some length. "I should gladly grant you the faculties if I could," he wrote, "but since you have been sent to the Chinese Empire by the Sacred Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith to serve as missionary, *you ought to be sent here by our Catholic Spanish King, who in virtue of the authority which he possesses and which is committed to him by the Holy See, as Delegate of the same Supreme See, can and is bound to approve those missionaries who are to be sent hither and elsewhere in the two Americas subject to him.*" [37]

Nevertheless Fr. Tápis forwarded Fr. Farnesio's letter to Mexico, and meanwhile permitted him to celebrate holy Mass and to perform such functions, which needed no special faculties, until word should arrive from the viceroy who would have to be approached by the Fr. Guardian.[38] The reply of the viceroy dated Mexico, June 10, 1805, was to the effect that Fr. Farnesio should return to Italy.[39] He accordingly sailed from San Diego on the *Princesa* November 6th of the same year.[40]

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[37] "Mitti deberes a nostro Catholico Hispaniarum Rege, qui, authoritate qua pollet a Sancta Sede sibi commissa, tamquam delegatus ejusdem Supremae Sedis, qui huc vel alibi in utraque America sibi subjecta mittendi sunt, adprobare potest, atque tenetur." Hence the Spanish King was practically supreme in the spiritual matters all over his dominion. That the Spanish monarchs used and abused their positions as they found expedient history demonstrates. It was not the Superior-General who, as now, sent or recalled the religious of his Order; that was a matter which the king or his viceroy claimed to concern the government!

[38] Fr. Farnesio to Fr. Tápis, Monterey, January 1st; Fr. Tápis to Fr. Farnesio, Santa Barbara, January 7, 1805. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[39] Fr. Tápis to Arrillaga, July 8, 1805. *Archb. Arch.*, No. 291.

It is pleasant to note that as yet the Source of all good was not denied recognition in Mexico. Viceroy Iturrigaray on January 5, 1805, asked the Fr. Guardian of College San Fernando to have a holy Mass offered up in all the churches under the jurisdiction of the College in thanksgiving for the benefits enjoyed in America, and to implore the infinite mercy and clemency of God for assistance to the mother country and prosperity for the monarchy.[41]

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[40] Fr. Tápis to Arrillaga, July 8, 1805. Bancroft, ii, 31; 160.

[41] *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

CHAPTER II.

The Channel Island Indians.—Mission Proposed There.—The Indians of the Interior.—Fr. Martin's Visit.—Expedition of Fr. Zalvidéa and Results.—Fr. Muñoz's Expedition.—Number of Indians in the Interior.—Two Expeditions of Fr. Viader.—Fr. Abella's Expedition.—Fr. Guardian Gasol's Circular.—Its Regulations.—Bancroft's Distortion of the Truth.—Report on the Annual Holy Communion.—Fr. Señan Named to Succeed Fr. Tápis in Case of Death.—Highest Number of Missionaries.—Medical Examination.

MISSION SANTA INÉS, the founding of which was related in the preceding chapter, promised the conversion of all the savages in the sierra east of the Channel Missions, and thus removed from the neophytes on the coast at least one standing temptation for relapsing into paganism. The Fathers therefore turned to the west where, on two of the islands which formed the Santa Barbara Channel, lived another savage people who proved the other drawback to the spiritual progress of the converts. A few of the islanders had become Christians, but the great majority refused to join any of the three missionary establishments on the mainland. They were superstitious to the highest degree, and, as the neophytes before their conversion had been scarcely less addicted to heathen customs, it frequently happened that converts ran away to stay with their friends on the islands where they died without the Sacraments as apostates. To satisfy their zeal for the salvation of the souls of the islanders, as well as to cut off the danger to their wards, the missionaries recommended the founding of a mission on the principal island which the natives called Limú, but which was known as Santa Cruz Island.[1]

"Limú," Fr. Tápis writes,[2] "is about seven leagues distant from the coast, measures about fourteen leagues in length and about five leagues in width. According to information received it abounds in pine timber, firewood, good soil, water for irrigation, pastures, and everything requisite for a settlement. There are ten rancherías on this island, the principal of which, Cajatsá, numbers one hundred and twenty-four adults;[3] Ashuagél, one hundred and forty-five; and Liám, one hundred and twenty-two adults. The rest, though smaller, contain a good many pagans. All these wretched people are generally in a hungry condition. The men go entirely naked; the women little less so. They have no other means of subsistence than fish and such seeds as they may obtain from the coast Indians in return for beads made of shells."[4] As they beheld the good fortune of the Christians, these poor people expressed a desire to have a mission. They moreover promised to become Christians as soon as the Fathers settled down on the islands; but they could not be induced to leave their native soil and make their home in the missions on the coast.

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[1] Bancroft, ii, 33, has Catalina Island, which is an error.

[2] Fr. Tápis, *Informe Bienal,* February 21, 1805; Letter to Arrillaga, March 1, 1805. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

There was another island also inhabited by savages. It was known as Huima, but the Christians called it Santa Rosa. It was reported to be nine leagues long and nearly as many wide. The natives wanted a mission, but as the requisites were lacking they were willing to join their friends on the Island of Limú as soon as the mission was started there. It comprised seven rancherias, the largest of which was said to count one hundred and twenty adults. Fr. Tápis, who estimated the population of both islands to be equal to that of Mission Santa Barbara,[5] nearly 1800 souls, while urging a mission gave an additional motive. Foreign vessels, he said, were in the habit of landing there to procure otter skins from the Indians. A mission with a strong guard would put a stop to the traffic.

In his report of March 13, 1807, however, Fr. Tápis writes "that, as more than two hundred of the gentiles on the two islands have died of the measles, correspondingly fewer people exist there now. I have also to remark that Christians and pagans after closer investigation differ considerably with regard to the requisites available, so that it would be necessary to institute a formal investigation and survey before making arrangements for a mission on these islands."[6] With that the project seems to have been abandoned, for no mention of it is made in subsequent reports.

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[3] All over nine years of age were so styled, as was stated before.

[4] "Abalorios," small rounded pieces of mussel-shells, which were perforated and arranged on a string. The value depended upon the length of the string.

[5] Fr. Tápis had not visited the Islands. As usual the Indians had exaggerated very much.

Thus far the interior of the California territory east of the sierras was but little known. The knowledge imparted by the descriptions of Fr. Crespi and Pedro Fages,[7] Fr. Francisco Garcés,[8] and Fr. Font and J. B. Anza,[9] had almost been forgotten. Yet zeal would not let the missionaries rest satisfied with what they had accomplished on the coast. They longed to communicate the truths of salvation to the savages towards the east. The natives themselves after they had become acquainted with the fatherly treatment accorded their tribesmen desired to have the same unselfish men in their midst. Various expeditions, therefore, set out in the first decade of the century in order to ascertain the conditions in those regions. The first one left Mission San Miguel in November, 1804. Accompanied by only two soldiers Fr. Juan Martin marched eastward for three days, when he arrived at Bubal, the first rancheria of the Tulare Indians. This he named La Salve. He found the natives well disposed and anxious for a mission. With deep sorrow the good Father beheld the ravages which continual wars with other tribes and various diseases, notably the deadly Galico, had produced among them. As many as two hundred children were offered for Baptism by the pagan parents. With intense regret Fr. Martin had to decline to administer the Sacrament, as there was no likelihood that the children would be raised in the Faith while they remained in the heathen rancherias with their parents. In his report of a much later date, however, he informed Fr. Señan that he had repeatedly placed the matter before the late governor; he then repeated that, unless a mission were planted in the Tulare region, the 4000 Indians he found there would all be lost by dying ignorant of their eternal destiny.[10]

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[6] Fr. Tápis, *Informe Bienal,* March 13, 1807. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[7] See chapter vi, sec. i.

[8] See chapter ix, sec i.

[9] See chapter xi, sec. i.

Far more is known of another expedition which set out from Santa Barbara under orders from Governor Arrillaga on July 19, 1806. It was composed of Fr. José Maria de Zalvidéa, a lieutenant, a sergeant, a corporal, and a number of soldiers. The names of the armed men are not reported by Fr. Zalvidéa who kept the journal. They left Santa Barbara in the morning and in the evening of the same day, July 19, arrived at Mission Santa Inés. From there the expedition proceeded northward for about twenty-one leagues, then eastwardly for about fifteen leagues, and again northward for about eight leagues, when they reached the rancheria of Buena Vista on Tulare Lake. It is not possible to follow the explorers with certainty after this, but Bancroft thinks they entered the region of Visalia where Fr. Zalvidéa pronounced the conditions favorable for a mission. The Indians there expressed themselves desirous of becoming Christians as soon as the Fathers should determine to stay among them. Fr. Zalvidea and his companions may have reached the southern boundary of Fresno County, whence they probably made their way through Tejon or Teháchapi Pass. They followed the eastern foothills of the San Gabriel Range until they turned to the west and crossed the mountains to Mission San Gabriel where they were welcomed on August 14th. During the expedition Fr. Zalvidéa baptized nine very old men, and thirty-eight aged women. Two of the women claimed to be one hundred years old. "I proceeded under

Fr José Maria de Zalvidea

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[10] Fr. Martin to Fr. Señan, April 26, 1815. Fr. Señan, *Informe Bienal,* May 13, 1815. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

the conviction," the good Father writes, "that in view of the condition in which I found them they would naturally preserve their baptismal grace. All those baptized voluntarily accepted Baptism after they had been instructed in the points of our holy Faith, had previously made a profession of faith in each and all the chief mysteries of our Religion, and had detested their past offenses. One of the aged women Fr. Zalvidéa discovered in a wretched little hut away from any human habitation in the last throes and destitute of every human assistance. There was no time to lose, so the Father taught her the most necessary points of Faith and urged her to become a Christian. He succeeded, baptized the poor creature, and gave her the name Maria Gertrudis. He moreover staid with her until she returned her soul to the Creator two hours later.[11]

On September 21, 1806, after a fitting address, probably by one of the missionaries, another expedition set out from Mission San Juan Bautista. It was in charge of Ensign Gabriel Moraga of the San Francisco presidio. Fr. Pedro Muñoz of Mission San Miguel went along and kept the diary. Going east the explorers crossed the San Joaquin River and then turned toward the north. The first large stream forded thereafter was called Nuestra Señora de la Merced. Here Fr. Muñoz pronounced the country suitable for a mission. Proceeding in a northwesterly direction the little party crossed the Dolores, Guadalupe, and San Francisco rivers, until they reached the Rio de la Pasion which had been discovered by a previous expedition. On the return march the Rio San Joaquin was explored in both directions. Continuing Moraga led his party to the Rio de los Santos Reyes or Kings River, which had been discovered in the preceding year. The region of the present Visalia was declared adapted for a mission. The Rio San Pedro, possibly the Tulare, was next visited, and then another large river, possibly the Kern was discovered. On November 1st the explorers possibly went through Tejon Pass, crossed the mountains until they arrived at Mission San Fernando on All Soul's Day, November 2nd, when Fr. Muñoz dated his journal. In the meantime he had baptized one hundred and forty-one very old or dying Indians. The native rancherias discovered on the way were with the number of souls attached: Nupchenche, 250; Chineguis, 250; Yunate, 250; Chamuasi, 250; Latelate, 200; Lachuo, 200; Pizcache, 200; Aycuyche, 60; Ecsaa, 100; Ehiaja, 100; Xayuase, 100; Capatau, 10; Hual or Vual, 400; Tunctache, 250; Notonto (1st), 300; Notonto (2nd), 100; Telame (1st), 600; Telame (2nd), 200; Uholasi, 100; Eagueya, 300; Cohochs, 100; Choynogue, 300; Cutucho, 400; Tahualamne, 200; Coyehete (not seen, but reported), 400.[12]

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[11] Fr. Zalvidéa, *Diario,* August 14, 1806. *Sta. Barb. Arch.* For the distances traveled and the names applied see Appendix J.

Fr. Pedro Muñoz

In summing up the various efforts to find sites for new missions, Fr. Tápis reports to Governor Arrillaga[13] that "in the four expeditions which have been undertaken in 1806, and which set out from the four presidios,[14] each commanded and conducted by an officer, and accompanied by a missionary, pagan settlements have been visited from San Diego to San Francisco, most of whose inhabitants had never seen either troops or religious. Nevertheless they were received with pleasure by the gentiles who, after they had been informed that the purpose of the expedition was to afford them a knowledge of the Creator, of the end for which they were created, and the necessity of Baptism for salvation, generally manifested a desire to be baptized, and to have missions in their country. Only four or five sites, suitable for missions, however, have been discovered, and these are on the stretch from opposite San Francisco to a parallel with Mission San Miguel, a distance of eighty or ninety leagues. Twenty-four Indian rancherias were visited in that region, which according to a prudent estimate comprise 5300 souls. On these four expeditions, one of which lasted twelve, another forty-three days, and two about one month, there were baptized one hundred and ninety-two pagans who were found in danger of death, or so decrepit with old age that they were regarded in grave danger. Included in this number are some who had received Baptism at the hands of a Father who set out with an expedition in April from San Miguel, and which journey lasted seventeen days." Fr. Tápis then reminds the governor of the necessity of a strong garrison to protect the missions if any were to be established inland, because they would be too far from the coast missions and presidios.

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[12] Fr. Muñoz, *Diario,* September 21 to November 2, 1806. *Sta. Barb. Arch.* For the route traveled and the names applied see Appendix K.

[13] Fr. Tápis, *Informe Bienal,* 1805-1806, March 13, 1807. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[14] We have no record of expeditions from San Diego or San Carlos.

Four years later two expeditions were sent out by the governor in search of new mission sites. The first composed of Ensign Gabriel Morága, Cadet Raymundo Estrada, a corporal, thirteen soldiers, and four neophytes, accompanied by Fr. José Viader of Santa Clara, began the march from Mission San José on August 15, 1810. They proceeded to the mouth of the Rio San Joaquin, went up the river for about eighty or ninety miles, crossed the mountains, and arrived at Mission San Juan Bautista on August 27th. Here Fr. Viader closed his diary on the next day. No suitable locality had been discovered.[15] The other expedition, composed of Ensign Gabriel Morága, twenty-three soldiers, and about fifty armed Christian Indians, accompanied by Fr. José Viader, left Mission San José for the northeast on October 19, 1810. Near the San Joaquin a whole rancheria consisting of sixteen runaway neophytes and sixty-nine savages was captured. Fifty-one of the pagans were females. They were given their liberty, but the others were sent to the mission in charge of guards. A new examination of the country revealed the fact that the region of the Rio Merced, the best so far discovered, was much less adapted for a mission than reported by the expedition of 1806. The explorers then turned back and entered Mission Santa Clara on October 28th.[16]

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[15] Fr. Viader, *Diário,* August 28, 1810. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

A year later an exploring expedition set out from San Francisco by water. Fr. Ramón Abella of Mission San Francisco and Fr. Buenaventura Fortuni of San José, accompanied by Sergeant Sánchez and troops, on October 15th, embarked on several launches at ten in the morning. At four o'clock they reached Angel Island. Continuing they changed the Indian names of Points Huchunes and Abastos to Points San Pablo and San Pedro respectively. Between the two lay two islets which closed the bay and began one much larger (the present San Pablo Bay) with a radius of about four leagues. Towards the west was an estero which Gabriel Morága had twice navigated, and which is probably identical with Petaluma Creek. Continuing they applied the name to Point San Andrés, now Point Pinole. The expedition proceeded up Carquines Strait into the San Joaquin River, whose eastern or main branch Fr. Abella called San Juan Capistrano. Crossing over into the Sacramento through the Two Mile Slough, the explorers descended that stream to its mouth, and thus completed its first recorded navigation. At the same time they named it the San Francisco, a name they understood had been previously applied. Thence, after a visit to the country of Suisunes, they returned to San Francisco Mission on October 30, 1811. They had met several large Indian rancherias, at most of which they found neophytes belonging to Mission San José. Fr. Buenaventura Fortuni baptized a number of old and infirm Indians besides some infants of neophytes.[17]

The manifold external activities were liable to cause the individual friars to overlook more important obligations, or to make changes and introduce customs which might not be in keeping with the main object. This would have been the inevitable consequence if each missionary stood alone and independent. It was well, therefore, that the Superiors kept a watchful eye on the conduct and management of each friar, in order to insure uniformity in the work and strict observance of the Rule of St. Francis and of the statutes of the College. Not only would the Fr. Presidente make regular visitations and leave necessary instructions, but the College would frequently take action, probably upon the reports and recommendations of the Fr. Presidente, and sometimes by request of the king or viceroy.

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[16] Fr. Viader, *Diário,* October 28, 1810. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[17] Fr. Abella, *Diario,* October 31, 1811.

As early as February 7, 1775, Fr. Guardian Francisco Pángua issued special regulations for the conduct of the missionaries which were intended to aid the friars to keep the main object in view. Twenty-one years later Fr. Guardian José Gasol[18] called their attention especially to six paragraphs of the said regulations. With the consent of the College discretory, he forwarded to California the following additional ordinances: 1—If the amount conceded by the king for traveling expenses does not suffice, the deficiency shall be made up by the missions. 2—At each mission there shall be a *Libro de Patentes* into which shall be transcribed the official communications of the Fr. Presidente and the Fr. Guardian, besides such letters and documents as may be of importance to the missionaries. If there be no separate book for the inventory, the *Libro de Patentes* may be used to record the contents of the church and the sacristy. 3—In order to excite devotion in the Indians as well as in the white people, the processions for Candlemas Day, Palm Sunday, the Rogation Days, and Corpus Christi Day must be held. Likewise the last three days in Holy Week shall

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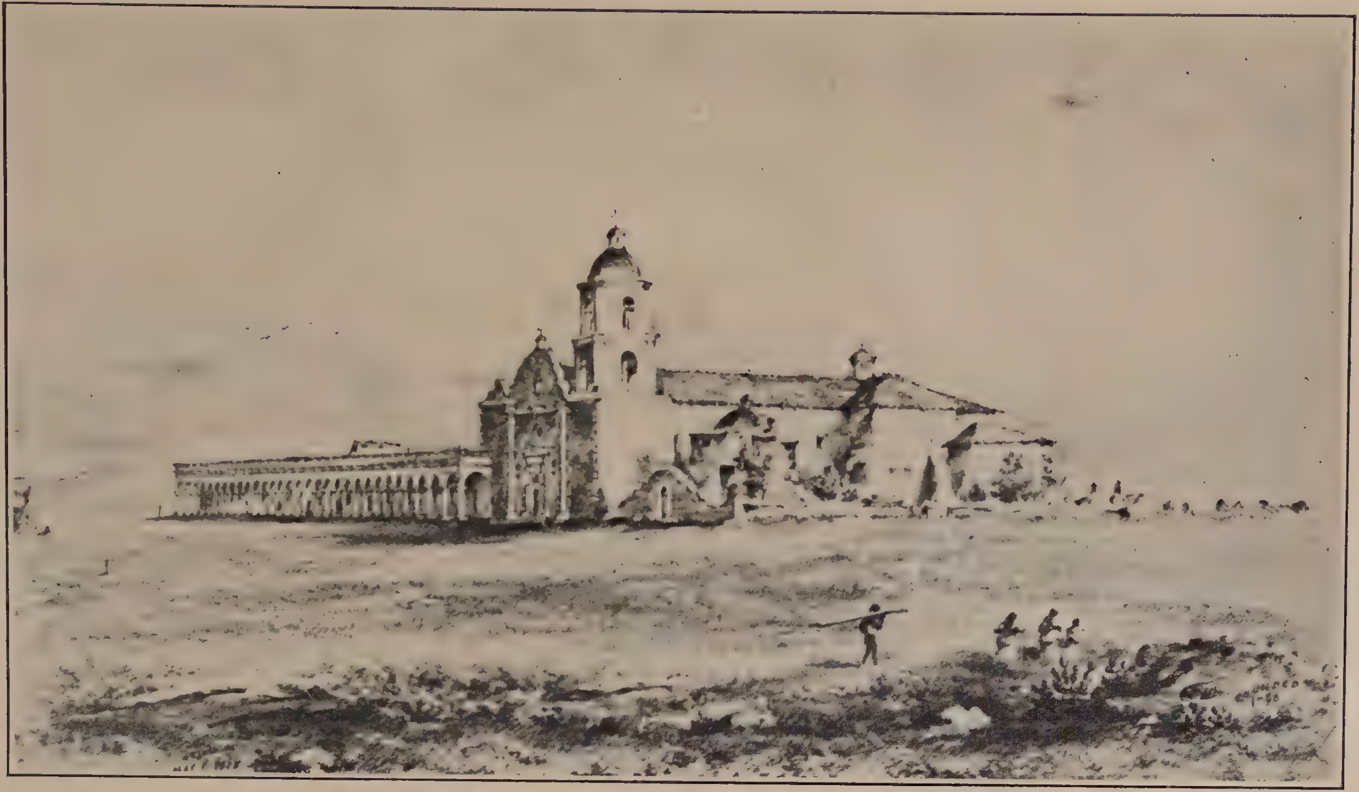
[18] He was elected at the chapter held on July 12, 1806. The new discretos elected at the same occasion were Fathers Agustin Garijo, Juan Calzada, Julian Onsoño, and Juan Torrens. The vicario chosen was Fr. Francisco Ruiz; the master of novices named was Fr. Antonio Alamo. Fr. José Viñals became procurator for the California missions at the College. Of these only Fr. Viñals had been in California. Fr. Tápis, *Circular*, September 29, 1806. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*



XVIII. MISSION SAN LUIS REY, FOUNDED JUNE 13, 1798

be celebrated with all the solemnity possible. On the principal feast days a High Mass shall be sung. 4—Inasmuch as the instruction of the neophytes is of the highest importance, when there is no occupation to prevent it, the bell shall be sounded every day in the morning and in the evening or at nightfall for the purpose of assembling the Indians in the church. The prayers of the catechism and the principal articles of Faith shall then be recited. The singing of the *Salve* to the Blessed Virgin, or the *Alabado*, etc., may conclude the exercises. On Fridays in Lent, in place of the afternoon devotion, the Way of the Cross shall be performed. On all Sundays and Holydays of obligation, at least, one of the missionaries shall lead in saying the Rosary with the neophytes; and on Sundays there shall be an instruction on some point of the Christian doctrine at the presidio as well as at the mission.[19]

5—On the first days of Lent the neophytes shall receive special instructions with regard to the annual confession, and all who are capable shall be kindly but firmly exhorted to comply with the annual precept. Likewise they shall be instructed for holy Communion, and all who are judged disposed shall receive this Sacrament. Hereafter the Fathers will keep a separate account of all that receive the Sacraments of Penance or holy Communion, and at the close of the year they will report to the Fr. Presidente the number of those who confessed and of those who communicated, and also of those who received holy Viaticum. The Fr. Presidente will report the numbers of the College. 6—The marriage banns must indispensably be published three times as prescribed. 7—Inasmuch as the viceroyal government has complained to the discretory that the Indians are made to work more than ordinarily, it is hereby ordained that, except at the seasons of sowing and harvesting, under no pretext whatever shall the neophytes be obliged to labor more than six or seven hours in summer, and five or six hours in winter. 8—The missionaries shall never chastise in the presence of strangers or persons who do not belong to the community, save in an extraordinary case; nor shall they communicate to such persons the punishment that has been meted out to an Indian. Likewise, no matter how grave the offense, no more than twenty-five lashes shall be applied to an Indian. If the gravity of the matter call for a greater punishment, or if the delinquent be incorrigible, six or eight lashes may be applied after a few days. If it be thought expedient, shackles or stocks may be used. If a woman have to be punished with the lash, the chastisement shall be applied in private, and by the hand of another woman as has been the custom thus far.[20] 9—Inasmuch as the Seraphic Rule forbids even suspicious conversation with women, the missionaries must refrain from having female attendants within the house, and absolutely employ only men or boys.[21] 10—"The ministry which the Fathers exercise demands the highest poverty which we profess by our Rule. Hence the use of silver watches and other precious articles is equally forbidden to them as well as to those who stay in the College.[22] Likewise the use of shoes, when there is no real necessity, is forbidden, as well as more clothing than the Rule allows. Therefore, since it has become known in this College, to the no little sorrow of our hearts, that some of the friars living in your territory are guilty of such excesses;[23] and since it pertains to the venerable discretory to examine the list of goods which is sent to the Fr. Procurator in order that he procure them, I command that those who possess silver watches, or other articles of value for personal use, immediately forward them to the Rev. Fr. Presidente, and he will send them to the síndico of Tepíc or to the one at Guadalajara. When they have been sold, the proceeds shall be converted into goods for the relief of the necessities of the respective missions. With regard to the use of shoes or such clothing as the Rule does not permit us, in the future they shall not be used without real necessity or without permission. In case of manifest necessity, the friars may use them, but they must report at once to the Fr. Presidente and apply for permission." 11—It is not only conducive to health, but sometimes necessary for the missionary to go to another mission, even though only for the sake of recreation. However, except to procure the annual goods from the ship and in case of urgent necessity, the missionaries must not leave their mission to visit another mission without a permit from the Fr. Presidente to whom they must make known the reason. 12—The Fr. Guardian in this number forbids the missionaries to have any dealings, directly or indirectly, with foreign shippers. He especially mentions the American vessels which to the annoyance of the Spanish-Mexican authorities were carrying on a lively trade along the coast, particularly as smugglers, even at this early date. 13—"When a friar goes to a new mission, he shall for one whole year conform himself to the practice established there. If anything seem to him inexpedient, he may inform the Rev. Fr. Presidente so that a remedy may be applied." This was an eminently wise regulation, the non-observance of which at a later period caused much wonder among neophytes. 14—The friars are exhorted to make the Spiritual Exercises every year, if possible, in common. As this is not practicable for all, the Fr. Presidente will assign times and place so that at least three or four may join in these salutary and neces-

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[19] All this, save the preaching at the presidios perhaps, was observed at the various missions. Some diversity probably had crept in which Fr. Gasol desired to abolish by giving uniform regulations.

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[20] "en paraje oculto y por mano de otra mujer, como hasta ahora se ha acustumbrado."

[21] This was the rule, and we know of no instance to the contrary in California before this date.

[22] Hence the common practice of having sun-dials, even on the gable of the church as, for instance, at Santa Barbara.

[23] "Excesses." Those not initiated would imagine crimes were meant, whereas, according to the secular view of the matter, there was nothing reprehensible. This must be kept in mind when such terms meet the reader.

Fr. Juan Cortés

sary exercises annually. 15—Inasmuch as the Superiors are indispensably obliged to visit, warn, and correct their subjects, the Rev. Fr. Presidente will visit all the missions in his charge at least once in three years, and, after the manner laid down and specified with regard to the church, he will examine the sacristy, house, records, temporal and spiritual government, and personal conduct.[24]

In obedience to the Fr. Guardian's precept Fr. Tápis on May 16, 1807, named the missions of San Francisco, San Carlos, San Luis Obispo, Santa Barbara, San Gabriel, and San Diego as the places where the Fathers of the nearest missions might make the Annual Retreat together in such a way, however, that no mission remained without a missionary. The aged and infirm were permitted to perform these exercises alone at their own mission.[25]

While mentioning the Father Guardian's regulations Bancroft says: "Gasol enjoined the friars *most strictly* that no information respecting mission affairs was to be furnished to the viceroy or to any official of the secular government except through the medium of the College, thus showing that the old spirit of antagonism was by no means dead." [26] The truth is, Fr. Gasol in his circular says nothing on that subject, neither most strictly nor otherwise, but in article sixteen charges the friars to bear in mind Nos. 1, 2, 3, 5, 7, and 8 of Fr. Francisco Pángua's regulations issued February 7, 1775, and which he merely quotes. No. 8 there reads as follows: "Lastly, inasmuch as experience has demonstrated how very grave are the embarrassments occasioned by the reports made by some religious to viceroys, members of the courts, ministers, and other high officials concerning the missions; I, in order to prevent similar injury, ordain and command that the Fr. Presidente of the missions and all the religious, neither as a body nor as individuals, must give any information to said officials, nor to the archbishop, regarding the missions, or troubles with the Indians or soldiers. If they have anything to present, they shall forward it directly to the College in order that the venerable discretory may determine what may seem expedient for the service of God, the welfare of souls, the peace of the religious, and the progress of the missions."

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[24] Fr. Gasol, *Circular,* October, 1, 1806. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[25] Fr. Tápis, *Circular,* May 16, 1807. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[26] Bancroft, ii, 42; 162.

This was all quite reasonable and proper. The College sent the friars to California. They were acting under orders from the College. The Fr. Guardian was their lawful prelate and their attorney as well. The viceroy looked to the College for information on the missions. He held it responsible, and in turn addressed his orders regarding the missions to the College, not to the missionaries. Regular order and discipline required that official information from the friars to the viceroy or officials in authority should go through the hands of the Fr. Guardian. The same order is observed in government, military, and commercial circles, and doubtless in Bancroft's own book concern. Why then is fault found with men in the religious habit when they pursue the same prudent system of government?

With regard to the report on the annual confessions and holy Communions of the Indians, the Fr. Guardian at the request of Fr. Tápis permitted the Fathers to omit it for the year 1807, because the order had arrived too late for the Lenten Season. Hence it was that these reports began with the year 1808. They will be found embodied in the local history of each mission. On the other hand, the Fr. Guardian would not consent to the proposition of allowing the silver watches in possession of any of the friars to be sold to officers of the presidios or to navigators. He insisted that they should be forwarded to the persons in Mexico named before, and be sold there for the benefit of the missions.[27]

Lest some accident leave the missions in California without a head, the Fr. Guardian in accord with the College discretory on March 18, 1807, provided for any emergency by naming Fr. José Señan as successor to Fr. Tápis in case the latter died or became incapacitated.[28]

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[27] Fr. Gasol to Fr. Tápis, April 28th; Fr. Tápis, *Circular,* August 7, 1807. *Sta. Barb. Arch.* The Fathers had to time their work by the sun for the sake of "Lady Poverty."

The list of missionaries which Fr. Tápis on October 1, 1806, reported to Governor Arrillaga shows the highest number of Fathers attained in the history of the California missions. In the nineteen establishments thirty-eight regular missionaries and seven supernumeraries devoted themselves to the temporal and spiritual welfare of the Indians. The supernumeraries received no stipends. There were no lay-brothers in any of the missions either at this or at any other period. All the friars were priests. The missions having three Fathers in 1806 were San Francisco, Santa Cruz, Soledad, San Antonio, Santa Barbara, San Gabriel, and San Diego.[29] Some of the friars, however, were in ill-health, and needed dispensations. Thus Fr. Tápis permitted Father Payeras to wear shoes and such additional clothing as he thought necessary.[30]

In a circular Fr. Presidente Tápis notified the missionaries that by order of the viceroy Dr. Manuel Quijano would visit the missions from Purisima down to San Diego for the purpose of ascertaining the nature and causes of diseases among the natives. The Fathers were requested to lend him every assistance from mission to mission.[31]

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[28] Fr. Gasol to Fr. Señan, March 18, 1807. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[29] Fr. Tápis, *Lista,* October 1, 1806. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[30] Fr. Payeras to Fr. Tápis, May 8th; Fr. Tápis to Fr. Payeras, May 12, 1808. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[31] Fr. Tápis, *Circular,* May 9, 1808. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

CHAPTER III.

The Russians in California.—Langsdorff's Description of the Missions.—Dispute About the Validity of Heretical Baptisms. The Bishop's Decision.—Practice of Fr. Sarría.—Holy Oils.—Difficulty to Procure Them.—War in Spain.—Changes in Mexico and Spain.—Contributions.—Friars Patriotic, but Penniless—Revolt in Mexico.—An Unworthy Leader.—Incalculable Damage to the Missions.

THE Russians had meanwhile encroached on the territory of California. On April 8, 1806,[1] the *Juno* bearing the imperial Chamberlain Von Rezanoff and Surgeon G. H. von Langsdorff entered San Francisco Bay. After spending six weeks "in trifling," as Greenhow[2] describes the Russian's transactions, Rezanoff returned to Kamchatka, and died March 1, 1807, on his way to St. Petersburg. On January 8, 1809, Koskoff, an officer of the Russian-American Fur Company, with the *Kodiak* ran into Bodega Bay. The vessel anchored there until August 29th. In the meantime he carefully surveyed the surrounding country, established friendly relations with the Indians by means of gifts, erected temporary buildings, and secured over 2000 otter-skins.[3] The Russians returned in 1812 and secured a firm foothold by constructing Fort Ross about thirty miles[4] north of Bodega Bay in latitude thirty-eight degrees and thirty-three minutes, near the mouth of a small stream, named by them the Slawianska River.[5] The intruders kept possession until 1841. The evacuation took place on January 1, 1842.[6]

Rezanoff's visit and the Russian settlement at Fort Ross had also consequences of some importance to the missionaries. Whilst the Russian courtier employed his time chiefly in turning the head of the fifteen year old daughter of the presidio commander, Langsdorff, who accompanied the expedition, made it a point to thoroughly study the missions and missionaries during the six weeks that he remained near the bay. He also visited the missions of San José and Santa Clara, and thus acquired a very fair knowledge of the whole mission system as well as of the country and its inhabitants. Though not of the same faith with the friars, Langsdorff made an honest effort to do justice to their endeavors, and to judge everything according to its merits. He succeeded fairly well, as will be seen from the description which he published in his "Voyage and Travels."[7] "His narrative has nothing but praise for the Franciscans," says Bancroft.[8] Hence it is that Hittell, who devoted pages to La Perouse's nine days' visit to Monterey, including the call at San Carlos, because the French Liberalist's superficial observations could be utilized to blacken the friars, deliberately suppresses Langsdorff's dispassionate account of his six weeks' investigation at the three northern missions.[9] Bancroft reluctantly grants Langsdorff a page, though he goes into the French courtier's biased report at length.[10] There is, therefore, so much the more reason to permit the Russian naturalist to narrate his observations on the state of the three missions which Bancroft himself acknowledges "were studied somewhat closely."[11]

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[1] Langsdorff, pt. ii, 150, has March 28th, Russian Calendar.

[2] Greenhow, *Oregon and California*, 274.

[3] Bancroft, ii, 81.

[4] Bancroft, ii, 296, has eighteen miles.

[5] Greenhow, p. 19.

[6] Greenhow, 19; Bancroft, iv, 186; Hittell, ii, 288.

"The ecclesiastical institutions," says Langsdorff, "to which are given the title of missions, have for their object the spreading of the Roman Catholic Religion. In those established upon the peninsula of Old and New California, there are commonly two or three monks, who are supported in their missionary labors by the military government of the country. Every one of these Fathers, when he comes over for the purpose of converting the natives, must, before he quits Spain, enter into an engagement to remain in America ten years, after which he is perfectly at liberty to stay or not. . . . None of these missionaries can acquire any property, so that the idea of enriching themselves can never divert their thoughts from their religious avocations. Everything they can save, or gain, goes into the chest of the establishment; they consequently return to their own country as poor as they left it. Each has an allowance of four hundred piastres annually, which is devoted to the support of himself and of the community to which he belongs. This sum is not paid in money. The amount is supplied in objects of necessity or utility, such as manufactured goods for clothing, household utensils, and the like. They are sent them by the Franciscan College in Mexico on which all the missions of New California are dependent, and they are shipped on board the government vessels at the harbor of San Blas.

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[7] London, 1813, in two parts. Part ii deals with California.

[8] Bancroft, ii, 164.

[9] Hittell merely mentions Langsdorff in a footnote, vol. i, 623.

[10] Vol. ii, p. 76.

[11] Loco citato.

"The monks conduct themselves in general with so much prudence, kindness, and paternal care towards their converts, that peace, happiness, and obedience universally prevail among them. Disobedience is commonly punished with corporal correction, and they have only recourse to the military upon very extraordinary occasions, as for instance, when they go out in search of (runaway) converts, or have any reason to apprehend a sudden attack. . . . There are seldom more than from three to five soldiers at a time at any mission; but this small number has hitherto been always found sufficient to keep the Indians under proper restraint. Every monk has several horses for his use, and when he goes out to make his excursions in search of (runaway) converts, he is accompanied by one or more soldiers. On these occasions the whole party commonly throw over their breast and shoulders a sort of mantle of deer-skin. This is intended as a defense against the arrows of the Indians, which cannot pierce through the leather. By royal command the ecclesiastics must not go to any distance from the mission, without this mantle; as they must not carry about them any other weapons than the Bible[12] and the Cross, such a protection is very necessary. . . . .

"The Indians are employed under the immediate inspection of the monks in a variety of useful occupations, as cleaning and combing wool, spinning, weaving, etc. We saw several other useful institutions for promoting the industry and economy of the settlement. Among them was a building for the melting of tallow, another for the making of soap, workshops for locksmiths and all kinds of smith's work; for cabinet-makers and carpenters; magazines for storing up tallow, soap, butter, salt, wool, and ox-hides, all of which are articles of exportation; with store-chambers for corn, pease, beans, and other kinds of pulse. . . .

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[12] Breviary or "Divine Office" rather.

"All the girls and widows are in separate houses and are kept to work under lock and key; they are sometimes permitted to go out in the day, but never at night. As soon, however, as a girl is married she is free, and lives with her husband in one of the villages of Indians belonging to the mission. . . . The number of converted Indians at this mission (San Francisco) is about 1200. Their principal food is a thick soup made with meat, vegetables, and pulse. This is portioned out three times in the day, morning, noon, and evening, in the quantity of about a German measure, or about three English pints, to each person. At the hour of eating every family goes with a vessel of some kind to the kitchen, when as many measures are served to each person as there are persons belonging to the family. I was present at the time of delivering out the soup, and it appeared to me incomprehensible how any one could three times a day eat so large a portion of such nourishing food.[13] Between forty and fifty oxen are killed every week for the community, besides which, meal, bread, maize, pease, beans, and other kinds of pulse are distributed without any stated allowance. . . .

"But I return to the ecclesiastics of the mission. They are properly only the stewards who are to provide for the maintenance and instruction of the neophytes. The work in which the neophytes are principally employed are husbandry, tending the cattle, and shearing the sheep, or in mechanical trades, as building, preparing tallow and soap, or making household utensils; also in the transport of provisions, and other objects of necessity, from one mission or presidio to another. The most laborious employment, which is the grinding of the corn, is left almost entirely to women. It is rubbed between two quadrangle oblong stills until ground to meal The bread made of it is very white, but hard and heavy. La Pêrouse, with a view to lessening the labor, left a hand-mill here, [14] but it was no longer in existence, nor had any use been made of it as a model from which to manufacture others. When we consider that there is no country in the world where windmills are more numerous than in Spain, it seems incomprehensible why these very useful machines have never been introduced here. I learnt, however, that in preferring the very indifferent meal produced by the mode of grinding above-mentioned, the good Fathers are actuated by political motives. As they have more men and women under their care than they could keep constantly employed the whole year, if labor were too much facilitated, they are afraid of making them idle by the introduction of mills.

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[13] It will be observed that Langsdorff reports this of the very mission where a few years before some Indians claimed they were starving.

"The cattle, horses, and sheep, do not require any particular care and attention. The herds are left out in the open field the whole year through, and only a sufficient number are kept in the neighborhood of the establishments to serve their immediate wants. When a supply of cattle is wanted, some of the converts and soldiers are sent out into the fields on horseback, and with slings (lassos), which they throw very dexterously, they catch by the horns the number required. . . . All the husbandry work is performed by oxen. The horses are kept for the military service and for the use of the ecclesiastics, or for the transport of provisions and other objects from one mission to another; in the latter service some mules are also employed. The carts and wagons are of a very ordinary make. Here, as in Spain and Portugal, block-wheels are used, which are very often far from being a perfect round. . . .

"When one thinks that in this way two or three monks (at a mission) take upon themselves a sort of voluntary exile from their country, only to spread the Christian Religion and to civilize a wild and uncultivated race of men, to teach them husbandry and various useful arts, cherishing and instructing them as if they were their own children, providing them with dwellings, food and clothing, with everything necessary for their subsistence, and maintaining the utmost order and regularity of conduct; when all these things, I say, are considered, one cannot sufficiently admire the zeal and activity which carries them through so arduous a task, or forbear wishing the most complete success to their undertaking. . . . (And) when it is observed that two or three monks, and four or five soldiers, keep in order a community of a thousand or fifteen hundred rough, uncivilized men, making them lead a wholly different course of life from that to which they had been accustomed, without any spirit of mutiny or insurrection appearing among them, it must be supposed that the cause is to be found principally in the mildness and forbearance with which they are treated, and in the paternal care and kindness extended towards them. I must, however, also attribute it in a great degree to the extreme simplicity of these poor creatures, who in stature no less than in mind are certainly of a very inferior race of human beings. I believe them wholly incapable of forming among themselves any regular and combined plan for their emancipation. . . .

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[14] Rather at Monterey. La Pèrouse never came to San Francisco.

"Neither the government nor the monks have any other view than that of spreading the Christian Religion, and it might consequently be supposed that the Indians, to whose maintenance and instruction all their cares are devoted, must be much happier in their present state of comparative civilization than they were before; the rather, since they are permitted to retain their former habits and customs, as far as they are not inconsistent with their new Religion. In their ornaments they are freely indulged. They have a little property of their own in fowls and pigeons, and are seldom refused when they ask permission to go hunting or fishing. On the whole they are much more free from cares than in their natural state. Notwithstanding all this, an irresistible desire of freedom sometimes breaks out in individuals. This may probably be referred to the national character. Their attachment to a wandering life, their love of alternate exercise in fishing and hunting, and entire indolence, seem in their eyes to overbalance all the advantages they enjoy at the mission, which to us appears so very great; the consequence is, that every now and then attempts at escape are made. On such occasions, no sooner is any one missed than search is immediately made after him; and as it is always known to what tribe the fugitive belongs, and on account of the enmity which subsists among the different tribes, he can never take refuge in any other, it is scarcely possible for him to evade the researches of those who are sent in pursuit of him. He is almost always brought back to the mission, where he is bastinadoed, and an iron rod of a foot or a foot and a half long, and an inch in diameter, is fastened to one of his feet. This has the double use of preventing him from repeating the attempt and of frightening others from imitating him. . . .

"I must not omit to acknowledge the friendship shown us by the missionaries. Among them must I particularize Fr. Joseph Uria, and pay him a more especial tribute of acknowledgment for the many instances of benevolent attention that he showed us. If sometimes there might be an appearance as if he acted from interested motives, this was a feature in his character which, under the circumstances of his situation was rather to his honor than otherwise, since any advantages he might derive from his intercourse with us could not be for himself personally; they could be only for the children of his adoption, the Indian converts. . . . As not one of our party understood Spanish, the conversation was carried on in Latin between me and the Franciscan friar, this being the only medium by which we could make ourselves intelligible to each other." [15]

The presence of the Russians in northern California occasioned a question of much interest to the missionaries. Deserters or prisoners, as well as Indians from the imperial possessions in the northwest, where six schismatic priests conducted as many Indian missions,[16] frequently appeared at the Spanish establishments for the purpose of joining the

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[15] Langsdorff, *Voyages and Travels,* part ii, 151-217.

[16] "que tenian los Rusos en aquel establecimiento seis misiones con un misionero en cada una."

Catholic fold. The Franciscans, notably Fr. Estévan Tápis, the presidente, and the eminent theologian Fr. Vincente de Sarría, held that such applicants, after due instruction, were only obliged to abjure heresy and to make sincere profession of the Catholic Faith, but must not be rebaptized, not even conditionally, because the Russian Church employed the matter and form of the Sacrament validly, and it was therefore recognized as valid by the Catholic Church. Nevertheless the Fathers concluded to leave the decision to the ecclesiastical head of the diocese, the Bishop of Sonora. Fr. Tápis on June 6, 1811, therefore, at great length stated his investigations and the views and practice of the Fathers, and petitioned the Rt. Rev. Bishop to issue an authoritative declaration.[17]

In reply Rev. Don José Joaquin Calve, Vicario Foraneo, on September 10, 1811, wrote, "Although in the lengthy inquiry which Your Reverence reports to have made concerning the Baptism received by the Indians of Onalaska . . . and other refugees . . . you have not been able to entertain a reasonable doubt as to the validity of the Sacrament, you must nevertheless administer it to them conditionally after they have been instructed in our Faith . . .[18] The same must be observed with regard to those who come up from other countries, inasmuch as it is not clear and certain that they are correctly baptized. This it has appeared expedient to the Rt. Rev. Ordinary to decide in keeping with the prudent opinions that treat of this point . . ."[19]

Though Fr. Tápis was inclined to regard the baptism of even the Protestants as valid,[20] it appears that he with the

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[17] Fr. Tápis to Bishop Francisco Rouset. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[18] "Debe no obstante conferirseles sub conditione despues de instruidos en los dogmas de nuestra fée."

[19] Rev. Calve to Fr. Tápis. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[20] "Si yo me hubiese dejado llevar de mis preocupaciones, me habria inclinado á no bautizarle, ni sub conditione." Fr. Tápis to Fr. Durán, April 29, 1825. This was in the case of an English subject, Santiago Chon (James Jones?), who in his childhood had been baptized by a Calvinist minister. Fr. Tápis baptized him at San Juan Bautista, conditionally, as directed by Fr. Presidente Durán. Fr. Tápis to Fr. Durán, May 3, 1825. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

Fathers abided by the decision of the Bishop and of the later Fr. Presidente. With regard to the Russians, however, it appears they clung to the opinion that the Baptism was valid. We have no report from the other Fathers, but Fr. Sarría persisted in not rebaptizing such converts, unless he, after close examination, which he instituted in each case, discovered a serious defect. Such a flaw he reports on August 3, 1819, and November 7, 1822, in the baptism of Indians from the Russian missions. He learnt that when a great many applied for Baptism, the converts would be told to dive into the water of a river whilst the minister stood on the shore and pronounced the formula over them. When, however, the Sacrament was conferred in the church, the minister would employ the words and at the same time immerse the candidate. The latter ceremony Fr. Sarría of course regarded as valid, but the former he pronounced null and void, and therefore baptized such Indians without condition.[21]

Hitherto the California missionaries had received the holy Oils for the administration of the Sacraments of Baptism and Extreme Unction from the capital of Mexico. "Every year," Fr. Mariano Payéras writes,[22] "with the Memorias came in a chest an arroba of holy Oils consecrated by the Archbishop of Mexico, and the expenses were borne by the dean of the cathedral chapter. They were well packed in three vessels or flasks of metal, the stoppers securely fastened and the chest locked. These we always received at the hands of the Rev. Chaplain of the transport ships which come to San Francisco, Monterey, Santa Barbara, and San Diego. From these ports (after the Fathers of the district had taken their share) he would receive the vessels emptied of their contents, return them to Mexico, and bring them back refilled on the annual voyage. This was the practice until the year 1803."

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[21] Fr. Sarría was informed "que á los Kodiacas (Alaskan Indians) habian bautizado zambutiendose elos en el rio, y en el interin diciendo el que hacia de bautizante la forma, por lo que bautizé absolutamente de nuevo á los de dichos Kodiacas." Fr. Sarría tó Fr. Señan, August 3, 1819. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[22] Fr. Payêras to Bishop Bernardo, September 2, 1819. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

Then it was that the Ordinary of the province, Rt. Rev. Francisco de Jesus Rouset, through his secretary Don José Darío Rouset sent the holy Oils for California to Bayóreca,[23] and directed that at each mission a holy Mass should be offered in return. The holy Masses were celebrated, but when in the end the holy Oils failed to arrive, Don José Rouset declared that thereafter when they did not arrive the obligation imposed need not be observed. In 1804 the same thing happened. In 1807 Don Fernando Rabajo y Bojo sent the holy Oils to Bayóreca, and demanded that two holy Masses should be offered at each mission They were not celebrated because, when informed of the difficulties and failures, the Rt. Rev. Bishop promised to forward no more holy Oils and allowed the missionaries to procure them from Mexico as before.

Nevertheless, in 1810 the Bishop's secretary, Don Carlos Espinosa de los Monteros, again sent the holy Oils with the request that each missionary offer up a holy Mass. As they failed to reach California the demand was not executed. In 1811 the secretary forwarded the holy Oils consecrated that year to Bayóreca, and demanded that three holy Masses be celebrated at each mission. They arrived, but not till June 11, 1812. In view of these strange circumstances Fr. Presidente Estévan Tápis sent the bishop a formal remonstrance[24] which, couched in the most humble terms, convinced His Lordship of the risk and difficulties so that he permitted the missionaries to use the holy Oils transmitted from Mexico.

On April 15, 1819, however, the new Bishop, Rt. Rev. Bernardo del Espiritu Santo,[25] himself wrote to Fr. Comisario Prefecto Vincente de Sarría, that on the 8th of the month he had consecrated holy Chrism, the holy Oil of the Catechumens, and the holy Oil for the sick for the diocese in his charge, and that the Fr. Presidente should immediately send some person or persons of trust to procure them along with the necessary certificates, and to bear the expenses.[26] Thereupon Fr. Mariano Payéras, who had meanwhile succeeded Fr. Sarría in the office of comisario prefecto, on September 2, 1819, related the vicissitudes of the holy Oils in the past as described above, and in most humble terms entreated the bishop to consider that the distance overland from Monterey amounted to six hundred leagues, much of it through desert lands in Lower California, and that at Loreto the gulf must be crossed to reach Guaymas. Apart from the hardship of the journey both ways each year, they were not in a position to cover the expenses, even if a trustworthy person were found. They had done this twice before, and though they had availed themselves of the services of the good Dominican Fathers in the peninsula, the vessels which were unfit anyway arrived in bad condition more or less emptied of their contents, and then only after fifteen months, so that after all the purpose of the Council of Trent to which His Lordship referred was not attained, and some of the missions could not be given as much as a drop. Had not the holy Oils come from Mexico as usual the Fathers at these missions should have been in a serious dilemma. Hence it was that his predecessors, Fr. Payéras continues, had adopted another way of securing the holy Oils. Some availed themselves of the tacit and interpretative permission of the Diocesan, and simply used the holy Oils that came from the Archbishop of Mexico. Others (more recently) supplicated His Lordship's predecessor to allow them to use those from Mexico as was the custom from the beginning.

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[23] Town in Sonora.

[24] Fr. Tápis to Bishop Rouset, August 28, 1811. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[25] Bishop Rouset died in December, 1814. Bishop Bernardo succeeded in 1818.

"If Your Lordship," the Fr. Prefecto closes his appeal, "knows or will devise a means that promises sufficient of the indispensable holy Oils annually consecrated by Your Lordship, our beloved Prelate, I shall consider myself very fortunate; but while we remain thus greatly troubled and embarrassed I see myself obliged, with all the humility of an unworthy son of St. Francis, to implore Your Lordship to regard it as expedient to confirm the faculties and favors granted to these missions by Your predecessors on account of the enormous distance from Your residence, to exempt us for the same reasons from having to send to Bayóreca for the holy Oils, and to confirm the favor of using those which we have hitherto obtained with so much facility and decorum. If my reasons, however, do not convince Your Lordship of the necessity, we shall blindly obey, without the least objection to your further disposition, satisfied of having explained the matter, and of having no share in the terrible consequences which may result from the lack of holy Oils.[27]

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[26] *Santa Barbara Archives.*

There is no reply of the bishop extant, but the holy Oils were regularly sent by way of Lower California. If they failed to arrive the Fathers in Upper California continued to use those that reached them from Mexico or Guadalajara, as is clear from letters that passed between Fr. Sarría and Fr. Durán. To that effect, at all events, Fr. Durán on July 27, 1825, wrote to the bishop asking permission to use such holy Oils in case of necessity.[28]

The startling events which convulsed the Spanish kingdom during the first decade of the century were scarcely felt in California. Out of sympathy for the woes of the mother country, however, Fr. Presidente Tápis on November 23, 1808, in a circular asked the missionaries to celebrate a High Mass or a Low Mass at each mission, to add, when the rubrics permitted, the *oratio pro tempore belli,* and after the holy Mass to chant the Litany of all Saints for the success of the Spanish arms against the French aggressors.[29] In February, 1809, the news reached Monterey that Carlos IV. had been forced to abdicate on March 19th of the previous year, and that the Prince of Austrias had been proclaimed king as Fernando VII.[30] The soldiers at the presidios in California were therefore drawn up under arms on a given day in March, and homage was paid to the new king. By direction of Viceroy Garibay, Governor Arrillaga ordered a salute of fifteen guns at sunrise, at noon, and at sunset in honor of Fernando VII. On August 10th, in accordance with viceroyal orders, Governor Arrillaga appeared at Mission San Carlos at five o'clock in the afternoon. Before Fr. Presidente Estévan Tápis, in the presence of Fr. Vicente de Sarría, Fr. Juan Amorós, Surgeon Manuel Quijano, Ensign José Estrada, and others, he knelt before the crucifix, placed one hand on the holy Gospels, and, with the other on the cross of his sword, swore allegiance to King Fernando VII., and obedience to the Junta Superior Gubernativa of Mexico.[31]

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[27] Fr. Payéras to Bishop Bernardo, September 2, 1819. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[28] Bishop Bernardo to Fr. Payéras, August 2, 1820; Bishop to Fr. Señan, July 8, 1821; *Circular* of Fr. Payéras, January 15, 1822; *Circular* of Fr. Señan, June 9, 1822; Fr. Sarría to Rev. Eugenio de la SSma. Trinidad, January 3, 1825; Bishop to Fr. Sarría, April 6, 1825; Fr. Sarría to Fr. Durán, October 3, 1825; Fr. Ildefonso Arreguín to Fr. José Sánchez, July 2, 1831. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[29] *Sta. Barb. Arch.*

[30] Alaman, *Historia de Mejico,* tom. i, lib. i, cap. iv, 155.

Meanwhile great changes had also taken place in the government of New Spain. Viceroy Iturrigaray was forcibly deposed on September 16, 1808, and Pedro Garibay became temporary viceroy. He was succeeded by the Archbishop of Mexico, Most Rev. Francisco Javier de Lizana y Beaumont from July, 1809 to May, 1810, when the Audiencia took charge until the arrival in September of the royal appointee, Francisco Javier de Venégas.[32]

During his short term Viceroy Garibay, on October 12, 1808, ordered contributions to be collected from all classes in order to aid the Spanish cause. On February 6, 1809, Governor Arrillaga communicated the viceroy's wishes to Fr. Tápis and to the inhabitants of the territory. The contributions outside the missions amounted to $1,689.[33] The friars evinced no less patriotism and loyalty than the soldiers and settlers, though in a different way. In his reply to Arrillaga Fr. Tápis writes: "Notwithstanding that neither we missionaries who are poor because of our solemn vows, nor our neophytes, who are poor from necessity,[34] are subjects who have means, in compliance with the higher order of Your

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[31] *Cal. Arch., Prov. St. Pap.* xix, 702-704; *Prov. Rec.* xii, 739.

[32] Alaman, tom. i, lib. i, capp. vi-vii.

[33] *Archb. Arch.*, No. 335; Bancroft, ii, 88.

[34] "Somos pobres de solemnidad, nuestros neófitos todos pobres de necesidad."

Honor I issue my circular accompanied by a copy of the appeal to the Rev. Missionary Fathers. I exhort them to multiply the aid of their holy Sacrifices and prayers which for some time they have been offering to God for the holy ends to which said contributions are directed, and, besides the spiritual assistance which concerns us and is most appropriate to our Franciscan state of life, with the permission of the Superior of the College, through the Father Procurator of these missions, I also exhort each one to cede, for the benefit of the common cause, a part, more or less, of the stipend[35] in as far as the poor or favorable temporal condition of the mission which they control may permit, or to cede for the said purpose some alms for holy Masses which they can apply.

Fr. Estevan Tapis

"In these terms it has seemed expedient to me to direct the exhortation in order that in this delicate transaction, forasmuch as it implies ownership,[36] we may all comport ourselves as true sons of our Seraphic Patriarch, the zealous lover of poverty and obedience, and at the same time as truly loyal to Religion, to the sovereign, and to the mother country."[37] In a subsequent communication Fr. Tápis assures the governor that while the war lasts the Litany of All Saints would be chanted on all feast days in all churches and chapels.[38]

Far more alarming, and indeed incalculably injurious, to the California missions than Napoleon's usurpations on the

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[35] When it is remembered that these Fathers eagerly expected the goods, which their meager stipend obtained, in order to decorate their churches, for necessary altar utensils, for gifts to the Indians, and for groceries, the sacrifice suggested cannot be overrated.

[36] That is to say, the disposing of money or the equivalent for any purpose whatsoever, because the Franciscans could own nothing.

[37] Tápis to Arrillaga, February 10, 1809. *Archb. Arch.*, No. 335.

[38] Fr. Tápis to Arrillaga, May 30, 1810. *Archb. Arch.*, No. 371.

Iberian Peninsula was the revolt started in Mexico by Miguel Hidalgo on Sunday morning, September 16, 1810.[39] In truth, with the rebellion of the curate of Dolores, Guanajuato, began the decline of the missions and the misery of both Indians and soldiers on the coast. The neophyte establishments with their 19,000[40] converts and forty Fathers just then stood at the height of spiritual success and temporal prosperity. After 1810 this happy condition changed, as the following chapters will show. Naturally the missionaries could feel no sympathy with a movement that proved so disastrous to their efforts in behalf of the natives and the glory of Religion, even if they might have set aside affection for the mother country. True, there existed abundant provocation, and the dissatisfaction in Mexico was of long standing. The haughtiness and greed of the Spanish officials inflicted upon the country after Revilla Gigedo's departure, their indifference to the people's necessities, the remembrance of Carlos III's. arrogance, who had wantonly expelled and brutally ill-treated the Jesuits, and had denied the subjects the right to criticize even the most unjust governmental measures,[41] the disdain for the Church and the clergy who were presumed to abet whatever civil and military officials might ordain, the reliance upon military force alone, and finally the confiscation of benevolent institutions,[42] had sooner or later to bring about the downfall of Spanish dominion. Nevertheless, the insurrection as inaugurated and conducted was no improvement, could not accrue to the benefit of a law-abiding people, and therefore could find little favor with men imbued with Christian ideas.

What amelioration could be expected of a leader, who on a Sunday morning had the bell call the people to church, and, instead of affording the faithful an opportunity to comply with their duty to God on the Sabbath Day, in accord with the strict command of their Church, by offering the holy Sacrifice and give the prescribed instruction on some Gospel truth, or some point of Christian morals, announced that there would be no Mass, but that immediately they would set to work to throw off the yoke of foreign oppression, and that all should arm themselves for the bloody struggle; who on the same day began with his followers to wreak vengeance upon guilty and innocent alike; who opened the prisons and set at liberty even the worst criminals in order to gain their help; and who permitted the partisans to commit every kind of excess including pillage and murder? To seize the banner of the Blessed Virgin after that, and to make it the standard of the mob-like multitude, was nothing less than sacrilege. Such action was intended to merely deceive the simple-minded, and presumed that the Mother of God would assist a faithless cleric,[43] who began the revolt against temporal authority by depriving his people of the homage they were in duty bound to pay their God.

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[39] Vol. i, 567, first edition, has August, which is a misprint.

[40] 18,770, as per *Informe,* December 31, 1810.

[41] See vol. i, this work, section ii, chap. xvi.

[42] "Obras Pias," "Fundaciones Piadosas." See Alaman, tom. i, lib. i, 137-140.

The outcome was as might have been foreseen. Dissensions arose among the leaders, Hidalgo was deposed by his fellow conspirators, their army defeated and scattered, and in trying to escape to the United States Hidalgo was captured along with the chiefs and about two thousand men on March 21, 1811, six months after he had raised the flag of rebellion.[44] They were tried, found guilty of various crimes, and executed at Chihuahua. While in prison Hidalgo on May 18, 1811, issued a "Satisfaccion" or "Declaracion,"

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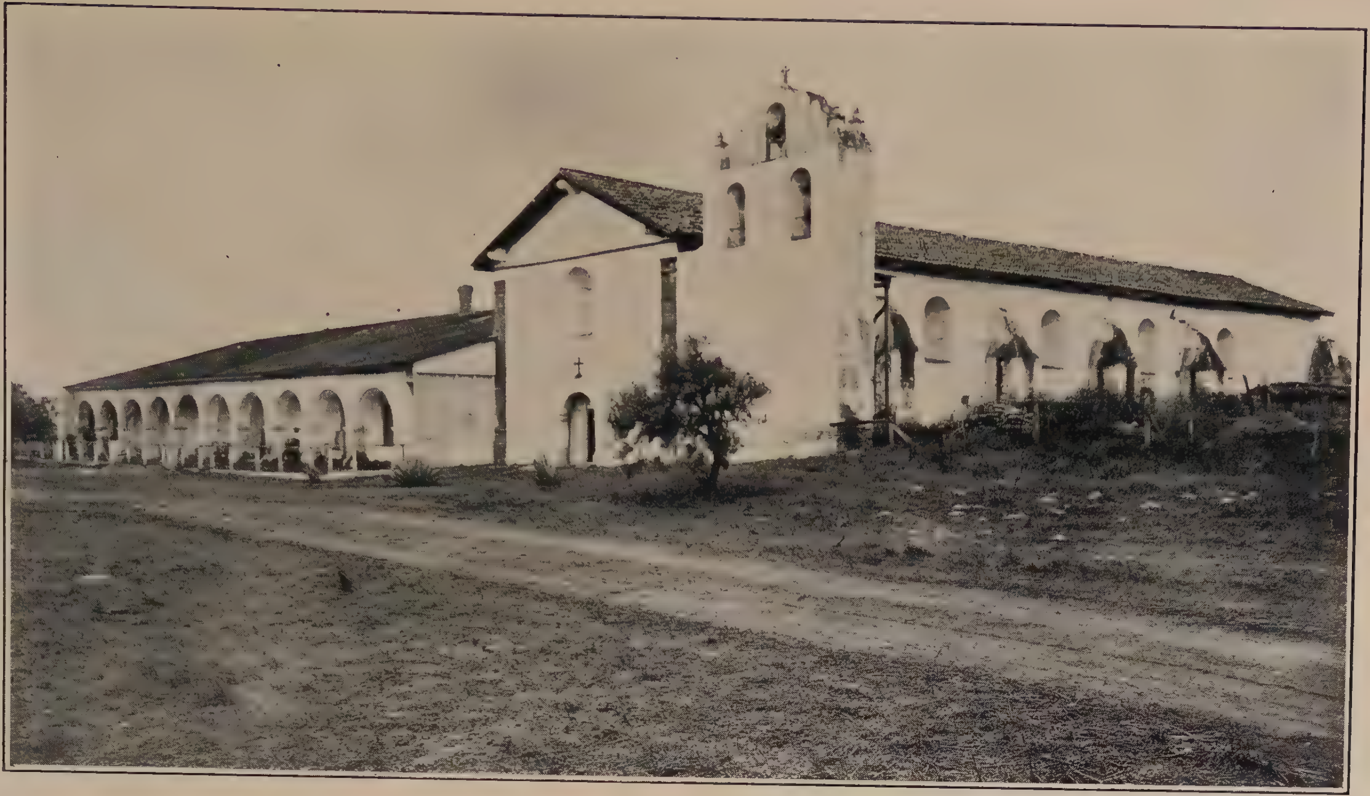
[43] "Poco severo en sus costumbres y aun no muy ortodoxo en sus opiniones," Alaman puts it mildly, tom. i, lib. ii, cap. i, 352. On page 391 he says, however, that the Inquisition accused Hidalgo "de otros delitos de tal manera contrarios á todos los principios de moral y aun decencia que el decoro prohibe transcribirlos." Bancroft is not so delicate. Those interested may find the crimes charged in his History of Mexico, vol iv, 110. Accusations of immorality had been made as early as 1800. Bancroft, iv, loco citato; Alaman, i, 391. Similarly untrue to their vows were J. M. Morélos, Hidalgo's pupil, and other political clerics. It is for that they find favor with anti-Christian writers and "liberal" politicians.

[44] Alaman, tom, ii, lib. ii, capp. vi-viii; Fr. Guardian Garijo to Fr. Tápis, February 20, 1811. *Sta. Barb. Arch.*



XIX. MISSION SANTA INES, FOUNDED SEPTEMBER 17, 1804

beginning, "Bachiller Don Miguel Hidalgo, Curate of Dolores, to the Whole World."[45] Being a priest he was first degraded according to the Roman Ceremonial on July 29th, and on the third day thereafter he was shot to death.[46]

Hidalgo's pupil, the ex-priest José Maria Morélos, continued the guerilla warfare until he, too, was captured on November 5, 1815. After his trial he was degraded by the ecclesiastical authorities, and then the military executed him by shooting him in the back as a traitor on December 22nd.[47] Some of his adherents kept up the strife until overcome one by one in 1817. The raids of these insurgents made the roads insecure, and this was the reason that, as Bancroft says, "the memorias no longer came and that the soldiers received no pay. These were stern facts patent to all, and they furnish the keynote of the decade's annals. There was hardly an official communication written during the ten years that did not allude directly or indirectly to the prevalent want and suffering, and the great question of the time for the provincial government was how to devise means for feeding and clothing the troops, all thought of paying wages and salaries being abandoned at an early stage of the struggle. The only resource of the authorities was to obtain mission produce, practically on credit, to be served out in rations, and to be traded for clothing and other necessary articles, which were purchased legitimately sometimes from Spanish vessels, but oftener more or less illegally from the Russians and Americans. The situation for the missionaries was a trying one indeed. Not only were they deprived of their stipends and their missions of the articles which those stipends had formerly furnished, but they were obliged to exchange the mission products the proceeds of which had also been devoted to the same end, for orders on the royal treasury which they had every reason to fear would never be paid, as indeed they never were paid; and this, too, at a time when frequent visits of vessels to the coast afforded them a better market for their products than there had been before." [48] Plainly, there could be no sympathy in California for the rebellion in Mexico.

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[45] Alaman, tom. ii, Apendice, num. 14, pp. 31-32. Historians partial to Hidalgo doubt the authenticity of the "Declaracion." Alaman sees no good reason for such denial. Alaman, tom. ii, lib. ii, 202. Complete copy in *Sta. Barb. Arch.* See vol, i, this work, 633-635.

[46] Alaman, tom. ii, 202-206. Three friars of various Orders and seven secular priests were captured with Hidalgo. Alaman, tom. ii, 178-181; Apendice, Nos. 11, 12, pp. 26-29.

[47] Alaman, tom. iv, lib. vii, cap. i, 310-334.

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[48] Bancroft, ii, 195-196.

APPENDIX

A. (*)

Fr. Junípero Serra and His Traducers.

A California author, writing for a prominent Eastern Quarterly, makes the following rather startling assertion: "Father Serra was almost incessantly at outs with every governor of the province." This sentence, as it stands, and in the generally accepted sense, is not in accord with the truth. Whether intentionally or not, it prejudices the readers against the revered founder of the California Indian Missions. The critic, who merely voices the sentiments of H. H. Bancroft, would be at a loss to prove that Fr. Serra ever provoked a quarrel with any governor.

In order to soften his unfavorable judgment, the writer claims that, after all, quarrels were unavoidable because the powers of the governors were too loosely defined. This statement also lacks basis. Let the intelligent readers turn to pages 107-108, 128-135, 142-143, 147, 155, 435-448, 461-462, this volume. There they will find abundant documentary evidence that every one of the governors had clear and specific instructions from the viceroys, and, that to secure perfect peace and harmony with the missionaries, said governors needed but to obey their instructions, assist the efforts of the missionaries as directed, and otherwise let Fr. Serra and his unselfish co-laborers alone.

The instructions given to Governor Fages (see pages 107-108, 128-9), were clear and explicit. Nevertheless this official conducted himself in such an arrogant manner that Fr. Serra found himself compelled to undergo the hardships of the journey to Mexico in order to have the rights and duties of the missionaries clearly defined. He came back with the decision of Viceroy Bucareli and his Council that the missionaries stood to their neophyte charges *in loco parentis,* that is to say with all the rights and duties of a father over his children. They were accordingly in full control of their missions and converts in temporal as well as spiritual matters. The government contributed nothing toward defraying the cost of constructing buildings and maintaining their neophytes, and therefore had no excuse to interfere in anything. The missionaries received no worldly compensation whatever. They regarded the neophytes as their adopted children, and shared with them what the soil and the herds produced.

The next military head of California "at outs" with Fr. Serra was Captain Fernando Rivera y Moncada. This official received his instructions, which were dated August 17, 1773, from Viceroy Bucareli. They were even more specific than those of Pedro Fages, since they contained forty-two articles. (See pages 147, 155, this volume.) He, too, needed only to observe his instructions to insure perfect peace and harmony. The captain, in obedience to the viceroy, consulted Fr. Serra just once. Then he learned that the Fr. Presidente had in Mexico suggested Don Francisco de Ortega for the place of the irascible Pedro Fages. Although Rivera received the appointment, he ever after nursed a grudge against Fr. Serra, who never gave him any cause for dissatisfaction. Let the readers consult pages 183 and 215. After he had made himself impossible in the territory by acts which caused him to be regarded as not right in his mind, Viceroy Bucareli appointed him lieutenant-governor of Lower California, and directed Don Felipe de Neve to transfer his headquarters from there to Monterey as the first resident governor of Upper California.

Neve, so his instructions of September 30, 1774, state, had been named governor of Lower California by Viceroy Bucareli, "in order that the country might be under a ruler of wisdom, zeal and administrative ability, *not disposed to create scandal by quarreling with the missionaries, etc.*" (See the preceding volume i, page 556.) For that same reason Neve was transferred to Monterey, where he arrived in February, 1777. From a letter of Viceroy Bucareli to Fr. Serra, dated Christmas-Day, 1776, we can infer the tenor of the instructions given to Neve with regard to Upper California. (See pages 238-239, this volume.)

"Governor Felipe de Neve," Bucareli writes to Fr. Serra, *"is charged to consult me and to propose whatever he may deem expedient and necessary* to make those establishments happy." (Hence Neve had no authority to make any changes regarding the Missions, but only to *propose* whatever he thought necessary, and then to await the decision of the Viceroy.) "He is likewise charged," Bucareli continues, *"to act in everything in accord with Your Reverence,* (de que para todo use de los acuerdos de Vuestra Reverencia.) I hope that you will continue in that fervent zeal which fills the soul of Your Reverence for the propagation of the Faith, the conversion of souls, and the extension of the domain of the king in those remote territories, and that you will ordain whatever seems attainable. Meanwhile inform me as to what may be necessary to make my measures effective."

Would to God that Felipe de Neve had throughout his term acted in the spirit of the noble Viceroy Bucareli as manifested in above letter to Fr. Presidente Serra!

Let the readers see and judge for themselves, how Neve obeyed the viceroy's mandate, by consulting the following pages: 147, 239, 301-302, 302-313, 316, 319-34, 352-385, 391-402, 404-406, 435, 437, 442, 602-603, this volume, and pages 80-97, in our *Mission San Francisco.* We have not the heart even to summarize what the Franciscans with their venerable Superior had to endure.

It was Fr. Fermin Francisco de Lasuén, later on himself the Superior of the Missions, who declared to Fr. Serra that he would retire to

Mexico rather than submit to Neve's arrogant dictation in one case of the controversies. It required all the tact and diplomacy of the Fr. Presidente to prevent the abandonment of their posts by the two disheartened Fathers at San Diego, whose example might well have been followed by others. See his beautiful letter to Fr. Juan Figuer on the subject, pages 406-410, this volume. Therein and to Fr. Lasuén, Fr. Serra appeals to their love for the Indian neophytes, whom the Fathers regarded as their adopted children. For their sake they ought to remain faithful at their mission. To whom else could those poor creatures look for their sustenance, their guidance in the way of Religion and virtue, for protection? This touching appeal won the day in favor of their wards. Fr. Lasuén and Fr. Figuer, therefore, stayed to console their neophytes, and to await better days till death called them. Better days came when Neve, the oppressor, Bancroft's favorite, left the country.

Former Military Commander Pedro Fages now returned as second governor of California. He had learned a lesson, and was a great improvement over Neve, but he had not entirely overcome his inclination to lord it over the missionaries. The dying Fr. Serra foresaw difficulties, and therefore, induced Fr. Francisco Palóu to retire to the Mother College, as it was imperative to have at the Mexican Capital a representative who could explain the needs of the Missions, refute false accusations, and expose the machinations of military officials from the governor down to the last guard inflicted on the missionaries. That their fears were justified, and their precautions timely, the readers will learn from consulting pages 423-434.

Thoughtful readers will readily understand how unwarranted was the attitude assumed toward the Missions by the three first territorial heads of California, if they bear in mind that the Missions were established under royal decrees and conducted in accordance with royal regulations as independently of the territorial rulers as the University of California controls its affairs independently of the State Governor. It is easy to predict what would happen if the Governor of California should venture to meddle with the discipline, methods, branches, etc., of the State University in the high-handed manner of Felipe de Neve.

In the case of the California Missions the assumption of the domineering early rulers was the more aggravating because the Indian Missions and the Missionaries in charge received no material aid whatever from the royal or Mexican treasuries, whereas the University of California is entirely supported by State aid.

(*) The article which occupied this place in the first edition will be found in volume i, second edition, pages 435-437.

It is highly gratifying to record that all the agitation against the founder of Christianity and civilization in California has failed to impress either the lovers of true history or the State Authorities as worthy of consideration.

Californians will remember that good Father Serra, on occasion of the bi-centennial of his birth, at the hands of His Excellency, Hiram W. Johnson, Governor of the State of California, received an honor never before conferred upon either a native or adopted Californian. Let the official document speak for itself:

"Executive Department,
"State of California.

"To the memory of Junípero Serra California owes everlasting tribute. He brought civilization to our land, and in character and deed he deserves a foremost place in the history of our State.

"Monday, November 24th, will be the two hundredth anniversary of the birth of Junípero Serra and I regard the occasion as one that should be observed by all Californians.

"NOW, THEREFORE, I, HIRAM W. JOHNSON, Governor of the State of California, do hereby appoint

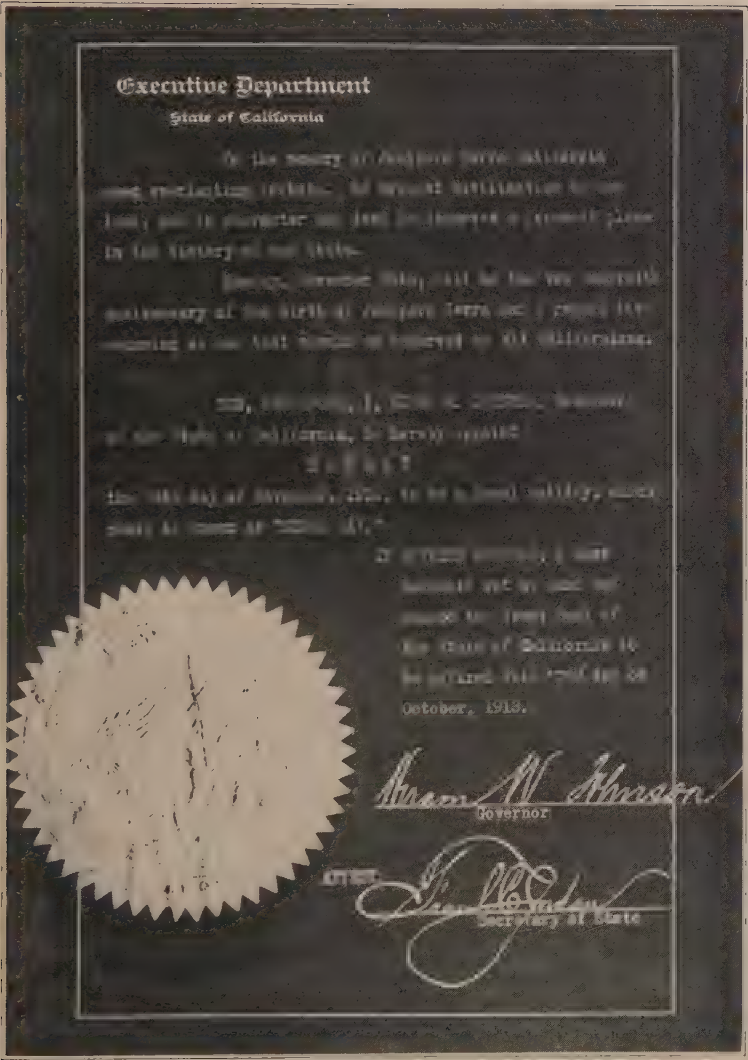
MONDAY,

the 24th day of November, 1913, to be a legal holiday, which shall be known as 'SERRA DAY.'"

"IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Great Seal of the State of California to be affixed this 17th day of October, 1913."

[SEAL] HIRAM W. JOHNSON,
Governor.

Attest: FRANK C. JORDAN,
Secretary of State.



Executive Department

State of California

October, 1913.

Hiram W. Johnson

Governor

ATTEST:

Secretary of State

GOVERNOR JOHNSON'S PROCLAMATION FOR THE SERRA DAY

Another signal honor was conferred upon Father Junípero Serra by the Legislature of California. This was inspired by an Act of the United States Congress incorporated in the Resolution of the State Legislature. It will be more satisfactory to quote the Documents on the subject. They were supplied most cheerfully in photostat by the Secretary of State, the Hon. Frank C. Jordan, who likewise provided us with the Proclamation of Governor Johnson. For this invaluable service we herewith offer to him our heartfelt gratitude. The first Document reads as follows:

"**Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 17.**—Selecting and designating two illustrous deceased persons whose statues in marble or bronze shall hereafter be provided and furnished by the State of California to be placed in National Statuary Hall.

"Whereas, The Congress of the United States of America has by statute enacted and declared as follows, to-wit: 'The President is hereby authorized to invite each and all the States to provide and furnish statues, in marble or bronze, not exceeding two in number for each State, of deceased persons who have been citizens thereof, and illustrious for their historic renown or for distinguished civic or military service, such as each State shall deem worthy of this national commemoration; and when so furnished the same shall be placed in the old hall of the House of Representatives in the Capitol of the United States, which is hereby set apart, or so much thereof as may be necessary, as National Statuary Hall, for the purpose herein indicated.'

"Whereas, The State of California has never designated the deceased persons whose statues shall be so provided and furnished by the State of California; now, therefore be it

"Resolved, by the Senate and Assembly, jointly, That the Legislature of the State of California hereby selects and designates Junípero Serra and Thomas Starr King as the two deceased persons who have been citizens of the State of California and illustrious for their historic or for distinguished civil or military service whose statues in marble or bronze shall be hereafter provided and furnished by the State of California to be placed in the National Statuary Hall, as so provided by Act of Congress."

This Resolution was
"Adopted in Senate April 1, 1927."
"Adopted in Assembly April 21, 1927."
"Received by the Governor April 26, 1927."

The other Document concerning the subject reads as follows:

"An act creating in the division of libraries a commission on California representation at the National Statuary Hall at Washington, District of Columbia, and defining the powers and duties thereof.

"The people of the State of California do enact as follows:

"Section 1. A commission on California representation at the Statuary Hall at Washington, District of Columbia, is hereby created in the division of libraries to make suitable arrangements for the erecting of statues of Junípero Serra and Thomas Starr King in the the Statuary Hall in the Capitol building at the City of Washington, District of Columbia. The commission shall consist of the State Librarian and four members appointed by the Governor.

"Sec. 2. The commission shall cause models of said statues to be prepared and shall have full power and authority to pass upon and determine the models to be used and to select and appoint the sculptor or sculptors who shall make said statues, and to do any and all things necessary or incidental to provide for the erecting of said statues and each thereof in the National Statuary Hall.

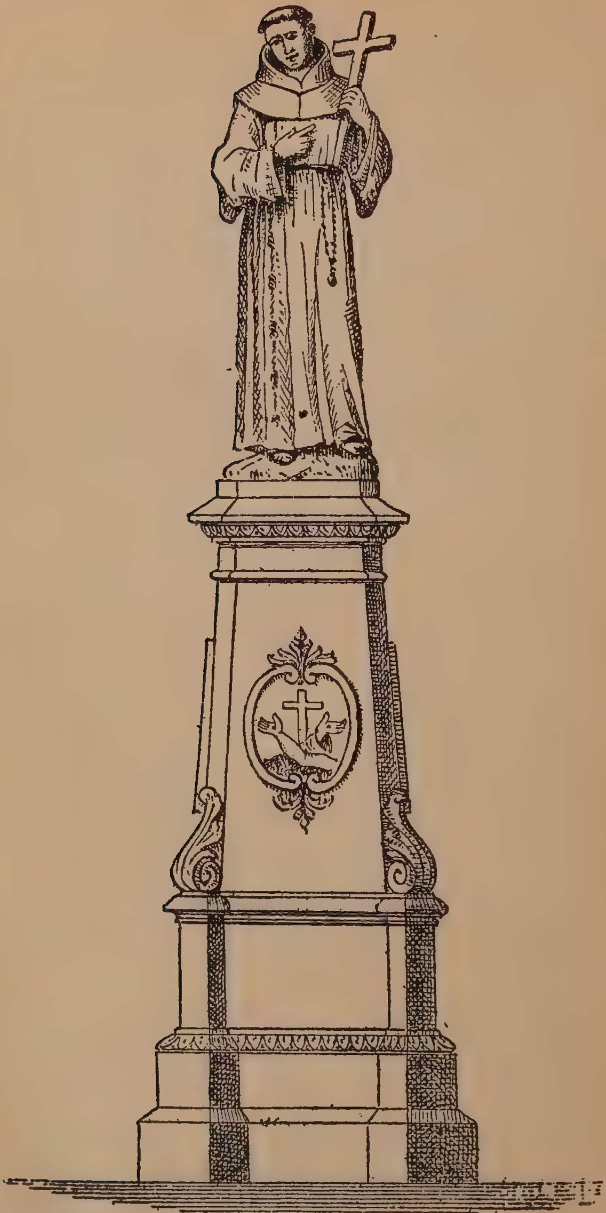
"Sec. 3. The commission shall have power to organize its work and shall meet at such times and places as may be designated and determined by the commission for the proper performance of its duties. The members of the commission shall serve as such without compensation except that they shall be entitled to receive the actual necessary expense incurred by them in the performance of their duties under the provisions of this act. All expenditures by the commission shall be paid out of the appropriations or funds available for the support of the State Library, upon claims presented and signed by the State Librarian in accordance with the law."

The following persons, according to the Document supplied by the Secretary of State, compose the commission:

"EXECUTIVE RECORDS

"Commission On California Representation At The Statuary Hall, Washington, D. C.

Date of Commission	Name	Residence
Oct. 17, 1927.......	Herbert E. Bolton.........	Berkeley
Oct. 17, 1927.......	John F. Davis.............	San Francisco
Oct. 17, 1927.......	Mrs. Mary S. Gibson......	Los Angeles
Oct. 17, 1927.......	Miss Grace S. Stoermer...	Los Angeles
....	Milton J. Ferguson........	State Librarian



MONUMENT ERECTED IN MEMORY OF FR. JUNÍPERO SERRA, O. F. M., AT HIS NATIVE CITY, PETRA, MAYORCA ISLAND

From the various models presented by sculptors the Commission selected one designed by an Italian artist of Santa Barbara. It is in the making near the Old Mission. The figure of Father Serra will be of heroic size and cast in bronze. Thus the heroic founder of Christianity and civilization in California at last receives the plenitude of even worldly glory due him from his fellow citizens and admirers.

We shall now, in conclusion, allow the deceased brilliant Editor of *The Land of Sunshine* and fearless Author of various noble volumes on the Great Southwest express the views of the literary world on Father Serra. Charles F. Lummis, Knight of the Order of Isabella of Spain, by the grace of King Alfonso XIII, in reviewing a translation of Miguel Costanzó's *Diario,* had this to say of Fr. Junípero Serra: "A century and a third later, we see *the* Figure of all that adventurous and toilsome state-building in the humble missionary, Fray Junípero Serra. Portolá, the governor of Lower California, and Fages, his lieutenant; even Galvez, the high visitador-general, and the Viceroy de Croix, are empty names except to the expert, while Father Junípero has become a household word—the Apostle of California, probably the most wonderful of all that wonderful band of Franciscans who missionaried a savage continent. A miracle of zeal and patience, already an old man, infirm and suffering from a wound that never healed, he trudged on foot for Christ's sake greater distances than any American has ever walked, and left more monuments. He was not only an apostle, but a wonderful 'business man'. He founded the most important of the 'Old Missions' of California, now the noblest ruins in the United States."*—Be it remembered that he, who wrote such remarkable words of Father Serra, was not of the Faith of Father Serra.

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* *Land of Sunshine* for June, 1901, in the Preface to the Translation of Costanzó's Diary.

B.

Unlawful Use Made of the Pious Fund.

(To Pages 31, 147.)

"Condúzcalo el Señor prosperamente, pues la empresa es toda suya." "May the Lord guide it to success, as the undertaking is entirely His." This on the part of Don José de Gálvez was a bold assertion and unaccountable save under the supposition that whatever the King of Spain might undertake was of itself altogether for the Lord, which is unhistorical, or that it was enough to label any enterprise with the name of the Lord to insure the Lord's protection, which would argue inexcusable ignorance in religious matters.

Neither the royal order for sending out the expeditions to Upper California, nor the means adopted to equip them, nor the way in which the proposed missions were supplied, indicate that the Lord's interests were consulted in the whole undertaking. On the contrary, the object for which expeditions by sea and by land were sent out was to prevent the Russians from acquiring the territory to the north. Hence it was a purely political move. Gálvez and the viceroys paid the cost of the expeditions largely, if not entirely, from the Pious Fund, which was sacred to the spread and maintenance of Religion in California. We should not have believed such a transaction possible did not documentary evidence prove it. The authority is no less a personage than Viceroy Bucareli.

On December 27, 1774, Viceroy Bucareli reported to Don Julian de Arriaga, Secretary of State, as follows: "Most Excellent Sir,—In order to qualify the legitimate expenditure of 136,184 pesos, 3 tomines, and 9½ granos, which from the time of the expulsion of the Regulars of the extinct Order, which was called of Jesus, to the 22nd day of May, 1773, had been drawn on the Pious Fund of the missions of California in virtue of a decree and orders communicated by His Excellency, Señor Marquez de Croix and by myself, ("Para calificar la legítima inversion de 136,184 pesos, 3 tomines, 9 ½ granos que desde la expulsión de los Regulares del extinto Orden de la compañia que se llamó de Jesus hasta 22 de Mayo de 1773, se habia librado contra el Fondo Piadoso de las Misiones de California en virtud de decreto y ordenes comunicadas por el Exmo. Señor Marquez de Croix y por mi"), the director of the Fund, Don Fernando Josef Mangino, in a memorial of June 4th of the same year petitioned that the officials of the Board of Accounts should see whether the sums expended are charged against them as specified in the account rendered by the respective accountants accompanying the same with the dates of the demands which they may have had. The whole object is that I should with all the proofs pertaining to the said Fund, take steps to reimburse it with what is due it from the other sources, and in case such would be done, that he (the director of the Pious Fund) be given a document which upholds him in the discharge of his duty.

"For the purpose indicated I commanded that all the documents relating to the matter be turned over to the Board of Accounts. After examining them the officials in charge of said expenditures declared that to verify said transaction with the result desired, and to ascertain the sums expended by the Pious Fund estate in the expeditions of California, it would be indispensable to present to said Board the amount of cash and effects delivered to the general depositary through the Father Procurator who resided at the College of San Andrés in this Capital, the income of the plantations and livestock which the missions of the Peninsula possess in this dominion, and a statement of the interest of 146,600 pesos of the principal which belong to them and are due them; but inasmuch as the said director of the Pious Fund objected to this demand, stating that said documents are mere guides for examining the lands and income whether well or badly administered, and whether their income corresponds or not to the capital invested, which matter in virtue of royal orders communicated by His Excellency Conde de Aranda on June 20th and by Your Excellency on September 20, 1768, with total separation in the management and accounting of the temporalities, I arranged, after previous petition of the fiscal, in such a way that a report should be made of all at the Provincial Board assembled on October 7th last. It was then resolved that no innovation should be introduced in what has till now been practised; that the Board of Accounts deliver into my hands at a convenient time the proofs which the said Administrator Don Fernando Josef Mangino demands; and that by means of the testimony of all documents a report be made to His Majesty, as I do through Your Excellency. Mexico, 27th December, 1774. Bucareli." ("Archivo General" 1774, 45/62. N. 1681.)

From this mass of verbiage two facts stand out clear enough; first that down to May, 1773, $136,184 were taken from the Pious Mission Fund and used to pay the expenses of the various political expeditions on the Pacific Coast; and secondly, that the Administrator of the Pious Fund Estate in vain demanded a return of the money due to the Mission Fund. In other words the royal master's schemes were first and unlawfully provided for out of the said Mission Fund; the missions then were free to see how they could provide for themselves with what was left, or with what they could collect elsewhere. After that to ask high Heaven to prosper the royal undertakings on the ground that they were the Lord's was more than bold.

That the Pious Fund Property quite early was diverted into wrong channels by the royal representatives, is also evident from Fr. Verger's letter to Manuel de Casafonda, August 3, 1771. ("Museo Nacional," Trasuntos f. 128. Carta Segunda.) "We have resisted," he writes, "and we shall resist, as far as possible, the misapplication of the Pious Fund Property or Pious Donations under the gilded title of propagating the Faith and extending the domains of our sovereign," "Resistimos, y resistiremos en cuanto nos fuere posible, que se malvarate la Real Hacienda ó Piadosas donaciones con el dorado titulo de propagar le Fé, y estender los dominios de Nro. Soberano." (Paragraph 40.) "It is said that Governor Armona resigned before he reached the peninsula. (See vol. i.) I believe it was because he did not approve what had been ordained by the Hon. Inspector-General, and this is a crimen laesae majestatis. Nevertheless we do not have to say that white is black for fear of opposing the notions of this Señor; nor must we trample under foot our conscience in order to please him." (Parag. 9.) "I believe that we shall remedy nothing, no matter how much writing we may hand in; but we intend to unburden our conscience and in the end the hour will come when the truth will be revealed." (Parag. 10.)

If the Spanish Government and Gálvez had been interested in furthering the cause of the Lord, they would not have waited one hundred and sixty years to begin the work of spreading Religion among the Indians on the west coast. In any case, they would have equipped the missions and missionaries with everything necessary, at least as lavishly as the soldiers who were in pursuit of a secondary object, and they would have held all donations for the spread of Religion as absolutely sacred. What is the truth in the matter? Fr. Rafael Verger confirms in detail what Fr. Palóu, out of respect for the inspector-general, sought to palliate, namely that the old missions of Lower California were ransacked for second-hand church goods in order to supply the new missions of Upper California. Then, though the livestock was meager in the poor missions of the peninsula, 142 mules, 46 horses, and 200 cattle were taken from them and driven to the new foundations in Upper California. The result is, says Fr. Verger, "that for lack of these mules, much annoyance and distress was suffered, so much so, that the missions were unable to help one another or to bring their produce to the royal warehouse, or to draw the corn to put an end to their hunger, or at least to lessen it. (Carta Segunda, No. 5.) On the other hand, to compensate the Indians for the wages denied them, (vol. i, pp. 416-417) and for the rations refused to their women and children," Fr. Verger sarcastically remarks, "the visitor-general left behind regulations and treatises on which they might feed. Lest anything be overlooked, he left as many Bulas de Santa Cruzada" (which dispense from fasting) "as there are Indians. In this manner when food and clothing is wanting they will satisfy themselves by means of Indulgences." ("Ultimamente, para que nada faltase, mandó que se tomare tanto numero de Bulas de Cruzada cuantos Indios tenia cada mision. De este modo, faltando la comida y vestido, se supliran con las Indulgencias." (No. 7.) There was money for the soldiers and the expeditions, and it was taken from the Pious Fund, but outside the meager allowance, none for the missions and missionaries who were entirely occupied in the Lord's interests!

All this is corroborated by Fr. Francisco Palóu. "From the said Pious Fund," he writes about July, 1773 ("Noticias," tom. iii. cap. xl, pp. 140-141), "since the expulsion of the Jesuit Fathers, there have been paid the traveling expenses of the missionaries to California" (both Lower and Upper California), "their daily rations, and their allowance to the amount of 78,211 dollars, 4 reales, 3 granos.

"The administrator of the Pious Fund also says that he has paid over by decrees of the Most Excellent Viceroys, Marquis de Croix and Bucareli, the sum of 136,184 dollars, 3 reales, 9 and one-half granos, for the objects expressed in said decrees, that is to say, for supplying the warehouse of the town of Loreto in behalf of the Department of San Blas; for the payment of the expenses of the expeditions by land and sea in search of the ports of San Diego and Monterey; and for the Indians of California." ("Asimismo dice el Sr. Director que ha entregado por decretos de los Exmos. Srs. virreyes, Marqués de Croix y Sr. Bucareli, la cantidad de ciento treinta y seis mil ciento

y ochenta y cuatro pesos, tres reales, y nueve granos y medio, para los fines que en dichos decretos se expresa, esto, es: para surtir el almacen de la ciudad de Loreto para el departamento de San Blas, gasto de las expediciones de mar y tierra en demanda de los puertos de San Diego y Monterey, y para los Indios de la California.")

"For these Indians I do not know that there has been expended more than the alms of clothing which I received at Loreto in 1769 which was valued, according to the invoice sent me by the visitor-general, at 8,500 dollars, as has been said in Part I, chapter 15 (see vol. i, 415). Therefore all the rest must have been expended for the purposes mentioned in the decrees.

"In the anonymous document quoted the invoice is given of the goods and articles which were found in the warehouse of Loreto, Lower California, and which according to the valuation were worth 69,307 dollars and 3 reales. Of this the administrator of the Pious Fund makes no mention; the reason doubtless is because it has not come to his knowledge; but it is known that Governor Gaspár de Portolá, who had been commissioned for that purpose, received these goods and effects, and with them was paying the soldiers of the peninsula until the arrival of the visitor-general. He surrendered the warehouse to Don Francisco Trillo y Bermúdez, who had been appointed comisario of the warehouse, and who kept on paying the soldiers with goods and effects in the same way, and to provide the missions with what the warehouse of Loreto owed them. From the same goods the said Comisario Trillo filled an order amounting to $20,000 for the Department of Southern California, in order to start another warehouse for that department.

"Of all this the administrator of the Pious Fund is unaware. If he knew of it he would protest to His Excellency, in order that the said sums might be returned to the Pious Fund, since they have been used to pay the soldiers who in those years were not paid their wages, as he says in his memorial which asked for the return of the sums taken from the Pious Fund by orders from other departments which should have paid those expenses." (Palóu "Noticias," tom. iii, cap. xl, 140-143.)

There is no evidence that this money, or any part of it, though it belonged to the Pious Fund, which was established by benefactors for the sole purpose of founding and maintaining missions for the spread of the Catholic Faith in California, was ever returned. The whole transaction, indeed, goes to show why it was that the Spanish King seized the Pious Fund and refused to relinquish control of the property. It was manipulated to further political projects. We sincerely regret to have to pronounce this severe judgment, but the facts admit of no alternative.

Small wonder then that Heaven declined to prosper the voyage of the ships. The expeditions were not what Gálvez proclaimed them. Despite the blessings which the vessels and crews received, despite the holy Masses aboard, every one of the ships suffered disaster. The "San Carlos" lost nearly all her men; the "San Antonio" more than one-half; and the "San José," named in honor of St. Joseph, under whose protection the inspector-general had placed the undertaking, was never again heard of. It was lost at sea, and her entire crew doubtless drowned. Even the land expedition to Monterey fared badly and at first failed of its object. St. Joseph apparently refused to lend his protection to an enterprise which was merely labeled for the Lord, but whose interests were not sincerely considered, since the Lord's representatives and His sacred places were so nigardly provided for, and the money donated for His honor was diverted to other uses. Merely labeling a work or undertaking "Santa Expedicion," "For the Lord and His Saints," is not the way to insure Divine protection. The words of St. Paul, "God is not mocked," (Gal. vi, 7), came home forcibly to the king and Don José de Gálvez. (For the letters to Casafonda, see vol. i, 436-437.

C.

Description of the Coast From Cape Mendocino to the Sierra de Santa Lucía, According to Cabrera Bueno.

(To Chapters III and IV.)

"In latitude 42 degrees there is a cape of rugged land cut out as it were by the sea. From there the coast runs about eight leagues towards the south, and then makes a turn until it forms another point of high barren land cleft by bare ravines which run into the sea. This point is in 41½ degrees latitude, and bears the name Cape Mendocino. From there the coast runs southeast to 39½ degrees latitude. This land is of medium elevation, heavily covered with timber, with some hills, but barren on the side towards the ocean. In the aforesaid latitude there is a low point cut up by gullies through the action of the sea. Thence the coast runs southeast by south until it reaches latitude 38½ degrees, where the land forms a point of medium height separated from the coast, as it were, so that at a distance it appears to be an island. This is called Punta de los Reyes. It is a rugged elevation which forms a harbor well protected against all winds from the north. This port is in 38½ degrees latitude, and is called San Francisco." (Old San Francisco, or Cermeño Bay.) "During a wind from the south of southeast one should anchor at the end of the beach where it forms a cove on the southwest. Towards the northeast there are three bare cañons very close to the shore, and opposite the one in the center a wide estéro or inlet without breakers enters the land. After going into it some friendly Indians will be found, and fresh water can be easily obtained. Towards the south-southwest of this harbor there are six or seven small white islets, each of about a league more or less in circumference. Whoever would sail down from Cape Mendocino, coursing six leagues out in the sea from the cape southeast by south, in search of this harbor, will sail for the Punta de los Reyes, and see the Farallones, which are a good mark by which to recognize the harbor. Here it was where the ship 'San Agustin' perished in 1595 while on an exploring cruise. The shipwreck was caused by the one who guided the vessel rather than by adverse weather. (See vol. i, 38-39.)

"About fourteen leagues southeast by south of this Punta de los Reyes, the coast forms a point, and the land before reaching it is of medium elevation, bare towards the sea and broken by gullies; but it soon rises higher and is covered with timber until it reaches a low point of land in 37½ degrees latitude. This point is called Punta del Año Nuevo. From there the coast runs more towards the east, forms a large bay, and comes out to a point of low land very much covered with timber down to the sea. This point is named Punta de Pinos. It is 37 degrees latitude. From Point Año Nuevo to the aforesaid Point Pinos in the northwest (norueste) there are high sierras running from northwest to southeast. In a straight line to said Point Pinos from Point Año Nuevo it is twelve leagues. From the northwestern extremity," (that is to say, Point Año Nuevo) "one can discern Point Pinos. This is a small elevation of land, about two leagues in length, extending from the northeast to the southwest. It is well covered with pine timber, as was said before, and near its southern extremity there are a number of ravines, good marks by which to identify it. On the northeastern side Point Pinos forms a fine harbor. By steering straight one enters it and can approach to within six fathoms of the shore. This whole point and the entrance is rocky. By sailing southeast and east until the rocks are passed a grand beach is discovered. Before coming to it there is good anchorage, clear of and protected against all winds excepting those from the north-northwest. At this port, called Monterey, there is much pine which is good for masts and spars. Very close to the sea and the beach there is a marsh of brackish water into which at high tide the water from the bay flows. Southeast of this estéro, about a musket shot from the beach near the estéro, there is a low tract of land, where by digging very little plenty of good and fresh water may be obtained. This port is in latitude 37 degrees. It is a good harbor to shelter the ships coming from China, as this is the first land seen on their way to New Spain.

"Following the coast from Point Pinos southwestwardly to the other side of it, there is found another fine port extending from north to south, and protected against all winds. A river of very good water, but of shallow depth, flows into it. The banks of this river are covered with many black, smooth, and high poplar trees. There are other trees known to us from Castile. The stream comes from very high and white sierras. It is called Rio de Carmelo, because the religious of this Order discovered it. From the end of said point the coast runs south-southeast about six leagues. The land becomes rougher, higher, and broken by ravines that descend to the sea. Here a very high white cliff rises up which in clear weather may be seen from the sea at a distance of twelve leagues. It is called Santa Lucía. Near it is a well-formed round elevation, resembling a top, which from afar has the appearance of a small island. To recognize all these landmarks one must sail a league from the shore. This may be done without fear, because the coast is very secure and clear." (*Navegacion,* parte 5, cap. iv, pp. 302-304.)

D.

The Journey of Portolá's Company in 1769, According to Fr. Crespi.

			Leagues
July	14	La Ranchería de los Ojitos de la Rinconada de San Diego. Los Pocitos de la Cañada de San Diego	2.5
	15	El Valle de Santa Isabel. La Poza de Osuna. El Valle de S. Jacome de la Marca	3.5
	16	La Cañada del Triunfo de la Santísima Cruz. El Ojito de la Cañada de los Encinos. San Alejo, spring, 33 degrees	4
	17	San Simón Lípnica, valley. Sta. Sinforosa, cañada	2
	18	San Juan Capistrano, valley, 33 deg. 6 min.	2
	19	Rested.	
	20	Santa Margarita, valley	1.5
	21	La Cañada de Sta. Pragédis de los Rosales. 33 deg. 10 min.	2
	22	La Cañada de los Bautismos. Los Cristianos. S. Apolinario	4
	23	Cañada de Sta. Maria Magdalena. 33 deg. 14 min.	4
	24	San Francisco Solano, mesa	3
	25	Rested.	
	26	San Pantaleón. Los Ojitos del Padre Gómez	2.5
	27	Santiago, arroyo. 34 deg. 6 min	3
	28	Río Sta. Ana—El Dulcisimo Nombre de Jesús de los Temblores	1.5
	29	Sta. Marta, loma and spring	2
	30	(No name) 33 deg. 4 min.	6
	31	(No name)	2
Aug.	1	Rested.	
	2	Porciúncula River	3
	3	San Estéban, spring. Ojo de Agua de los Alisos	3
	4	San Rogério, spring. Ojo del Berrendo	2
	5	El Valle de Sta. Catalina de Bonónia de los Encinos, 34 deg. 37 min.	3

			Leagues
	6	Rested.	
	7	(No name)	3
	8	Sta. Rosa de Vitérbio, arroyo. La Ranchería del Corral	4
	9	Rested.	
	10	La Cañada de Sta. Clara	3
	11	Cañada de Sta. Clara, (to Sta. Rosa 6 leagues; to Sta. Catalina de Bonónia 10 leagues, 34 deg. 30 min.	3
	12	San Pedro á Moliano, rancheria	3
	13	Los Santos Mártires Hipólito y Caciano, river and rancheria	2
	14	La Asuncion de Nuestra Señora, rancheria, 34 deg. 36 min.	2.5
	15	Sta. Cunegundis, rancheria	2
	16	El Pueblo del Bailarín. Sta. Clara de Montefalco, 34 deg. 40 min	2
	17	Carpintería. San Roque, rancheria	1
	18	La Laguna de la Concepción	4
	19	(No name)	.5
	20	Mescatitlán, rancheria. Los Pueblos de la Isla. Sta. Margarita de Cortona, 34 deg. 43 min	3
	21	San Luis Obispo, rancheria, 34 deg. 45 min	2
	22	Rested.	
	23	San Guido de Cortona, rancheria	3
	24	Cañada y Rancheria de San Luis Rey de Francia. La Gaviota, 34 deg. 47 min	2.5
	25	San Zeferino, Pope, cañada and rancheria, 34 deg. 50 min. (Constansó)	2
	26	La Ranchería del Cojo. Sta. Teresa, 34 deg. 51 min.	2.5
	27	Point Concepcion. La Rancheria de la Espada. La Concepcion de Maria Santisima, 34 deg. 51 min.	1.5
	28	Pedernales, rancheria. San Juan Bautista	2
	29	Cañada Seca. Sta. Rosalía	2.5
	30	Rio de San Bernardo, or de Sta. Rosa, 34 deg. 55 min.	.5
	31	La Laguna del Baile de las Indias graciosa. San Ramón Nonato	2.5
Sept.	1	La Laguna Grande de San Daniel, 35 deg. 13 min...	1.5
	2	Laguna de San Juan de Perucia y San Pedro de Saxoferrato. Real de las Víboras. El Oso Flaco	3
	3	Rested.	
	4	El Buchón. San Ladislao, cañada, 35 deg. 28 min.	4
	5	La Cañada Angosta de Sta. Elena, 35 deg. 3 min (?)	2
	6	Rested.	

			Leagues
	7	La Cañada de Los Osos, or La Natividad de Ntra. Señora	3
	8	La Cañada de San Adriano	2
	9	El Estero de Sta. Serafina, 36 deg.—35 deg. 27 min. (Cons.)	1
	10	El Osito. San Benvenuto, cañada, 36 deg. 2 min.	2
	11	El Cantíl. El Arroyo de San Nicolás, 35 deg. 35 min. (Cons.)	1
	12	San Vicente, arroyo, 36 deg. 10 min	2
	13	Los Arroyos de Sta. Humiliana	2
	14	Rested.	
	15	Rested.	
	16	El Pié de la Sierra de Sta. Lucía	1
	17	La Hoya de la Sierra de Sta. Lucía, 36 deg. 18.5 min.	1
	18	Rested.	
	19	Rested.	
	20	Real de Piñones	2
	21	Arroyo de las Llagas de Nuestro Seráfico Padre San Francisco	1
	22	Rested.	
	25	(No name)	1
	26	La Cañada or El Río de San Elzeário. El Real del Chocolate	3
	27	Real del Álamo, on same river, 36 deg. 38 min.	4
	28	Real Blanco, on same river	4
	29	Real de los Cazadores, on same river	3.5
	30	(No name) down a cañada near the river	4.5
Oct.	1	Sta. Delfina River, 36 deg. 53 min.—36 deg. 44 min. (Cons.)	1
	2	Rested.	
	7	La Laguna de la Grulla—Sta. Brígida	2
	8	El Rio del Pájaro. Sta. Ana	4
	9	Rested.	
	10	Las Lagunas y Avellanos de Ntra. Sra. del Pilar, 36 deg. 35 min	1
	11	Rested.	
	15	La Lagunita de Sta. Teresa	1.5
	16	El Rosario del Beato Serafín de Ascoli, arroyo	2
	17	El Río de San Lorenzo	2
	18	Santa Cruz, arroyo, and El Arroyo de San Lucas. Los Puentes. Barranca de la Olla	2
	19	San Pedro de Alcántara, loma. El Alto de Jumín.	2.5
	20	La Cañada de San Luis Beltrán. La Salud	1
	21	Rested.	
	23	La Rancheria de la Casa Grande. San Juan Nepomuceno. San Pedro Regalado, valley	2

		Leagues
24	Santa Domingo, valley, 37 deg. 30 min.	2
25	Rested.	
27	El Arroyo de San Ibón. La Ranchería de las Pulgas	2
28	El Arroyo de Los Santos Apóstoles S. Simón y S. Judas. El Llano de los Ánsares	2
29	Rested.	
30	La Punta del Angel Custodio. Las Almejas, 37 deg. 49 min.—37 deg. 24 min. (Cons.)	2
31	Reconnoitering.	
Nov. 1	Rested.	
4	Crossed the mountains into the Cañada de San Francisco	2
5	Southward through the cañada	3.5
6	Southward through the cañada	3.5
7–10	Rested whilst Ortega explored the eastern coast of the San Francisco Bay	

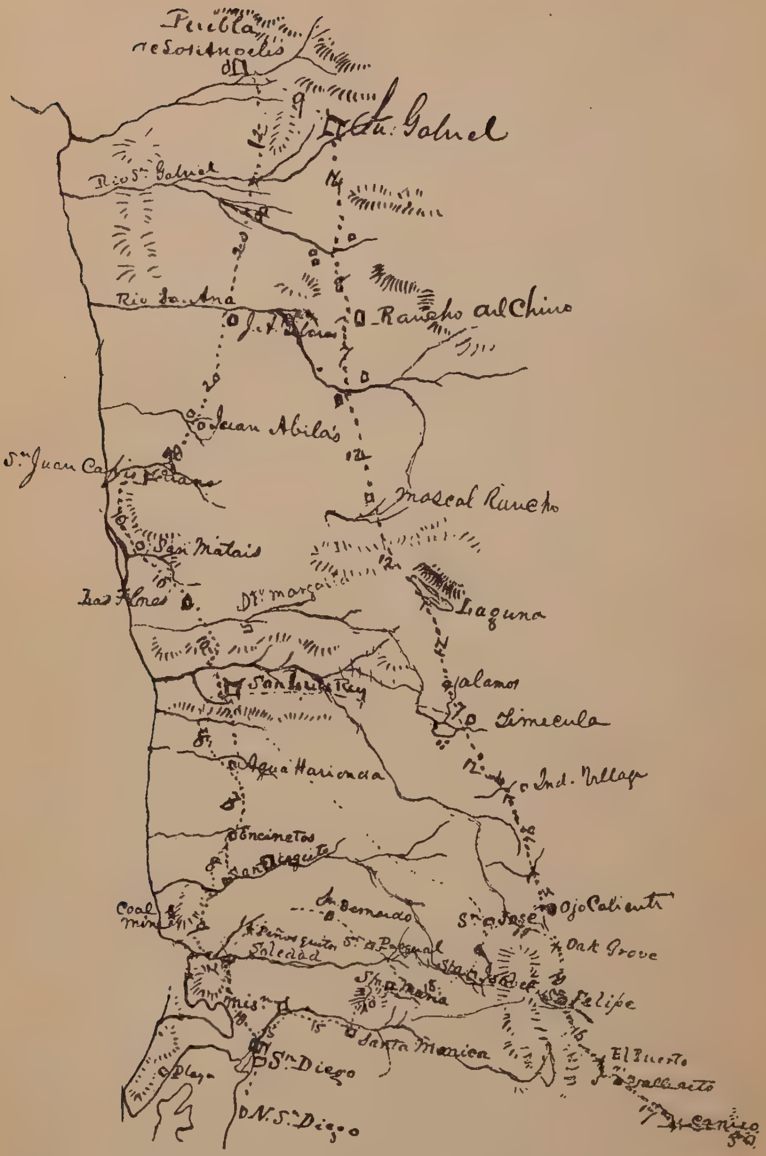
E.

Anza's and Fr. Garcés's Route Over the Mountains.

(To Chapters IX and XI, Section I.)

Bancroft with Coues claim that Fr. Garcés as well as Captain Anza and his company crossed the mountains through the San Gorgónio Pass by way of what is now Banning and Beaumont. Says Coues: ("On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer," pp. 204-205, note 7,) "Puerta de San Carlos or St. Charles Pass can be located with precision as the modern San Gorgónio Pass or San Timóteo Cañon, through which the railroad runs between the San Bernardino Mountains on the north and the San Jacinto Mountains on the south; stations San Gorgónio, (or Beaumont), Banning, San Jacinto, Whitewater, etc. It was named March 15, 1774, on Anza's expedition with Garcés and Juan Diaz . . . We hear of the Puerto de San Carlos again in connection with our present expedition of 1775-1776; for on p. 87 of Font's Diary, at date of Dec. 26, 1775, we read that the expedition left a certain dry arroyo at 9:15 a. m., and at 2 p. m. halted in a piece of low ground (baxio) immediately under the steep rocks (peñascos) which form the Puerta de la Sierra Madre de California, called the Puerto de San Carlos, etc."

Notwithstanding the worthy Doctor's assurance we must differ with him on this point for the reason that Fr. Font's description of the route through the mountains and of the various stopping-places, besides the latitude given by the Father (33 degrees and 37 minutes in the Cañada de San Patricio, more than twenty-five miles south of San Gorgónio Pass), in no way corresponds with San Gorgónio Pass. Whilst we are familiar with the latter, having lived at Banning for about a year, we cannot say as much of the country traversed by the



ROUTE TRAVELLED ACROSS THE SIERRAS BY FR. GARCES, COLONEL ANZA AND OTHERS expedition. The mission stations in those regions we have visited but once. We therefore asked Rev. Florian Hahn, Superintendent of the Catholic Indian Boarding School at Banning, to make an investigation. As the Rev. Gentleman has been attending the mission stations and Indians scattered throughout the San Jacinto Mountain district, as well as the desert to the east and the valleys to the south and southwest, for more than twenty years, he may be regarded as perfectly acquainted with the country. With a copy of Fr. Font's description in hand, and by dint of questioning old Indians and settlers, the Rev. Father came to the conclusion that the expedition of 1775-1776, and consequently the one of 1774, must have taken the route south of the San Jacinto Mountains as follows: San Felipe Pass or Cañon on the border of the desert; Los Coyotes Cañon; Puerta de San Carlos (Entrance to Cahuilla Valley); Cuhuilla Valley or Valle de San Juan Bautista, (the cañon between Cahuilla Valley and San Jacinto Valley through which runs San Juan Bautista Creek south of the village of "Florida," and which is probably the Cañada de San Patricio of Fr. Font); San Jacinto Cañon (probably the Cañada de San Joseph of Fr. Font) towards Moreno; thence by Rubidoux Mount (the "Loma" of Fr. Font, probably) to the Santa Ana and Mission San Gabriel.

F.

The Right of Church Asylum.

(To Chapter XI, Section I.)

The Right of Asylum for the fugitive was recognized throughout the Christian ages, and may be traced to the very temples of pagan antiquity. The reputed criminal, when he took refuge in a place dedicated to God, was held inviolable. He could not be forcibly removed, nor wounded or killed. No one could be prevented from supplying him with food while he remained in the sanctuary. The privilege grew out of the universal sentiment that it was wicked to do violence to any one who had placed himself under the protection of God. Its object was not to shield the guilty, but to protect the innocent from the unreasonable frenzy of relatives or the injustice of unscrupulous officials.

The right was established by the Law of Moses; for thus the Lord commanded: "Thou shalt separate to thee three cities in the midst of the land . . . that he who is forced to flee for manslaughter, may have near at hand whither to escape. This shall be the law of the slayer that fleeth, whose life is to be saved. He that killeth his neighbor ignorantly . . . he shall flee to one of the cities aforesaid, and live, lest perhaps the next kinsman of him whose blood was shed . . . should pursue and apprehend him." (Deuteronomy cap. xix, 2-10; 13). This immunity was by the Catholic Church attached to all places of public worship. Even in case a man had committed a capital crime wilfully, and took refuge in a church, he could not be taken from the sanctuary by the civil or military authorities; but the representative of justice could demand him from the priest in charge, and the latter would then deliver the culprit to the officials of the secular court after having received the written assurance that the accused should have a fair trial. The official, who without giving this bond entered a sanctuary armed for the purpose of extracting a criminal against the protest of the pastor or person in charge, incurred excommunication. Rivera had in spite of the protest of the missionaries entered the place of worship armed, and had removed an Indian accused of being a partner to the crime of murder and incendiarism. It was for this that he was declared excommunicated or expelled from the Church whose rights he had violated.

Rivera could not have been ignorant of either the ecclesiastical or royal laws on the subject; for only little more than two years before an order issued by the King of Spain on November 9th, 1773, (published in Mexico May 29, 1774), again recognized the laws regarding Church Asylum, and declared them binding on the officials in America. (Diccionario de Legislación y Jurisprudencia, pag. 291, nota 2. Madrid, 1873. Papal Bull on the subject, September 12, 1772.)

The royal decree is as follows:

1.—"Any person of either sex, of whatever station or condition, who takes refuge in the Sanctuary, shall be immediately removed after notification of the Rector, Parish priest, or Ecclesiastical Prelate by the Royal Judge, Minister, Military Governor, Chief, Adjutant or Corporal, under the guarantee (issued in writing or given orally, as the fugitive may desire) that he shall not be injured in his life or his members. He shall then be placed in a secure prison, and shall be maintained at his own cost, if he have the means; in case he have no property, he shall be kept at the cost of the public funds, or of my royal treasury in case either is wanting, so that the necessary sustenance be not lacking him.

2. "Without delay a thorough investigation shall be instituted to discover the motive or cause for taking refuge in the sanctuary, and if it turns out to be a slight though voluntary matter, he shall be punished with prudence and discretion, and then set at liberty with the warning considered in keeping by the judge or respective official.

3. "If a crime is discovered or a transgression that makes the refugee liable to suffer a grave punishment, the regular trial shall be instituted, and when the guilt has been established, which result must be accomplished within the space of three days, unless there be urgent reasons for delay, the acts shall be sent to the viceroy or chief of the territory if the culprit be under military jurisdiction; but if not the acts shall be given to the royal audencia of the territory.

6. "When the crime is of an enormous nature, and one of those for which the law grants no asylum to the culprit, and if there is sufficient evidence, the acts shall be forwarded by the military tribunal or chief to the lower judge, so that by means of a certified copy of the proof of the guilt (without prejudice to the prosecution of the case) he may

demand from the ecclesiastical judge of his district the formal surrender without guarantee to the person of the culprit, at the same time sending a record to the chief of the territory, so that he may provide a speedy execution.

7. "The ecclesiastical judge in virtue of the said copy of the proof of the guilt forwarded by the secular judge will provide for the surrender of the culprit.

8. "When the papers for the formal surrender have been served the actual surrender of the delinquent shall be made within twenty-four hours. When in the course of the trial the evidence shall prove weak, they shall proceed to release him, or inflict a small punishment in keeping with the evidence." ("Cal. Archives," Prov. St. Pap., Benicia, Missions, i, p. 155.)

G.

The Royal Patronage.

In his celebrated Bull "Inter Cetera," called the Bull of Demarcation (dated May 9, 1493), by means of which Pope Alexander VI. as arbitrator settled the dispute between the sovereigns of Spain and Portugal, His Holiness addressing King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella of Spain in closing says: "We furthermore command you, in virtue of holy obedience, (inasmuch as you have promised to do so and we doubt not that from your great devotion and royal magnanimity you will do so), that you send to said islands and continents tried, learned, and skilled men who fear God and are capable of instructing the inhabitants in the Catholic Faith, teaching them good morals, and using proper diligence in the aforesaid things." (See English translation in Gleeson "The Catholic Church in California," vol. i, 37-41.)

From this the rulers concluded that they were expected not only to provide for the spread of Religion and the support and maintenance of the missions and churches, but to name the missionaries and ecclesiastics. They were willing enough to exercise the latter privilege, but they were not disposed to have the royal treasury defray the cost of erecting and maintaining churches and missions and of supporting the ministers of Religion in the newly-discovered countries. They accordingly petitioned the Holy See to allow them to collect the ecclesiastical tithes and apply them to the purposes named. ("Ciertamente una peticion que por vuestra parte de proximo se nos ha presentado, contenía, que vosotros deseais sumamente adquirir las Indias para que en ellas desterrada qualquier secta condenada, sea conocido, servido, y venerado el Altisimo. Y porque para hacer las conquistas os era forzoso haber de hacer muchos gastos, y pasar grandes peligros, era conveniente que para la conservacion y manutencion de ellas, y para poder acudir á los gastos, que para esto serian necesario, pudiese despedir, cobrar, y llevar los diezmos de todos los vecinos y moradores que ahora, ó en lo de adelante las habitasen.") Alexander VI. acceded to their wishes, and in the Bull "Eximiae Devotionis Sinceritas" of November 16, 1501, conveyed to the Crown of Spain the tithes and first fruits of the New World, on condition, however, that the kings sufficiently provide for the Church and her ministers in those regions. (See Latin original in "Boletín de la Real Academía de la Historia," Madrid, 1891-1892, tom. xx, cuaderno iii, pp. 261-263. Spanish translation in Solórzano, tom. ii, lib. iv, cap. i, no. 7, pag. 3.)

Not content with this extraordinary concession and the royal patronage in a general sense, the Spanish rulers (La altanería española, que no sufría la menor sombra de subjecion á poder extranjero, etc." Fidel Fita in "Boletín de la Academía," p. 265) through their ambassadors in Rome, says Solórzano (tom. ii, lib. iv, cap. ii, pag. 8, no. 3) demanded the concession of the fullest and specific patronage over the Church in the Indies. What they wanted we learn from the Bull "Universalis Ecclesiae Regimini,' of Pope Julius II. issued July 28, 1508, "In order that those who lately embraced the Faith," it says, "in case they should desire to undertake the God-pleasing work of building churches and pious institutions, may not do this in such regions of said islands that therefore harm might come to either the Christian Religion, but recently planted there, or to the temporal dominion of the kings; we have been informed that the said King Ferdinand, who is also Regent of the kingdoms of Castile and Leon, and our well-beloved daughter in Christ, Jane, Queen of those same kingdoms and daughter of said King Ferdinand, desire very earnestly that the concession be made them that no church, monastery, or pious institute should be erected or founded, either in the said islands and places already acquired, or in others as yet to be acquired, without the consent of said King Ferdinand and Queen Jane, the kings for the time being of Castile and Leon; and inasmuch as it is of importance to the same king, that persons who have the royal confidence and are agreeable and acceptable should preside over the aforesaid churches and monasteries, they desire the right of Patronage (Jus Patronatus) of presenting suitable persons for Metropolitan as well as for other Sees already established and in time to be founded, and of bestowing all other ecclesiastical benefices."

The demands of the Spanish rulers thus set forth in the Bull "Universalis Eccleciae Regimini" were granted by Pope Julius through the same document. The consequence was that in all the Spanish Indies, or Spanish America, not even a bishop could erect a chapel, oratory, or mission, or found a monastery without the express permit of the king as General Patrono or of the viceroy or governor as Vice-Patrono. Moreover the king named all the ecclesiastical dignitaries of whatever station. The Pope could but acquiesce.

In effect, "this Bull and the one conceding the tithes," says Solórzano (tom. ii, lib. iv, cap. ii, p. 11, no. 24), "constituted our kings, in what pertains to what has been said on the subject, Vicars of the Roman Pontiff." ("La cual Bula, y de la concesión de los diezmos, hacen á nuestros reyes, para lo tocante á lo referido, y en todo lo demas necesario y concerniente á ello, como Vicarios del Romano Pontífice.")

"Speaking of our Indies in particular" (ibidem no. 25) "the Pope in virtue of this power constituted our kings his Delegates, inasmuch as he conceded to them not only authority in temporal but in spiritual matters." ("Hablando en lo individual de nuestras Indias, y que el Papa en virtud de esta potestad hizo Delegados en ellas á nuestros reyes, concediendoles, no solo lo temporal, sino lo espiritual.") Practically the king was the head of the Church in his dominions, for no Bull, Brief, or other order from the Holy See could be published or executed before it had been submitted to the king and his Council of the Indies. The same rule was observed with regard to circulars and appointments of Superiors-General or other Superiors of religious Orders. With jealous care the kings insisted on this assumed prerogative of the Crown of Spain. "The right of patronage," says King Philip II. in a decree of 1574, "belongs to us in the whole dominion of the Indies as well for having discovered and acquired that New World, and erected and endowed there churches and monastaries at our expense and of those of the Catholic Kings, our predecessors, as for having received the concessions by the Bulls of the Supreme Pontiffs." (Parras, "Gobierno," tom. i, cap. i, no. 5, pp. 5-6. Solórzano, tom. ii, lib. iv, cap. ii, p. 8, no. 4.)

In the end to sum up the matter with Icazbalceta ("Don Fray Juan de Zumárraga," 128-129), "in virtue of this and other concessions obtained later, and somewhat through custom or abuse, the kings of Spain came to acquire such power in the ecclesiastical government of America that, with the exception of what was purely spiritual, they exercised an authority which appeared pontifical. Without their permission no church, nor monastary, nor hospital could be erected; far less a diocese or parish. Priests and religious could not go to the Indies without express license. (Nor could they return from there without another special permit.) The kings nominated bishops, and, without awaiting the Papal confirmation, sent them to administer their dioceses. (Los reyes nombraban obispos, y sin aguardar confirmación los despachaban á administrar sus diócesis.) They assigned the boundaries of the dioceses, and changed them at will. It pertained to them to present or nominate persons for every benefice or office, down to that of sacristan, if they wished. They severely reprimanded, summoned to Spain, or banished any ecclesiastical person, including bishops, who, though they often would have quarrels with the governors, never would disregard the voice of the kings. The kings administered and collected the tithes, determined by whom and how they should be paid, without regard to Bulls of exemption. They fixed the income of benefices, and increased or diminished them as they judged convenient. They took notice of many ecclesiastical cases, and by having recourse to force, paralyzed the action of Church tribunals or of prelates. In a word, not a single disposition of the Supreme Pontiff could be executed without the consent or *pase* of the king."

"The Messenger" (edited by the Jesuit Fathers, New York, vol. xlv, no. 5), commenting on this question says: "The most devout and loyal Catholic can condemn, without scruples, that kind of union of Church and State. It is no union at all, except that of the Lady and the Tiger, 'with the Lady inside the Tiger.' It will also explain away many accusations against, for instance, the Spanish Inquisition, and acquit the Church of the charges made against her in the management of that tribunal." (Quoted by The Catholic Fortnightly Review, St. Louis, Mo., Arthur Preuss, Editor, June 1, 1906, p. 360.) Well may Lowery in wonder exclaim ("The Spanish Settlements in the United States," vol. i, p. 96): "Strange as it may seem, the Pope at this period could boast of less influence in Spain than in any other European country."

In extenuation of the action of the respective Popes, Icazbalceta writes (ut supra, p. 130): "When the Popes conceded the Patronato de America, they perhaps did not perceive its entire importance nor did they foresee its consequences. That is one reason. The other is, that the king, who undertook to subject the regions that were being discovered to his dominion, and consequently to the fold of the Church, deserved her powerful support. The Popes did well to extend a liberal hand when the circumstances required it, and to give those Catholic sovereigns an evident mark of confidence in order to encourage them; but they did wrong who abused that confidence by retaining almost by force the prerogatives when they were no more necessary, and by turning into an instrument of oppression that which had been granted for support." ("Obraron mal los que abusaron de esa confianza, reteniendo casi por fuerza unas prerogatives que ya no eran necesarias, y empleando como instrumento de opresión él que lo era de amparo.")

What made the patronato as practised by the Spanish kings more oppressive and humiliating was the circumstance that the subordinates of the king also claimed a corresponding supremacy over the ministers of Religion in their respective districts: the viceroy for whole New Spain, the comandante-general in his jurisdiction, the governor in his district, nay, the subaltern military commander for his presidial department in the name of the governor and in his own name. Witness, for instance, the formal opening of Mission San Francisco, which had to be postponed from the 4th to the 8th of October because Lieutenant Moraga had failed to arrive and act as patrono. Bearing this condition of things in mind, the reader will be able to explain to himself many occurrences in the history of the missions which otherwise would remain a mystery. He will perceive that the position of the missionaries was anything but enviable, inasmuch as they were exposed to the whims of men with whom, from the king down to the corporal, the conversion of the Indians or the spread of the Gospel, as a rule, was a minor consideration, subject to the personal or political aims of those secular officials.

H.

Neve's Pricelist in Effect January 1st, 1781.

A bull of two or more years from the round-up (rodeo)	$ 4.00
A bull of 3 or 4 years, for slaughter	5.00
A cow or young bull from the rodeo (round-up)	6.00
An ox accustomed to the yoke	6.00
A milch cow	6.00
A calf or young heifer	2.00
An arroba (25 lbs.) of jerked beef	1.00
An arroba of fresh meat cut for jerked beef	.31.3
An arroba of chopped tallow	1.12
An arroba of melted tallow	2.00
An arroba of lard	3.75
An arroba de manteca de baca (tallow drippings)	3.00
An arroba tallow candles	3.00
An arroba of mutton, or pork salted and cured	4.00
A sheep of two years	2.00
A sheep of more than two years	2.50
A yearling lamb	1.25
A suckling kid (two and one-half reales)	.31.3
A male goat	1.00
A goat or a ewe	.75
A hog of two years	3.50
A hog of three years	5.00
A hen (two and one-half reales)	.31.3
Three eggs (one-half real or six and one-third cents)	.06.3
A cock	.18.7
A chicken	.12.5
A pair of pigeons	.37.5
A rabbit	.06.3
A hare	.12.5
An ordinary horse	9.00
A mare	4.00
An unbroken mule of three years	16.00
A pack or saddle mule	20.00
An ordinary burro (donkey)	6.00
A fanega (hundredweight) of wheat	2.00
A fanega of corn	1.50
A fanega of barley	.75
An arroba of ordinary flour	1.75
A fanega of beans, lentils, or chick-peas	3.00

I.

La Pérouse's Criticism.

(To Chapter II, Section II.)

With regard to La Pérouse, the French navigator, Bancroft, ("California," i, 433) says, "La Pérouse's geographical exploration on the California coast amounts to nothing." (Again, 435) "The author is in error when he states that these Indians cultivated a little maize before the Spanish settlement." (The words of La Pérouse are, "Avant l'etablissement des Espagnols les Indiens de la Californie ne cultivaient qu'un peu de mais." p. 254.) Furthermore, (435), "He evidently did not hear of San José and Los Angeles, for he states that there were absolutely no Spanish inhabitants but the soldiers."

Despite these misstatements on subjects about which the Frenchman could easily have informed himself, both Bancroft and Hittell, especially the latter, make much of the circumstance that La Pérouse, being a Frenchman, was a Catholic, and that for this reason his testimony deserves special attention when he speaks unfavorably of the missions. This implies that if La Pérouse had not been a Catholic his report, particularly as it covers a stay of only ten days at Monterey and one visit to Mission San Carlos, would not be worth mentioning. Bancroft devotes much more space to La Pérouse's foolish notions on the mission system than to the lengthy visit and close examination of the Russian Langsdorff; Hittell concedes the latter no space at all. The reason is, the honest Russian wrote from personal observations at several missions, and therefore favorably; whereas La Pérouse had but a glimpse of the conditions at Mission San Carlos, and then allowed his half-infidel sentiments to sway his judgment.

What sort of a Catholic the French navigator was can be guessed from the fact that he sailed from France without a ship chaplain at a period when the infidel Encyclopedists were rampant in that unhappy country, and shortly before the Reign of Terror which naturally resulted from the French infidel teachings, which they miscalled philosophy. It is evident, moreover, from the author's own report. Some of his statements could never emanate from a sincere Catholic. To begin with, he refers with approval to Philipe de Neve, who opposed the employment of soldiers to go after fugitive neophytes, for the reason that "he (Neve) thought that the progress of the Faith would be more rapid, and the prayers of the Indians more agreeable to the Supreme Being" (Bancroft prints it small—supreme being) "if they were not under constraint."—"Neve homme plein d'humanité et Chrétien philosophe, pensait que les progres de la foi seraient plus rapides, et les prières des Indiens plus agrèables à L'Être suprême, si elles n'étaient pas contraintes." (La Pérouse, *Voyage*, ii, 265.) That is to say, the progress of schoolboys would be more rapid, if they were allowed to play truants and were not restrained! The Frenchman employs the term "Être suprême," Supreme Being instead of giving his Maker the name that is coming to the Divine Majesty alone, and by which He is reverently spoken of and prayed to by genuine Christians. This alone stamps the kind of Catholicity of the navigator. Catholics never use the term Supreme Being, nor Grand Architect, with reference to God. To them God is God, infinitely more than a Being supreme among other beings; but such was the fashion of the French Deists, French Encyclopedists, and of the unspeakable Voltaire, their father. Moreover, that the prayers of apostate runaway neophytes, if they prayed at all, should be more agreeable to Almighty God than the prayers of the convert Indians, remaining faithful to their Christian duties is a notion which a Catholic would never claim as his own.

La Pérouse reveals himself further. He recognizes in Neve a fellow "Chrétien philosophe," rather as is evident, a "Chrétien philosophique," a Philosophic Christian. Such a one dilutes the doctrines of Faith with seventy-five per cent of French bogus philosophy, which culminated in the beheading or banishment of priests, monks, and helpless nuns; in short he is one who has emancipated himself from the dictates of Christian principles, and observes them only in so far as they advance him politically, socially, and commercially. We had guessed as much from Neve's arrogant attitude towards the missionaries and his opposition to the welfare and progress of the Indian missions as religious establishments. La Pérouse thus unwittingly shows that he belonged to the class of wretched Christians whom we know as "Liberal" Catholics, Worldly Catholics, State Catholics, Catholics for Revenue, Political Catholics, who dispense themselves from the regulations of God-given Religion whenever it bars their advance in the realm of ambition, money, or self-indulgence; in a word Bogus Catholics, who have no right to be regarded as representative Catholics.

Such was La Pérouse. How otherwise could he have perpetrated the following jumble of sense and nonsense, of truth and untruth: "It is with the greatest satisfaction," he writes, (p. 256-258) "that I shall make known the pious and wise conduct of those friars who so perfectly fulfill the purpose of their institute. I shall not conceal what I considered reprehensible in their internal government, but I shall say, that, being good and kind, they temper by their kindness and charity the austerity of the rules that have been prescribed by their Superiors. More a friend of the rights of man" (than the rights of God, though he does not express in words what that sort of Christians means in practice) "than a good theologian," (he should have said "than a well instructed Catholic," for he is evidently very ignorant in religious matters), "I confess that I should have preferred to see them graft on the principles of Christianity a legislation which could raise by and by to the dignity of citizens men whose state hardly differs from that of the negroes who inhabit our colonies, though ruled with the greatest kindness and humanity." (This proposition to improve the principles of Christianity by means of additions from the wild notions of French philosophy, was like grafting a bit of sagebrush on a giant California redwood; or like brightening the light of the noonday sun with a tallow candle. Anything more foolish from a nominal Christian cannot be imagined. Truly, infidel philosophy is absolutely blind in its conceit.)

"I perfectly realize the extreme difficulty of the new plan; I know that these men have little intelligence and still less constancy; and that, should they cease to be treated as children, they will escape from those who took the pains of instructing them. I also know that reasoning has no effect upon them; that it is necessary to appeal to their senses; and that corporal punishments as well as rewards distributed in a double measure have till now been the only means adopted by these legislators; but would it be impossible for an ardent zeal, and an extraordinary patience, to convince a small number of families of the advantages of society based on the rights of the people; to establish among them the right of property so enticing to all men, and to induce every one by this new order of things to cultivate his field with emulation, or to devote himself to any other kind of employment?" (For the result of experiments on this line by Gálvez see vol. i, 353-354; 413-414.) All that La Pérouse needed to cure him of his Utopian ideas was the management of Mission San Carlos for two weeks. Theorists on the rights of man, especially of the French Encyclopedist stripe, should point out one aboriginal people whom their notions have made contented, we shall not say happy. The Fathers being experts in the Indian mission field must have laughed heartily at the French sailor's crazy counsels on the subject of advancing savages.

"I admit," La Pérouse continues, "that the progress of this new civilization would be very slow; the cares, which must necessarily be allotted to it, very tedious and painful; the scene of action where it must be performed very distant; and the applause never given to those who would spend their whole life in deserving it. For this reason I also do not hesitate to say that human motives are quite insufficient for a ministry like this, and that the enthusiasm of Religion with the rewards which it promises can alone compensate the sacrifices, the hardships, and the risks of that kind of life. Yet I can only desire a little more philosophy in these austere and religious men than I have met with in these missions."

It would lead us too far to follow La Pérouse through the labyrinth of his French philosophizing, which all shows that he possessed little Catholicity. He even repeats the stale charge of "lazy life of the cloister," proving thereby that he knows not whereof he speaks, and that he merely gives expression to the absurd notions of the men in whose circle he was at home. We close with noting one charge out of a number of similar ones to be dealt with in the local history of San Carlos. They indicate that La Pérouse either did not write what comes to us under his name (he was lost at sea before his manuscript report reached France), or that he was a most superficial observer. Page 277 he asserts that the "Friars, more solicitous for the heavenly interests than for the temporal goods, have neglected the introduction of the most useful arts." In the face of what these pages tell of the mechanical arts practised at the missions, even at the time of the Frenchman's visit, this statement is remarkable for its boldness.

J.

Fr. Zalvidea's Route in 1806.

(To Chapter I, Section III.)

July 19th, Santa Barbara to Santa Inés.

July 20th, holy Mass; 3 leagues north to Jonatás rancheria; 3 leagues to Saca; 5 leagues to Olomosoug.

July 21st, 4 leagues north to Gecp through rough hills.

July 22nd, 2 leagues north over hills to a plain to Talihuilimú; 6 leagues northeast to Lisahua near an arroyo; land arid, salinous, no wood, nor pastures.

July 23rd, 4 leagues east to Cuia near three small springs; land arid, no wood; 4 leagues south to Siguicin; back to Lisahua.

July 24th, 2 leagues east; 4 leagues to Sgene; 7 leagues also east to Malapoá, where camp was pitched. Fr. Zalvidea with lieutenant and some soldiers visited a rancheria three leagues away; good land; a sierra in sight.

July 25th, after holy Mass 8 leagues north to Buena Vista rancheria on the shore of Lake Tulare, which is 8 by 5 leagues in extent, and which the Indians cross on balsas. Into it flows a large river with three branches; pitched camp 2 leagues beyond Buena Vista.

July 26th, holy Mass; east along the shore of lake till noon; afternoon over plain north to Sisupistú; at end of lake by nightfall.

July 27th, holy Mass; after one league found a deserted woman; 4 leagues east through arid plains; 2 leagues through cañada to camp at Tupai.

July 28th, Fr. Zalvidea with lieutenant and some soldiers makes excursion.

July 29th, Fr. Zalvidea with sergeant, corporal, and seven soldiers makes extended survey; during the two days they found some good land, oak-covered hills; low hills form semi-circle about seven leagues from the end of the lake; nearby is a pine-covered mountain range; 12,000 cattle could be maintained in the district; one rancheria called Tacuí.

July 30th, rested in camp.

July 31st, 4 leagues north through plain with grass.

August 1st, 5 leagues north to Rancheria de los Ríos or Yaguelamé. Here two of the three rivers were seen, and they unite three leagues away to flow into the grand lake. Two days' travel north, the Indians say, are 3 rancherias of the Pelones Indians.

Aug. 2nd, leave De los Ríos 3 leagues to south; Indians from Río Colorado come from their rancheria to de Majagua over ten days' waterless travel to trade.

Aug. 3rd, leave at 2 p. m. for south, pass a lagoon, and camp one league beyond; immense plain with some grass sufficient for 8000 head of cattle.

Aug. 4th, 4 leagues southward into cajon where Indians had killed two soldiers some years before; arroyo with water; rancheria of Taslupí. The cajon is 5 leagues from end of the lake, 5 leagues from Buena Vista, 7 leagues from De los Ríos.

Aug. 5th, Fr. Zalvidea with lieutenant searches till afternoon in vain for watering-place.

Aug. 6th, march through the cajon till afternoon.

Aug. 7th, Fr. Zalvidea with sergeant and 7 soldiers visits Castegue.

Aug. 8th, 4 leagues east, 7 leagues into a broad valley; no water.

Aug. 9th, through the valley which is 16 leagues long, but has no water; 2 leagues more in afternoon, then camp at a spring.

Aug. 10th, all morning over hills adjoining the San Gabriel Range; 6 leagues in the afternoon.

Aug. 11th, 7 leagues east to Atongai; 1.5 leagues to a cienega; 4 leagues to Guapiábit.

Aug. 12th, Fr. Zalvidea in the rancheria instructed the Indians and baptized a number of very old people, whilst the soldiers and animals rested.

Aug. 13th, 4 leagues west to Moscopiábit; 4 leagues to deserted rancheria; 2 leagues to a stream said to join the Santa Ana River.

Aug. 14th, 4 leagues west to Guapiana, and thence to Mission San Gabriel.

K.

Fr. Múñoz's Route.

(To Chapter I, Section III.)

September 21st, (1806), 1.5 leagues in easterly direction to Arroyo de los Huzaymas.

Sept. 22nd, 8 leagues to edge of Tulare plain to San Luis Gonzaga, previously discovered; good spring.

Sept. 23rd, 6 to 8 leagues east to Santa Rita on arroyo previously so named.

Sept. 24th, 2 leagues to river called San Joaquín by Moraga; back to camp.

Sept. 25th, march to San Joaquín.

Sept. 26th, 3 leagues to Nupchenche; received with much ceremony; baptized five old men and 23 aged women.

Sept. 27, crossed river; 3 leagues north to arroyo called Mariposas.

Sept. 28th, Sunday; exploring excursions.

Sept. 29th, 3 leagues north to river called Merced.

Sept. 30th, excursions.

October 1st, 7 or 8 leagues northwest to river called Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, probably the Tuolumne.

Oct. 2nd, 3 leagues northwest to an oak-grove; 1.5 leagues to river called Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, probably the Stanislaus.

Oct. 3rd, 6 leagues east up the river to Taulamne on inaccessible rocks.

Oct. 4th, 6 leagues somewhat northwest to dry bed of river called San Francisco; 9 leagues to large river called Río de la Pasión by a former expedition, possibly the Calaveras River near Stockton; back to the Guadalupe.

Oct. 5th, demonstration of hostile Indians.

Oct. 6th, back to the Dolores.

Oct. 7th, back to the Merced.

Oct. 8th, visit to Latelate, where Fr. Múñoz baptized 6 aged women; to Lachuo which was deserted.

Oct. 9th, 8 leagues east to arroyo at foothills.

Oct. 10th, 2 leagues east to arroyo called Santo Domingo; 5 leagues east to Tecolote.

Oct. 11th, 4 leagues east to arroyo called Santa Ana; 4 leagues east to Río San Joaquín perhaps near Millerton.

Oct. 12th and 13th, excursions and rest.

Oct. 14th, 5 leagues east to Río de los Reyes.

Oct. 15th, detained in camp by rain.

Oct. 16th to 18th, explorations up and down the river.

Oct. 19th, 3 or 4 leagues to Gucayte or Telame with 600 souls, where in a previous expedition 22 were baptized.

Oct. 20th, 3 leagues to deserted rancheria, then east 1.5 leagues to Cohochs where Fr. Múñoz baptized eleven very old women; thence to river discovered in April this year and called San Gabriel, with branch now called San Miguel; about 3000 souls in this district who wanted a mission; the situation is favorable.

Oct. 21st, explorations 7 leagues east to Río San Pedro discovered before; back to Telame.

Oct. 22nd to 24th, explorations; rest; waiting for supplies.

Oct. 25th, 2 leagues east, 2 leagues west to Río San Gabriel.

Oct. 26th, 4 leagues along the roblar where flows the Río San Pedro; 4 leagues east.

Oct. 27th, 1 league up the river towards Coyoehte; 1 league east to San Cayetano Arroyo; 4 leagues east to another arroyo in search of a large river discovered by Fr. Zalvidea this year.

Oct. 28th, 3 leagues to that river.

Oct. 29th, 3 leagues down the river; camp one league from it.

Oct. 30th, rested the horses.

Oct. 31st, south to pass in the sierra.

November 1st, through the pass.
Nov. 2nd, and 43rd day out; over the indescribable mountain roads to Mission San Fernando. (Fr. Pedro Múñoz, "Diario," Sept. 21st to Nov. 2nd, 1806, S. B. A.)

L.

Los Angeles—The Date of Founding

(To Chapter XXII, Section I.)

Bancroft claims (California, vol. i, 345) "that the pueblo was founded on September 4, 1781, with twelve settlers and their families, forty-six persons, whose names are given and whose blood was a strange mixture of Indian and negro with here and there a trace of Spanish."

In the absence of official reports, romancers went to work and concocted the following description of the actual founding ceremonies. C. D. Willard, author of the *History of Los Angeles, 1901,* for instance, soberly relates that "on the 4th day of September, 1781, the expedition set out from San Gabriel, the governor (Neve) leading the way in person, followed by a detachment of soldiers bearing aloft the banner of Spain. Then came the settlers, forty-four persons in all, eleven being men, eleven women, and twenty-two children of all ages. The plaza had already been laid out, and the boundaries fixed for the building lots that faced it. As they neared the selected spot, a procession was formed, made up of the soldiers, with the governor at their head, the priests from San Gabriel, accompanied by their Indian acolytes, then the male settlers, and lastly the women and children, the former bearing a large banner with the Virgin Mary painted upon it. We may suppose this banner to have been loaned by the mission authorities, and it may have been the same one that had so miraculously brought the natives to submission when Padres Somera and Cambon first met them on the banks of the San Gabriel, ten years before.

"The procession marched slowly and impressively around the plaza, followed, no doubt, by the wondering gaze of the Indians from Yang-na, who had assembled for the event. When the circuit was completed the priests asked a blessing on the new city that was about to come into existence. Then Governor Felipe de Neve delivered a formal speech to the settlers, of which no report has come down to us, but which we may safely assume was full of excellent advice to the citizens, and of a glowing prophecy for the pueblo's future. Prayers and benediction from the padres concluded the ceremony, which was probably the most extensive and the most impressive that was ever held over the founding of an American city. The comparison is easily made, for the reason that probably not more than a half dozen American cities ever enjoyed the distinction of being really founded. The great majority of them merely happened."

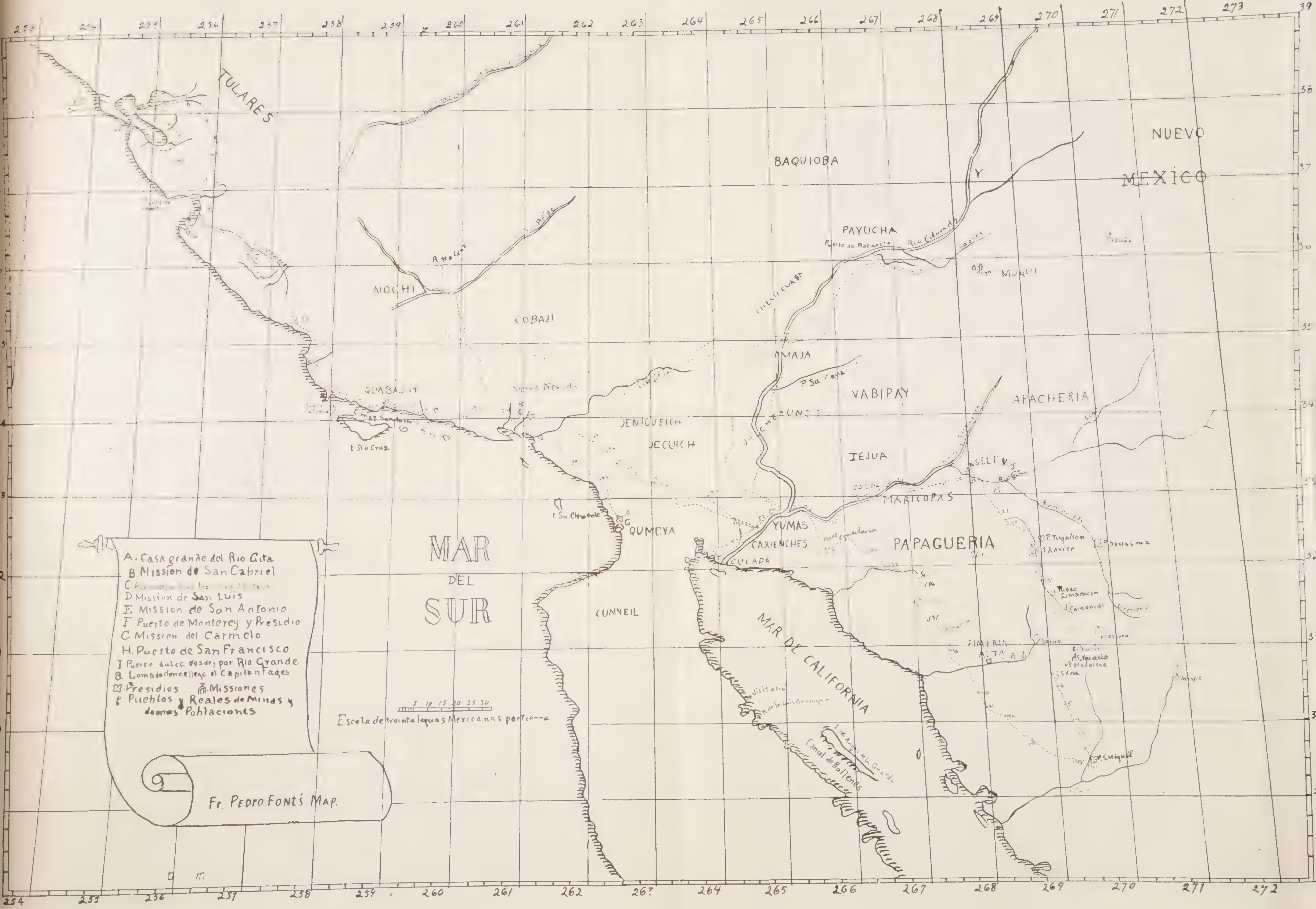
The only contemporary report of the founding of Los Angeles is contained in Fr. Francisco Palóu's *Life of Fr. Junípero Serra,* chapter fifty-one, page 243, and reads as follows: "The governor made arrangements for the founding of a pueblo of Spaniards on the Río de Porciuncula, so called by the first expedition of the year 1769. He assembled all the settlers who had come as colonists, assigned to them the location and lands on the banks of the river, distant from the Mission of San Gabriel four leagues to the northwest, and there *escorted by a corporal and three soldiers, they founded their pueblo at the end of the year 1781,* under the title of Our Lady of the Angels of Porciuncula. Juntó todos los vecinos pobladores, que habian venido para colonos, les señaló sitio y tierras en las orillas del rio, distante de ma Mission de San Gabriel quatro leguas rumbo al norueste, y alli escoltados de un cabo y tres soldados fundaron su pueblo a ultimos de ano de 1781 con el titulo de Nuestra Señora de los Angeles de Porciuncula."

From the passage quoted, the only direct and authoritative information extant of the founding of Los Angeles, it is clear that haughty Neve did not lead nor accompany the sorry-looking band of would-be colonists; for Fr. Palóu expressly says that they were *escorted by a corporal and three soldiers,* and that they established the pueblo, not on September 1st nor 4th, but at the end of the year, very probably on December 31st, which was Monday. Neve called together the eleven families and by means of a drawing which he had prepared after a personal visit to the proposed locality, assigned the lots and lands. The corporal was instructed to see that every family took possession of the lot designated. Then, escorted by the corporal and only three soldiers, the settlers started out from Mission San Gabriel on Monday, December 31st, and established their town on the site chosen by the governor. That is the whole ceremony which took place. Everything else asserted by the romancers is pure fiction. (See for more details *Mission San Gabriel* and *The Beginnings of Los Angeles.*)

CORRIGENDA IN VOLUME I

SECOND EDITION

Page xx, Arricivita—Junan should be Juan.
Page xxi, Hendry—1825 and 1826 should be 1925 and 1926.
Page 37, footnote—Rodriquez should be Rodriguez.
Page 83, line 8 from bottom, Bernado should be Bernardo.
Page 136, line 14, there should be their.
Page 250, line 2 below cut, intrduers should be intruders.
Page 257, line 20, mismangement should be mismanagement.
Page 273, line 20, Jessus should be Jesus.
Page 272, line 4, missionaires should be missionaries.
Page 295, line 7 from bottom, was should be were.
Page 295, line 5, dexteriously should be dexterously.
Page 353, line 6, Lausen should be Lasuén.
Page 596, line 9, Miquel should Miguel.
Page 643, footnote, cirular should be circular.
Page 661, line 3, unhapply should be unhappily.
Page 681, line 3 below, Callifornia should be California.
Page 691, line 16 from bottom, sparsely should be sparcely.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BAQUIOBA
NUEVO MEXICO
Y
PAYUCHA
Puerto de Bocancio
Rio Colorado
MUKUI
NOCHI
Rio Sta Cruz
COBAJI
CHEMEGUABA
MAJA
P. Sa Paya
VABIPAY
APACHERIA
GUABAJIT
Sierra Nevada
B
A
I. Sta Cruz
JENICUEICH
JECUICH
CHEMEGUES
TEJUA
ASLEUS
Rio Gila
COCOS
MARICOPAS
I. Sn. Clemente
G
QUMEYA
YUMAS
CAJUENCHES
CUCAPA
PAPAGUERIA
S. Xavier
Santa Cruz
Tumacacori
Calabazas
PIMERIA ALTA
Magdalena
S. Miguel
MAR DEL SUR
CUNYEIL
MAR DE CALIFORNIA
Visitacion
Canal de Ballenas
I. de Angel de la Guarda
5 10 15 20 25 30
Escala de treinta leguas Mexicanas por ...
A. Casa grande del Rio Gita
B. Mission de San Cabriel
C
D Mission de San Luis
E Mission de San Antonio
F Puerto de Monterey y Presidio
C Mission del Carmelo
H. Puerto de San Francisco
I Puerte dulce desde por Rio Grande
a Loma de donde llegó el Capitan Fages
⊠ Presidios
Missiones
Pueblos y Reales de Minas y demas Poblaciones
Fr. Pedro Font's Map.
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